MASKED PEDAGOGY:

NEGOTIATING SELF, TOPIC AND EXPERTISE

IN CONVERSATION-FOR-LEARNING

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The research examines interaction between unacquainted teachers and students of English as a foreign language in the conversation lounge of a private university in Japan. It draws its primary data from an assigned task in which students were asked to make conversation with on-duty teachers. Such institutionalized conversation practice, or 'conversation-for-learning' (Kasper 2004), is problematized in the thesis of research, as it is taken to paradoxically blend elements of institutionality with the interpersonal goals of conversation making. Focussing on the role of the teacher, the research aims to illustrate the way in which such tensions are resolved at the level of self construction in the supposedly conversational event.

In the Japanese context of English language learning, the 'native speaking' teacher may often be portrayed as the authentic embodiment of an Anglophone culture. It is here argued that the problematics of such 'authenticity' are compounded by the staged normativity of conversation-for-learning, in which the teachers appear to be 'playing' themselves to a heightened degree of reflexivity. The self is thus seen to be interactionally emergent in a dialectic of conversationality and institutionality.

In the current setting of the research, the 'English-only' policy and official recommendation that students pre-select a topic of interaction prior to approaching a teacher present two significant elements of institutionality which are explored through discourse analysis. The participants' negotiation of topic and expertise further provides an interactional means of analyzing the interpersonal and intercultural facets of self construction in the first-time educational encounters. In addition, the research draws on ethnographic methods of data generation, as it seeks to qualitatively ground the interactional events in the voiced experience of the participants. The thesis concludes with some suggestions which may help both teachers and students to overcome the challenges of non-acquaintanceship and constraints of institutionality to the pursuit of conversation-for-learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

Put an unacquainted teacher and student (or two) together with the task of making conversation, and see what happens. This might sound like rather a bizarre thing to do, yet it more or less represents the staging of the present study. Surprisingly, however, it might not seem quite so odd when the spotlight is enlarged to encompass the comfy sofas and coffee tables which define the space of an EFL conversation lounge of a private university in Japan, with the participants further disclosed as 'native' English-speaking teachers and Japanese students of English as a foreign language. This introduction will concern itself with an initial and fleeting 'how so?', as it considers the socio-cultural backdrop to the institutional setting of the present research. It then moves on to focus on 'self', 'topic' and 'expertise' as a lens through which to survey the interactional scene, while simultaneously orienting to the structure of the thesis.

1.1. The global teaching of English: myth and methodology

Moving from the outside inwards, it might first be apt to observe that what takes place on the educational platform, or shop floor, may be influenced by wider global trends and flows (e.g. Block and Cameron 2002, Pennycook 1994, 2007). It is well-known that English enjoys considerable prestige throughout the world, generally holding its 'own' as an international language, i.e. as a language spoken among people of different nationalities (Crystal 1987, Pennycook 1994). At its most problematic, the socio-political and economic pervasiveness of English might be invasive to the point that it is considered a form of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992). Suffice it to say, the language does not merely serve as a tool, but as the purveyor of ideology, which may be recognizable in relation to the very practice of English language teaching itself, as entwined in methodology, and enshrined in a

mythology of the 'native speaker' (see Davies 1991, 1998, 2003, Mey 1981 on the native speaker as myth).

A widespread methodological trend with an ideological bent, if not itself a method, may be the general turn to communicative language teaching (CLT), originally following in the sociolinguistic wake of Hymes' (1972b) theory of communicative competence, which placed social interaction at the heart of its enquiry. This was in direct contrast with Chomsky's (1957, 1965) theorizing on grammatical competence, in which language appeared to become purged of much of its context, with 'performance' in the form of speaker utterance relegated to the scrapheap of messy data, seemingly distracting from the generalizability of linguistic competence as cognitively innate. Such twist in competence, from 'grammatical' to 'communicative', was embraced in the CLT approach, which has sought in particular, but not exclusively, to engage learners in spoken interaction, while contextualizing language use (Bolitho et al. 1983, Brumfit and Johnson 1979, Dinsmore 1985, Nunan 1987, Thompson 1996). Oral communication skills may often therefore be held as central to the ELT concern, both in terms of the pedagogic pursuit of raising proficiency, as well as the worldwide market for English itself. That is to say, the commodity value of English may partly be founded on the ideological presupposition that mastery of the spoken language opens the door to an international 'imagined' community, which would appear to thrive on the globalized enterprise and cosmopolitan spirit of its intercultural members (Kubota 2002).

1.2. The 'authentic' native speaker as foreign theme

Focussing on the current landscape of Japan, English might further appear highly fashionable, as it is put to much ornamental use in the media and advertising (Seargeant 2005a, 2005b). In the public eye, as well as the public domain of government and education, it may often be considered *the* foreign language of Japan (Kubota 2002), and *the* international language, or lingua franca, and hence *the* language of Japanese internationalization (Kawai 2007, Kubota 2002). Spoken English has further come to dominate the language

learning scene in the commodified form and rapid growth, until late, of conversation schools, or *eikaiwa gakkou* (Bailey 2006, Tsuda 1992). Signifying English (*ei*) and conversation (*kaiwa*), *eikaiwa* may itself imply an ideology of speaking which differs quite considerably from the pursuit of 'competence' (Kachru 2005), as adapted by Canale and Swain (1980), for example, to the field of foreign language teaching. *Eikaiwa* is essentially market-driven and may represent somewhat of an occidental fantasy (Tsuda 1992), with the ideal 'native speaking' teacher perhaps still nowadays taking the shape and form of a "white middle class American" (Lummis 1976, as cited in Kachru 2005: 77; see also Kubota 1998), of particular appeal to the large proportion of female clientele (Bailey 2006). As the spoken language is thus commodified, the image of the foreigner, whether male or female, itself becomes ornamental in its proliferation by the media and advertising industry (see Creighton 1995).

As Kramsch (1998: 79) points out, "[n]ative speakers have traditionally enjoyed a natural prestige as language teachers, because they are seen as not only embodying the 'authentic' use of the language, but as representing its original context as well". Seargeant (2005a) argues, however, that English authenticity may represent a simulated reality in Japan, as epitomized in the popular foreign theme parks (*gaikoku mura*) which seek to reproduce foreign culture in architecture, costume and cuisine, for example (see also Seargeant 2005b). In such contexts, authenticity takes on the meaning that it *appears* to be a genuine and convincing representation. As Seargeant puts it, " 'authenticity' need not necessarily equate with reality itself but with a quality that allows one to believe that something has the authority to truthfully represent reality" (Seargeant 2005a: 330). In the context of language education, this position may be occupied by the flesh-and-blood 'native speaker', who represents both an image of foreignness personified and a seemingly 'authentic' communicator (Seargeant 2005a). Educational enterprises which thus thematize the English language and its 'culture' may correspondingly endorse a policy of monolingualism, as they seek to immerse the students in a hyper-real environment which is "more English than England itself" (Seargeant 2005a: 326), while conversation with a 'native speaker' may

often unquestioningly be assumed to promote acquisition of the target language.

Set in a cultural and economic milieu of high-powered consumerism (Clammer 1997), the many private universities of Japan are likewise compelled by market forces to make the most of their 'native-speaking' teachers in promotional campaigns, which may further be fuelled by a popular public discourse of internationalization (*kokusaika*) and intercultural understanding (*ibunka rikai*). This potentially serves, however, to reinforce a sense of Japanese distinctiveness (Kawai 2007, Kubota 1998, 2002). In short, the 'native' English-speaking teachers employed by private universities in Japan might be considered more than mere language pedagogues: they are the representatives of an Anglophone culture, which is at the same time deeply alien and highly fashionable.

Before considering the question of authenticity in the context of conversation making itself, the 'native speaker' will here lose his or her 'scare quotes' in the provision of a definition. In the present research the term is, then, used rather simplistically to refer to someone who has acquired the relevant language, possibly along with others, in the course of childhood through regular use, and not having subsequently experienced attrition to any considerable degree. The native speaker is, of course, notoriously difficult to define (Davies 1991, 1998, 2003), and the definition provided here predictably falls short in the many ways that delineating a generalized abstraction with normative appeal might be expected to. While the application of the concept to the field of Applied Linguistics may for this reason be of questionable value (Leung et al. 1997, Mey 1981, Phillipson 1992, Rampton 1990), the current research context happily, and perhaps dubiously, facilitates use of the term. That is to say, the teacher-participants who are classed as such have all acquired English in early childhood, and in a country in which the language further holds official status, thereby also conforming to more stereotyped images and lay perceptions of 'authentic' native speakerhood.

1.3. Problematizing a given: conversation as institutional arrangement

If *eikaiwa* scenarios may be 'authentic' in the sense of 'representing' the foreign language as interaction with a native speaker, the question also presents itself whether conversation can 'authentically' be made by teacher and student when institutionally set up to do so. In other words, to what extent is it either "suggestive of genuineness" or an "authoritative simulation of genuineness" (Seargeant 2005a: 330)? As shall be explored in the following chapter, 'conversation' is itself often defined as the non-institutional pursuit of interpersonal goals, and, at its 'best', may arguably represent the interactional locus in which we feel "most ourselves" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 16). Although the modern-day self may be increasingly reflexive, as we critically monitor ourselves through life choices and circumstances which present us with an ongoing narrative of who we believe we are, or who we claim to be (N. Coupland 2003, Giddens 1991), it may be so to a greater or lesser extent, as we are either more or less aware of constructing ourselves in interaction with others. The self in the current research thus represents a non-essentialist take on identity as reflexively constituted, that is, through the interaction of structure and agency (as will be expounded in the following chapters). In this sense, the premise of the research may be in keeping with current poststructuralist trends, as discussed by Block (2007a; see also Block 2006, 2007b). At the same time, however, it assumes that the degree to which we are actually aware of self may depend on the socio-cultural and interactional context in which we find ourselves, while we may not necessarily feel the need to 'seek' our 'selves', as in the normative practice of conversation making, for example. Regardless of what the self may actually be, we may operate in our everyday lives with a self-concept, or else a non-definable sense of self, which provides us with some sense of personal coherence and authenticity. The institutionalization of conversation may, however, throw a spanner in the works of normativity, causing our selves to be re-made to a heightened degree of reflexivity.

As conversation is interpersonal by design, the self ordinarily appears to be

unconstrained by institutionality and its role assignments. The current research therefore problematizes seemingly 'free' conversation between teacher and student as institutionally set up in the form of conversation-for-learning, a term which will be clarified in Chapter 2, as I seek to delineate conversation and institutional discourse. In other words it problematizes a 'given' (Pennycook 1999, 2001); and it does so in relation to teacher identity, which may represent largely uncharted terrain in TESOL research (Tsui 2007), and certainly in the context of institutionalized *eikaiwa* in Japan.

The setting and set up of research is further described and clarified in Chapter 3 on methodology. In explaining my own role in the staging of the current conversation task in the lounge, the generation of participant data, and the subsequent analysis of both, I locate myself and the research within a qualitative research paradigm, before moving on to discuss the use of discourse analysis in exploration of the central theme.

The empirical section of the thesis then begins with an analysis of teacher self definition in relation to Japanese language and the English-only policy of the lounge in Chapter 4, through which the concept of the native speaker as monolingual archetype is examined. It presents us with an initial insight into the way in which institutional and interpersonal goals may create a tension which is interactionally resolved by the teacher at the level of self construction.

The negotiation of topic is then analyzed in Chapter 5, in view of the institutional recommendation that students select a topic prior to approaching a teacher on duty in the lounge. Topic nomination is thereby of relevance to the institutional roles and conversational selves of the participants (a conceptual distinction which will be drawn in the following chapter). Topic is often taken by interlocutors to be the thing that is 'talked about'(cf. Bergmann 1990, Orletti 1989, Svennevig 1999), and it is this sense of what the conversation is 'about' that is preserved in the present research, which draws on participant interview and focus group data in addition to the recorded 'conversations'. However, topic as "adhered to by at least two participants"

(Orletti 1989: 82), also becomes procedurally delineated in the data analysis of the empirical chapters, as a negotiated means of organizing discourse (Svennevig 1999).

Lastly, the subject of topical expertise, which recurs throughout the thesis, becomes the eventual focus of Chapter 6, as the popular topic of the teacher's home country is discussed in relation to the differential knowledge of the participants and its impact on the conversational trajectory. For the purpose of the present research, expertise is defined as a 'special' knowledge which a participant might either claim or be granted ownership of on the basis of personalized experience, or his or her assumed membership of a cultural community of relevance to the topic.

In the conclusions of Chapter 7, the subject of self, topic and expertise is reviewed in light of the data analyses of the preceding chapters, while extending the discussion to provide some suggestions for potential consideration by teachers to whom the research might be of interest. The thesis then returns 'home', i.e. back to where we started, with a final reflection on the issue of teacher authenticity of self as native speaker in institutionalized *eikaiwa*, or English conversation.

2. CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW:

CONVERSATION AND THE INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE OF PEDAGOGY

2.0. Introduction

The present chapter briefly introduces the concept and practice of conversation-for-learning (Kasper 2004), which has received relatively scant attention within the field of Applied Linguistics. As conversation-for-learning couples 'conversation' with an underlying institutional motive of 'learning', I initially provide an overview of the former, before moving on to discuss the goal-oriented characteristics of institutional, and more particularly, pedagogic discourse. From a review of the discourse analytic literature, it would appear that conversation-for-learning marries two opposing interactional tendencies: a general symmetry of participation, which enables participants to engage with one another on relatively equal footing, with an asymmetry of institutionality, underpinned by a differentiation of role expectations. Following my conceptual discussion, I therefore return to conversation-for-learning to consider a possible tension inherent in the institutionalization of conversation practice between teacher and student within the context of 'second language' (L2) pedagogy.[1]

2.1. Conversation-for-learning: the name of the game

Conversation-for-learning is here used to refer to interaction which is institutionally staged in pursuit of L2 learning (cf. Kasper 2004). Although, as Kasper (2004) notes, it is a rather ill-defined concept, its underlying

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[1] 'Second language', or 'L2', is used to refer to a language which follows acquisition of any 'first' languages of childhood, i.e. those of which the learner might be classed as a 'native speaker' (cf. Gass and Selinker 2001, Mitchell and Myles 2004). As Block (2003) points out, this simplifies a complex process of learning, situated within socio-culturally diverging contexts of language use. However, it is here reductively applied for the purpose of presenting an overview of other concepts, while my own particularized setting of research might less problematically be defined as one of "modern foreign language teaching, where a language is taught that is neither an official language nor a community language" (Perera 1998: 275).

acquisitional goal and institutional set up requires the participation of a novice learner of the target language, which also represents the primary medium of the exchange, with someone who might comparatively be classed as an expert. Given its rather encompassing definition, it could take a variety of interactional forms, contingent on both participants and setting. Kasper's (2004) research on conversation-for-learning draws its data from a German *Gesprächsrunde*: a round of talks scheduled as credit-bearing conversation practice between L2 students and a graduate native German speaker. The following might similarly be classed conversation-for-learning: a university conversation partner programme (Jung 2004), an English language school conversation club (Hauser 2003, 2005), or an in-class discussion between L2 students and a native-speaking classroom guest (Mori 2002; cf. Kasper 2004: 554). Perhaps in its most weakly institutionalized form, it might further include events organized by the students themselves, as in the case of scheduled 'conversation tables' with native-speaking exchange students (Mori 2003).

As norms, practices and particularities vary context by context, while research on the various contexts itself differs in analytic foci, the cited studies are not of particular relevance to my own, and for this reason are not elaborated on here. In the current research the comparative expert in the exchange is a native-speaking English (L2) teacher employed as a lecturer at a private Japanese university, who is stationed in its conversation lounge at assigned duty times to make conversation with Japanese students of English. (The specifics of the research context and design will be further discussed in Chapter 3.) While the scheduling of conversation-for-learning may be common to the field of L2 pedagogy, there appears to be a dearth of research which takes the supposed conversationality between teacher and student itself as the object of analysis. This may, in part, be due to the discussion of interactional form being typically rooted in the classroom, along with the project of teaching itself, and often underpinned by an ideology, or counterargument, of language authenticity (see Section 2.2.4.). In the current research the interactional event is located outside the classroom, while it is institutionally staged as 'conversation' between teacher and student. In being

particularized as such, it represents the explicit institutionalization of the normative practice of conversation making.

2.2. Conversation as norm

Conversation is so much part of us, in mediating and constructing our relations with others, through which we define ourselves, that its description may remain somewhat elusive. As a normative pursuit which is integral to our everyday life and perceived reality, there is ordinarily no reason to reflect on what exactly it might be. When we do so, it may be in terms which are either generically vague, for example, as any form of spoken discourse (e.g. Goffman 1981), or which resort to other supportive norms in its definition, for example, as "ordinary, everyday interaction" (Halliday 1978: 140). While the former might be criticized for its lack of specificity (Wilson 1989), the latter appears to render it self-evident. That is to say, conversation seems to be a mundane activity, of such widespread and taken-for-granted occurrence, that it may not be thought to merit more precise definition, or else can easily defy it where attempted.

Conversation might be considered 'small talk', or "supposedly minor, informal, unimportant and non-serious modes of talk" (Coupland 2000:1). Such seeming triviality has become heavily contested, however (e.g. Coupland 2000, Holmes and Stubbe 2003, Schneider 1988). Indeed, it would appear to be by means of 'smallness' that we effectively construct and maintain our subjective reality, whose "massivity is achieved by the accumulation and consistency of casual conversation – conversation that can *afford to be casual* precisely because it refers to the routines of a taken-for-granted world" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 172; italics in original).

As with any form of interaction, conversation is both a product and process of social construction. Although it might not qualify as a spoken 'genre', as it is less conventionalized in form and formulaicity, for example, than an interview or sermon (Kress 1989), it can be delimited, at least in relative terms, by its 'own' interactional properties. In the rest of this section I set out to describe

conversation with reference to those characteristics which have often been taken as intrinsic to its design: its orientation to interpersonal goals (2.2.1.), general interactional symmetry (2.2.2.), and topical accessibility to participants (2.2.3.).

2.2.1. The interpersonal goals of conversation

One of the potential difficulties in defining conversation *per se* may result from its lack of overall instrumentality. In other words, it appears to be divorced from any targetted action which 'needs' to be accomplished by the participants in interaction. As such, it might be trivialized as a communicative non-event, whose message content appears secondary to the act of conversing itself. That is, in supposedly taking place for its 'own' sake, rather than in pursuit of an instrumental goal, conversation appears to be aimless. The anthropologist Malinowski notably considered "purposeless expressions of preference or aversion, accounts of irrelevant happenings, [and] comments on what is perfectly obvious" ([1923] 1949: 314) to be characteristic of 'phatic communion', i.e. the spoken attempt to create or nurture "bonds of personal union" (ibid.: 316).[2] As interpersonal goals may not be manifest in message content, phatic communion does not obviously serve as a means to an end, and may for this reason appear functionally dispensable. At the same time, however, it remains socially imperative (Malinowski [1923] 1949).

Phatic communion might be considered the ideal goal of conversation, whose conventions are interpersonal by design (Thornbury and Slade 2006), even if its participants may, in truth, have little interest in one another. We might often, for example, engage in conversation to alleviate boredom, fulfill a perceived social obligation, or dispel silence in the case that it causes us discomfort (Hayakawa 1965, Jaworski 2000, Laver 1975, Malinowski [1923] 1949, Schneider 1988, Wardhaugh 1985). Nevertheless, conversation is seemingly 'interactional': its goals are internal to the interpersonal worlds of its participants; and it therefore contrasts with externally driven 'transactional'

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[2] Senft (1997) points out that 'phatic' derives from the Greek *phatos*, meaning 'spoken'.

talk, intended to effect some change in the outer world (Cheepen 1988; cf. Brown and Yule 1983a, 1983b).[3]

Although 'interactional', or 'relational', talk is taken to differ from transactional, or 'instrumental', interaction, they may both commonly occur within the same encounter (Drew and Sorjonen 1997). A conversationalized mode of discourse, wherein message content appears to be of no direct relevance to any transactional goal, may therefore manifest itself within and on the boundaries of instrumental interaction (Holmes 2000). It does so in shifting 'frames' (Goffman 1974, Tannen 1984) which signal the participants' changing expectations and interpretations of what is being done in interaction and how it is intended (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2. for a discussion of framing). As in the case of workplace interaction, such 'small talk' can therefore represent a peripheral and transitional stage, frequently serving as a channel both into and out of more task-oriented discourse (Coupland 2000, Holmes and Stubbe 2003, Laver 1975, Schneider 1988).

As language is furthermore multi-functional, it encodes both interactional and propositional meaning (Brown and Yule 1983b, Coupland et al. 1992, Holmes 1990, 1995, 2000, Tracy and Coupland 1991). Arguably, then, the relational cannot be removed from interaction of any kind, regardless of how transactional the exchange (Ragan 2000). As Scollon puts it:

> "Whatever else we do in speaking to each other, we make claims about ourselves as a person, we make claims about the person of our listeners, we claim how those persons are related to each other at the outset of the encounter, we project an ongoing monitoring of those multiple relationships, and as we close the encounter we make claims about what sort of relationships we expect will hold upon resuming our contacts in future social encounters." (Scollon 1998: 33)

In other words, through interaction we create a social imprint of our relations with others, which may become refined or recast upon further encounters. Language thereby serves an 'interpersonal' metafunction (Halliday 1978), as it

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[3] As Cheepen (1988: 4) notes, Brown and Yule (1983a) similarly make use of the term 'interactional' to describe the use of language in building and maintaining social relations, and 'transactional' to refer to the expression of propositional content.

forges and reflects relations among the participants in interaction.[4]

A conversational mode of talk may also be strategically employed, as when superiors in the workplace cajole their inferiors into doing as they wish by affecting friendly relations, in which case it represents a form of 'repressive discourse' (Pateman 1980). Conversely, inferiors may similarly stand to benefit from amicable relations with their superiors (Holmes 2000, Holmes and Stubbe 2003). Fairclough (1995, 1998) has, moreover, noted a move towards conversationalization of discourse in the public domain, either serving to empower participants, or to disempower through the masking of power-play. In short, conversation may be interpersonal in design, and yet of instrumental benefit to its participants.

Relational and instrumental talk cannot, then, be entirely divorced from one another and might best be viewed as a continuum (Holmes 2000). As "utterances are units of social life, as well as linguistic expressions" (Tracy 2002: 8), interaction is shaped and driven by both the interpersonal and instrumental goals and concerns of its participants. Nevertheless, either relationality or instrumentality may clearly predominate at any one time (Cheepen 1988, 2000), or at least be made to appear to do so by the participants in interaction. In the case of conversation making, it is relationality which presents the driving force of communication; and it does so by relatively equitable interactional means.

2.2.2. Conversation as talk among relative equals

Conversationalized modes of discourse, however transitory, manifest a general interactional symmetry and relative parity of status among participants. This results from a seeming equality of speaking rights, as can be inferred from Malinowski's ([1923] 1949) initial discussion of phatic communion, in which he noted the reciprocity involved in the changing roles of speaker and listener.

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[4] The 'interpersonal' belongs to Halliday's (1978) three-part taxonomy of language metafunctions, which additionally includes the 'ideational', or referential use of language to convey a message, and the 'textual', namely, the inherent quality of language to reflexively define itself in relation to its preceding text and situated context of use.

The participants are portrayed as either speaking, or waiting to do so, i.e. for their own 'turn'. The actual turn-taking mechanism of speaker change is extensively described in the conversation analytic (CA) tradition of research, in which conversation is typified by "one turn at a time allocation" (Sacks et al. 1978: 46), with participants apparently free to select their speaking turns 'locally', i.e. contingent on the interaction as it unfolds. This contrasts with more formalized events in which turns are, to varying degrees, pre-allocated (Sacks et al. 1978). In other words, the pre-defined conventions and goals of an event, such as a meeting, place certain constraints on who speaks when and can say and do what in the course of its proceedings. As such, the inferences which the participants may draw are specific to the type of activity, or goal-driven 'activity type' in which they consider themselves to be engaged (Levinson 1979).

An equality of speaking rights has therefore been presented as a defining criterion of conversation (e.g. Donaldson 1979, Good 1979, Marková 1990, Schneider 1988, Ventola 1979, Warren 2006, Wilson 1989). This may represent an ideal (McElhinny 1997), as it neglects to take existing social inequalities into account which might skew perceived participatory rights. That people can engage rationally in dialogue with one another, free of prejudice or power-play, is a premise which underlies Habermas' (1984, 2001) 'ideal' speech situation, which has correspondingly been criticized as such (Harris 1995, Wang 2006). It is possible that interlocutors nevertheless operate on an assumption of truth and consensus in seeking to communicate their propositions to one another (Habermas 2001). In the same way that the rational ideal may therefore provide a basis for referential exchange, so the interpersonal ideal of 'communion' may underlie the practice of conversation as the forging of equitable relations.

Yet Malinowski's ([1923] 1949) view of the self-interested listener as a would-be speaker waiting for his or her own turn suggests an underlying tension between self and other, or unstated vying for the floor. The attempt to maintain parity in interaction might itself therefore present a stricture in terms of the participants' egoic wants (particularly if sustained by a sub-culture of

superiority which seemingly grants its members a visceral right to the floor). In the lack of any clearly defined external constraints, the participants may be 'free' to construct an 'as-if-equality' in conversation (Marková 1990); however, the interactional equalizing of status might itself be perceived as a constraint. Conversationalists have therefore been advised not to "dominate a conversation by never letting anyone else get a word in" (Wardhaugh 1985: 142), suggesting a potential inclination to do so. Conversation itself might further be defined as a "speech event in which *an effort* is made to maintain an equality of speaker rights" (Wilson 1989: 55; my italics).

What Good (1979) thus terms 'the parity principle', namely, the "tacit agreement to share power equally" (ibid.: 151) "constrains speakers to demonstrate that they do not intend to take over, in the sense of asserting their speaker's rights at the expense of the other" (ibid.: 156). One might also expect such demonstration to prevail where conversation itself is institutionally staged, perhaps even more so, in the case that its reproduction models itself on prototypicality, i.e. an idealized interactional symmetry of speaking rights.

Cheepen (1988), who similarly presents the maintenance of parity as a constraint, further points out that this requires participants to interactionally negate status differences pertaining to institutional roles:

> "[P]articipants in an interaction are constrained NOT to adopt institutionalised roles such as teacher, doctor, interviewer. Similarly, they are constrained not to adopt any role which carries with it a CONSTANT superior or inferior orientation; the creation of an interaction is dependent on the avoidance of such roles and the preservation of speaker equality through an even EXCHANGE of roles." (Cheepen 1988: 120; capitals in original.)

As a 'variable status encounter' (Cheepen 1988), conversation allows for the transience and interchangeability of expert status: the current expert may become the subsequent novice, and current novice the subsequent expert. Participants are therefore constrained not to play out institutional roles embodying a field of expertise which has been educationally or professionally ratified, for example, through the award of an official qualification (Cicourel 2001). Those who have been thus initiated into a given professional and

epistemic domain acquire credibility and can often act as gatekeepers to others, i.e. novices (Sarangi and Roberts 1999). Because such expertise relates to the external roles of the participants, it may run the risk of evoking a constant superiority of status in interaction, which consequently inhibits the 'even exchange of roles' (see Cheepen 1988 above). Further appearing to *adopt* the role of teacher, doctor or interviewer in interaction, as Cheepen (1988) suggests, complementarily positions the novice-interlocutor as student, patient or interviewee, respectively. Consequently, conversationalists may avoid topics of professional concern or specialization altogether (Holmes 2000), opting instead for more accessible subject matter, a knowledge of which may be more widely distributed among participants.

2.2.3. The negotiation of topic and common ground

By contrast with instrumentally pursued talk, conversation has been considered somewhat of a topical free-for-all (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983b, Crystal and Davy 1969, Eggins and Slade 1997), with phatic communion itself characterized as "irrelevant" (Malinowski [1923] 1949: 313), or "atopical" (Holmes 2000: 37). It might appear so by contrast with institutional discourse, whose topics are shaped by its exigencies. This is evident in their pre-definition, for example, in meeting agendas which specify points for discussion. Topics may consequently be clearly identified and demarcated from one another in the actual event, as the participants interactionally pursue the given agenda under the direction of a chair. Conversation, on the other hand, is frequently characterized by an unplanned stepwise progression of topic (Foppa 1990, Jefferson 1984, Maynard 1980, Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.). This involves forging a thematic link with the previous speaker's utterance in a process of topic 'chaining' (Bergmann 1990, Tracy 1984). The seeming amorphousness of topical matter and its non-instrumental relevance to the interpersonal worlds of the participants may therefore lead us to perceive it as 'irrelevant'.

An instrumental focus for talk further appears objective, as the message concerns the action or task with which the participants are engaged. Linguistic

meaning thus becomes reified in its application to the external world of the interlocutors. In the case of predominantly relational talk, however, participants principally seek a common vantage point from which to note an 'object'. This can be achieved by deictic means, such as pinpointing properties and happenings in the immediate contextual environment (Cheepen 1988, Laver 1975, Sacks 1995 Vol. 2., Schneider 1988, Svennevig 1999). Participants might, for example, comment on the ongoing construction work, or adopt the well-known cliché of the weather (Coupland and Ylänne-McEwen 2000). However, as Sacks (1995 Vol. 2.) observed, topics of 'noticing' can be quickly exhausted (see also Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999). In such lack of sustainability, or perceived noteworthiness of external stimuli, the topics of interaction are otherwise negotiated, that is, from within a social framework of knowledge and expectations of conversational norms. As such, they remain largely safe and non-contentious (Cheepen 1988, J. Coupland 2000, 2003, Schneider 1988, Svennevig 1999).

Where the participants are known to one another, they are able to draw on a history of interaction and shared experiences, the details of which are stored in memory as a personal and common 'diary' (Clark 1996b, Svennevig 1999), including any biographical information which may have been gleaned in prior encounters (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984). In the case of unacquainted interlocutors, however, the initial phases of interaction are often marked by a tentative process of other-discovery. Although setting or situational deixis may serve as an innocuous inroad into conversation, a more individualized path to acquaintanceship might further be pursued by way of personal indexicals. That is to say, information about the person of the interlocutor can be inferred from 'circumstantial evidence', such as accent or appearance (Clark 1996b), allowing one to "apply untested stereotypes" to him or her (Goffman 1959: 1).

A uniform or outfit may, for example, index a job or hobby, although this need not testify to the wearer's authenticity in their garb as X. The circumstantiality of 'circumstantial evidence' is apparent in the case of a personal acquaintance who once decided to dress up as a nun and spend the day out in Glasgow, during which time she was approached by several people who wished to

'unburden' themselves in conversation with her. Unwilling to explain that she was a fake, she was compelled to find ways of gently dissuading them, in 'true' character, from disclosing more than she would have liked to know. She was happy to take off the habit at the end of the day. However, her experience serves as a useful illustration of the way in which unknown conversationalists draw inferences from 'circumstantial evidence' which consequently inform their choice of topic, including the degree or type of self to 'disclose'. The nun's habit, it would seem, was enough to override the 'self-disclosure rule': "Do not disclose intimate information to new acquaintances" (Berger and Bradac 1982: 86).

The interpersonal reality of the participants therefore appears first to be constructed by means of "typificatory schemes in which others are apprehended and 'dealt with' in face-to-face encounters" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 45). Where the identifying information of a new acquaintance cannot be easily gauged, or the participants choose to err on the side of caution, the initial phases of such first-time encounters can take the form of self-presentational sequences in which uncertainties are interactionally reduced (Svennevig 1999; cf. Berger and Bradac 1982). However, the self would appear to be presented in as much as it is disclosed (or even more so, in the case of self-pretence or other-deception). In these type of initial sequences, the presented self might therefore be seen as a projected image, which forms part of a process of construction with and relative to one's interlocutor (Svennevig 1999). In other words, the selves become interpersonally distributed (cf. Bruner 1990: 138).

Despite the interpersonal dynamics of self-definition, or because of them, the presented attributes readily slot into pre-formulated social-ontological schemes, as apparent in presentational questions, such as, "What do you do?". These typically initiate 'categorization sequences', in which the participants 'type' themselves and each other, for example, by job, or place of origin/residence (see Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999). The presented self thus embodies core identifying characteristics, which are by social necessity essentialized in design. That is to say, the self is portrayed as

an entity which exists prior to its current description (Bruner 1990). It can be readily apprehended as such by means of 'inference rich' categories and their associated activities, which enable the interactants to make general presuppositions about one another (Sacks 1995 Vol. 1.: 40).[5]

Re-engagement with presentational sequences throughout the same encounter may, however, point to a failure on the part of the participants to unearth, or to build *in situ*, the common ground which is thought to sustain the making of 'small talk' (Schneider 1988). Unlike the impersonal and often transient use of setting deixis to provide a common point of reference, the interpersonal development of conversation often hinges on the establishment of mutual interest and interrelation of experiences, or co-membership in the same (sub-)cultural group. This enables the participants to chart "common territories of self" (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984: 314), which can serve to create a sense of affinity with the other, ranging from the most superficial of situated commonalities, e.g. waiting for the same train bound for the same destination, to a deep-rooted sense of personal kinship, stemming from a perceived likeness of being. Commonalities can therefore be 'made' to interactionally override dissimilarities, although as Kress points out, "conversations, like all texts, are motivated by difference" (1989: 21). In other words, it is the presumed distinction of self from other which motivates us to communicate. In the case of talk which is predominantly instrumental, the self wishes to express meaning to and with the other; in primarily relational talk, the self seeks communion with the other, which likewise therefore springs from a sense of apartness.

In conversation among strangers the gulf is compounded by the unknown, and commonalities are sought *in actu* to lessen uncertainties and bridge differing subjectivities, i.e. "reality as apprehended in individual consciousness" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 167). At the outset of interaction unknown participants are lacking a certain type of common ground, namely, that which

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[5] The use of categories in interaction as membershipping is explored in depth in Membership Categorization Analysis (see, for example, Sacks 1995 Vol. 1., Schegloff 2007b, Silverman 1998).

embodies the shared knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and presuppositions of which acquainted interlocutors are mutually aware that they are aware (cf. Clark 1996a, 1996b, Krauss et al. 1995). Furthermore, in intercultural encounters among unknown interlocutors 'typical' background knowledge might not be assumed, at least not in the case that the participants are aware of potentially underlying cultural differences, yet at the same time unaware of what these might be. In such cases they may be lacking both 'communal common ground', that is, "information based on the cultural communities a person is believed to belong to" (Clark 1996b: 121; see also 1996a), as well as 'personal common ground', established through prior acquaintanceship and a shared history of interaction (Clark 1996a, 1996b; see also Clark and Marshall 1981).

In short, while conversation may seem to be unconstrained, the apparent freedom to express oneself as one might like, to talk about whatever one might want, or to speak as much, or in as much depth, as one might wish, is ultimately tempered by the very sociality which represents its underpinning goal. However, its implicitly normative constraints differ from the quite evidently external strictures of institutional discourse, which is often correspondingly defined as non-conversational (Agar 1985, Sarangi 1998). It is to this that we now turn our attention in Section 2.3., before moving on to look more particularly at the characteristics of pedagogic discourse.

2.3. Institutionality as non-conversational asymmetry

By contrast with conversation, institutional discourse is typified by its instrumentality, or goal-orientedness (Drew and Heritage 1992, Drew and Sorjonen 1997), pertaining to the accomplishment of 'relevant' tasks. Language thus represents action in service of institutionality (Holmqvist and Andersen 1998). Inter-action among participants is furthermore contingent upon the hierarchical patterning of human 'resources', or else the differentiation between institutional representative vis-à-vis the public (Drew and Heritage 1992). Instrumentality is thus embodied within the roles of the participants, or the "set of norms and expectations applied to the incumbents

of a particular position" (Banton 1965: 29), including their perceived responsibilities (Hall et al. 1999).

Institutional discourse is both reflective and constitutive of roles which incorporate relative status orientations, as these are set up and reproduced in the interests of the organization.[6] As such, roles are pre-defined as "positions to be filled" (Janney and Arndt 1998: 791), for example, in job specifications which marry a title to its work-related tasks, and hierarchical diagrams which position the employees as relative to one another on a vertical plane of accountability, power and prestige. Yet roles are also embodied and played out by the participants in interaction as "functions to be performed" (Janney and Arndt 1998: 791). Institutional discourse can therefore be defined as: "talk which sets up positions for people to talk from and restricts some speakers' access to certain kinds of discursive actions" (Thornborrow 2002: 4). As institutional discourse is role-structured, differential rights and responsibilities are pre-allocated.

Institutional asymmetry is consequently manifest in the turn-taking procedures of interaction, including turn types such as question-answer sequences (Drew and Heritage 1992, Drew and Sorjonen 1997, Sarangi 1998, Thornborrow 2001, 2002, Tracy and Robles 2009). In the case of interaction with clients or the public, professionals invested with the authority to ask questions may self-select their own speaking turns, or are pre-positioned by the event to do so, thereby compelling their interlocutors to respond. Examples of such questioning in institutional discourse include cross-examinations in the courtroom (Atkinson and Drew 1979), police interrogations (Haworth 2006), or teacher-fronted interaction in the classroom (see following sections of 2.3.). In such cases, the institutional representatives are able to maintain control over the topic of interaction as they pursue a given agenda. Although they may be in evident search of information (Sarangi

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[6] The term 'institution' is here used in the sense of an organizational structure with a physical base, although its institutionality may be played out by participants away from 'home'. It is not, however, taken to represent an abstracted body of expertise, as in its definition as "a socially legitimated expertise together with those persons authorized to implement it" (Agar 1985: 164).

and Slembrouck 1996), and its display, they nevertheless hold greater knowledge than the respondents of a wider topical relevance, as far as this pertains to the institutional project of which they are representative. Professionals may correspondingly be more familiar with the ground-level interactional proceedings than the laypeople with whom they interact (Heritage 1997). Such institutional discourse is often, then, characterized by a differential distribution of knowledge among participants (Sarangi 1998). This may also apply, to a lesser extent, in interaction between superiors and inferiors of the same institutional undertaking.

As Drew and Heritage (1992) point out, any type of talk can be to some degree, or at various times in its interactional lifespan, asymmetrical, when seen from the perspective of "which persons participate in talk and to what effect" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 48). Such asymmetry may similarly result from a disparity of knowledge states (Drew 1991, Linell and Luckmann 1991). This is apparent in conversation, for example, when a speaker engages in personal narrative, which involves relaying an account or experience to the other participants (Eggins and Slade 1997). 'Audience' contributions, such as evaluations, are commonly, however, interwoven in the fabric of the story (Cheepen 1988, Tracy 2002). While the narrator's knowledge can be highly particularized, it does not appear topically exclusive. As such, it differs from the asymmetry of professional expertise, which casts the novice interlocutors as laypeople. Presentation sequences in conversation among unknown interlocutors provide another example in which a speaker, as self-presenter, temporarily takes the floor as topical expert, i.e. on his or her 'self'. In such cases, asymmetry of knowledge and participation is, however, often offset by a loose convention of reciprocity (Svennevig 1999). Once again, such conversational asymmetry differs in its transience from the fixedness of institutionalized events, along with the pre-established roles and differential expertise of their participants.

While superiors and inferiors in institutional discourse may construct interpersonal equality through transitional and relational frames, the interlocutor of higher standing nevertheless remains the arbiter of power, as he

or she must ordinarily either agree or choose to relax status differences (Wilson 1989). As a consequence these become latent, or covert, yet may easily and legitimately be reinforced by the superior. Wilson (1989) refers to such a process of shifting from one speech event type to another as 'outmoding', whereby the transition from conversational to institutional talk represents 'institutionalised outmoding', or the reinstatement of asymmetry. In other words, the participants once more bring their institutional roles to the interactional forefront, and thereby relegate their relational goals to a subordinate, or at least temporarily suspended, position.

According to Drew and Heritage (1992), where the interactional goals are work-related, the speech encounter becomes institutional regardless of setting, and could therefore take place outside the physical realm of the institution itself (see also Sarangi 1998). While the physical locality may encode its use for work-related tasks or social congregation, that is, in spatial design and content configuration, it offers no clear-cut boundaries to talk, as the 'local', i.e. interactional, context is talked into being by the participants themselves. In other words, 'outmoding' may occur in any setting, whether it represents the institutionalized outmoding of conversational talk, or else the conversationalized outmoding of institutional talk. However, one setting which is frequently taken to exemplify the asymmetry of institutional talk is that of the classroom.

2.3.1. The institutional constraints of pedagogic discourse

Institutionalized asymmetry may often be apparent in pedagogic discourse, particularly during the plenary stages of instruction: that is, teacher-fronted interaction shaped by the elicitation and display of target information, during which the teacher may maintain overt control of both topic management and turn-taking procedures (Edwards and Westgate 1994, McHoul 1978). Furthermore, the relevant information is pre-determined, to varying degrees, by syllabus and curriculum design. This reflects the wider goals of the institution, which must, in turn, comply with the external agendas of other credited organizational bodies, from local to national to supranational, as they

codify current ontological schemes within an epistemology of a given subject domain. In effect, the instrumental goal of education as the mediation of skills and knowledge trickles down to the bottom-most substratum, whose interactional foundation therefore serves to support the institutional edifice. This, on the other hand, delimits and provides structural grading to the vastness of information and know-how which could potentially be selected as the object of learning. Bernstein (1975) classes curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation as the three 'message systems' of educational knowledge, whereby:

> "[c]urriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught."
> (Bernstein 1975: 85)

These messages are mediated, to a large extent, by the language of the teachers in interaction with their students in the classroom (Luke and Luke 1998).

Asymmetrical patterning of interaction may further relate to organizational concerns of people management, which cause the teacher to assume a position of authority in and above their knowledge of subject domain, or their 'authoritative' expertise (Widdowson 1987). While such asymmetry may be designed to safeguard equal opportunities for contribution among the students, the teacher is at the same time positioned at the helm of the pedagogic enterprise, and thereby clearly exhibits greater interactional rights than the students themselves (McHoul 1978, Mehan 1979a, Sinclair and Brazil 1982). One of the reasons such teacher-fronted interaction can arguably offer us a snapshot of institutional asymmetry *par excellence* is the inherent relationship between status and expertise in pedagogy. Not only do teachers hold institutional status, underpinned by a socially legitimated background of training and expertise, as common to the professions (Mullock 2006), they are also institutionally charged with partially *conveying* that expertise to their 'subordinates', i.e. the students (Edwards and Mercer 1987). Their knowledge of the field is thereby assumed, whether or not it is put on overt display, or to the test. In the common case that teachers are required to evaluate the students, their knowledge is further implicitly sanctioned. In playing the institutionally

allocated part of evaluator, the teacher ordinarily has the power to legislate over what is good or bad, right or wrong, or at least relevant to the agenda being pursued at that particular time (Edwards and Furlong 1978, Kress 1989). This is manifest in the turn-taking structure of teaching sequences itself.

2.3.2. IRF/E as asymmetrical cycle in pedagogic discourse

The ideal or intended outcome of teaching is, of course, learning on the part of the students, and this may be stimulated and evidenced in interaction by the question prompts of the teacher (Mercer 1998), followed by feedback of student response. It is perhaps unsurprising that widespread analyses of classroom data, primarily during the stages of plenary elicitation and display, have reached similar conclusions regarding the structural moves of this type of pedagogy in action: it is initiated by the teacher, as in a question, to which a student, or more than one, provide(s) a response, typically requiring subsequent validation by the teacher in the 'third' position (which might not come literal third, although it follows the preceding two moves).[7] Correspondingly, this has become known as the IRF (or IRE) cycle, a three-part exchange comprising *i*nitiation, *r*esponse, and *f*eedback/ *f*ollow-up (or *e*valuation in the case of IRE), with Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) often cited as notable forerunners in the field.[8] (On classroom discourse and its analysis see also the following: Adger 2001, Bellack et al. 1966, Cazden 1988, Coulthard 1985, Coulthard and Montgomery 1981, Dinsmore 1985, Edwards and Mercer 1987, Edwards and Westgate 1994, Mehan 1979a, 1985, Nunan 1987, Sinclair and Brazil 1982, Stubbs 1983, Walsh 2006).

Where the participants engage in IRF/E interactional patterning, the initiation and closing moves are undertaken by the teacher, thereby procedurally

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[7] The third move of the well-known IRF/E cycle is not prevalent across all classroom cultures. The lack of an explicit follow-up move has, for example, been noted in the case of choral response in certain African classroom cultures (Hardman et al. 2008). Although a response (R) to a question (I) might, in general, be expected as the second pair part, the third position may be less determinate (Schegloff 2007a, Tsui 1994).

[8] In Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) structural taxonomy 'moves' are made up of smaller-level 'acts', and themselves combine to form higher-order 'exchanges', which are part of a 'transaction' of the overarching 'lesson'.

inhibiting both topic initiation or its subsequent development by the students, whose 'allowable contributions' (Levinson 1979) are correspondingly restricted to the middle response slot (van Lier 2001). This may hold in particular where the third move represents an overt evaluation, which may appear conclusive as the 'final say' of the given sequence, and to a lesser extent where the teacher otherwise extends the third move to integrate the contributions of the students in its topical development (Cullen 2002, Nassaji and Wells 2000).

Although the follow-up move of pedagogic discourse may fulfill differing functions (Lee 2007, Tsui 1994), it is evaluation which has been taken to mark the exchange as specifically educational (Mehan 1985). However, the characterization of the structure itself as particular to a given context runs the risk of overlooking its occurrence elsewhere (Heritage 1984, Schegloff et al. 2002, Silverman 1998). Similar exchanges have also been observed in parent-child interaction (Maclure and French 1981, Painter 1989), although such instances might also be classed didactic. In general, follow-up moves which succeed adjacency pairs, i.e. adjacently positioned two-part turns of the same type, such as question-answer sequences (Schegloff 2007a), may be commonplace in other contexts of interaction, yet their pragmatic motivation is likely to differ to that of an evaluative follow-up (Tsui 1994). In fact, evaluation in conversation among adults may even be deemed "socially hazardous" (Schneider 1988: 176). That is to say, it may pose a threat to 'face', i.e. the self's public image (Scollon and Scollon 1995, Yule 1996), or "positive social value a person effectively claims for himself" (Goffman 1967: 5), insofar as the interlocutors consider themselves to be on equal footing in the conversational exchange (Brown and Levinson 1987, Cheepen 1988).

In classroom discourse, on the other hand, the students are likely to anticipate the final element of evaluation, having become conditioned to the IRF/E sequential order through prior and repeated acts of participation. In other words, classroom discourse becomes "scripted", and therefore represents "an orientation that members come to expect", while serving "as a frame of reference for 'being student and teacher'" (Gutierrez et al. 1995: 443). The 'I'

(of 'IRF') can commonly take the form and function of a 'display question': namely, a question designed to elicit and display target information already known to the teacher (Lee 2006, Long and Sato 1983, Mehan 1979b, Nunn 1999). It can thereby also serve to test the students' knowledge, and has for this reason been termed an 'exam question' (Searle 1969). Student expectation of evaluation might, then, be triggered by its use. Having initiated the sequence, the teacher may also consequently feel constrained to 'verify' student responses (McHoul 1978), as these further serve in the edification of the entire class (Rampton 2006). The element of evaluation, which may be normatively embedded within the exchange structure, testifies to the underlying institutional status and expertise of the teacher, as it manifests asymmetry in interaction. However, his or her role fluctuates with the pedagogic design of the task as this is put into action, although it is nonetheless underpinned by instrumentality.

2.3.3. The instrumentality of role-relations in pedagogy

As Seedhouse (2004) points out, it is the goal-orientedness of the pedagogic focus which largely provides interaction with its greater or lesser constraints. In other words, the trajectory of interaction differs according to the intended instrumentality, as actualized in communication between teacher and student. If a language teacher, for example, aims to elicit a target grammatical structure in a whole-group configuration by use of a display question, it might be highly constraining of response (that is, if there are relatively few form-focussed options which fill the slot and fit the bill). If, by contrast, the plenary focus is on discussion and the generation of ideas, the teacher's initiation prompts are likely to be open-ended, thereby allowing the students greater interactional space within which to develop their own propositions. If, on the other hand, the task involves small-group discussions, the teacher might choose to monitor the activity from afar, while the students take it upon themselves to initiate interaction with him or her. The teacher thereby serves as a resource, or facilitator (Clifton 2006), when called upon to do or be so, and as the occasion presents itself.

Despite such diversity of interactional form, the core educational aim of advancing learning often requires a pedagogic focus to supersede other potential topics of interaction, where these are considered irrelevant to the accomplishment of a goal, as this accords with the higher institutional agenda (e.g. as part of the course syllabus, subject assessment, or wider curriculum). Pedagogy is therefore constrained by its own instrumental particularities, independent of their embodiment in teacher-student role relations. This can be illustrated by institutional set ups and arrangements such as self-access learning, which aim to foster learner autonomy (Smith 2008). In the teacher's absence, the instrumentality of pedagogic design becomes otherwise encoded: for example, in the rubric and instructions guiding learners through the goals and tasks of self-access materials, and the answer keys which enable the students to self-evaluate, while presenting a right or wrong, or 'model' response. Within a taught course, peer correction is similarly founded on task-relevant criteria, even if these are drawn up by the students themselves, along with elements of the syllabus, for example, as in a learner-centred approach to pedagogy (e.g. Nunan 1988, Tudor 1993, 1996).

In the 'core' exchanges of classroom instruction, the teacher's role partly embodies such instrumentality, as played out in interaction with the students. That is not to say, of course, that teachers do not have their own personal quirks and commitments, which may become increasingly marked as their relationship with the students develops; and such rapport is itself potentially conducive towards learning (Nguyen 2007, Tsui 1996). Nor does it imply that everything which transpires during class is always relevant to the pedagogic goal (as Richards [2006] points out). Furthermore, the institutional role of the teacher might commonly be taken to include the pastoral care of the student, to varying degrees. Pedagogy in interaction between teacher and student nevertheless diverges quite considerably from the overriding relationality of conversational exchange, as founded on a relative parity of interactional rights, and sustained by topics which are free of institutional constraints. The educational goal of interaction as the mediation of knowledge may, however, be compounded in the case that language itself represents the subject of study, while the conversational ideal is seen as a hallmark of authenticity.

2.3.4. Teaching English as an 'authentic' L2: subject as both topic and medium

The L2 teaching context further differs from other educational domains as the subject can be both the topic and linguistic medium of instruction (Willis 1992), whereby the interactional exchange between teacher and student itself corresponds to input of subject matter. In other words, pedagogic interaction is not only taken to convey subject-relevant information, but at the same time to be that very information, particularly from the methodological point of view which endorses the sole use of the L2 in its own instruction.[9] This has led to a criticism of the discourse of pedagogy, as epitomized by the IRF/E cycle, as non-genuine, or unnatural (e.g. Kumaravadivelu 1993, Nunan 1987). In other words, it is thought to provide inauthentic interactional input. The use of so-called display questions as an initiation move is somewhat problematically taken as a case in point. As they are not considered to be 'real' questions, they are seen to deviate from the accepted norms of casual conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997, Long and Sato 1983). For this reason, they have been considered of "dubious communicative value" (Dinsmore 1985: 230). Yet, appeals to the notion of naturalness or genuineness are often normative in remaining undefined and point towards a conversational ideal which hence contrasts with the asymmetry of pedagogic discourse (Seedhouse 2004).

Nunan (1987), however, provides the following description of 'genuine communication', as:

> "characterized by the uneven distribution of information, the negotiation of meaning (through, for example, clarification requests and confirmation checks), topic nomination and negotiation by more than one speaker, and the right of the interlocutors to decide whether to contribute in an interaction or not. In other words, in genuine communication, decisions about who says what to whom and when are up for grabs." (Nunan 1987: 137)

Such interaction might appear authentic as the participants are engaging in 'referential communication', i.e. for the purpose of information exchange

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[9] Although English may be taught through another language, in the current context of research, English is the medium of instruction, and my discussion therefore restricts itself to this methodological scenario of English teaching.

(Yule 1997), in which they seek to establish and clarify the intended meaning of their interlocutor(s). At the same time, however, it suggests interactional parity among participants. Unevenly distributed information might, for example, be engineered in the language classroom through the creation of an 'information gap', in accordance with a task-based approach to language teaching (e.g. Ellis 2003, Johnson 1979, Skehan 2003). An obvious example of this can be illustrated by a simple task in which Student A and Student B are provided with different halves of information which they must communicate to one another (in their L2) in order to complete the whole. The task design might, for example, translate into action as both parties choosing to take respective turns to request information from one another, while clarifying and confirming meaning.[10] A symmetry of speaking rights is maximally safeguarded by the totally equal distribution of unequal knowledge, which is required to be verbally exchanged in completion of the task. At the same time, such highly regulated symmetry of knowledge asymmetry within a clearly defined and obligatory task removes the apparent freedom to decide whether to contribute or not, i.e. the other defining characteristic of 'genuine communication' in Nunan's (1987) terms (see above).

Such idealization of the 'authentic' would appear to valorize the transactional over the relational, while simultaneously, however, endorsing parity over institutional hierarchy. It represents what Block (2003: 62) refers to as an "instrumental view of conversational interaction", often encapsulated within the very notion of 'task' itself (see also Block 2002).[11] This may be symptomatic of a more widespread "transaction bias" within the field of L2 pedagogy (Aston 1988: 157). 'Authenticity', however, represents an ideology which possibly reflects both normative beliefs about what communication supposedly entails, i.e. conveying a message and talking for an easily

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[10] Such tasks are crafted in order that the participants are compelled to reach an understanding, or bridge a gap, through the 'negotiation for meaning', a process whereby relevant information is verbally exchanged and modified in response to uncertainties of comprehension on the part of the interlocutors (Long 1983, Pica et al. 1996). Such modifications have been thought to promote second language acquisition (SLA) through their negotiation of 'comprehensible input' (Gass 1997, Krashen 1985, Long 1983), and 'pushed output' (Swain 1985, 1995). (See Block 2003, Mitchell and Myles 2004 for an overview of theories and concepts in the field of Second Language Acquisition [SLA].)

[11] Skehan (2003) however notes that tasks need not by definition be referentially oriented.

definable reason; and of how it should be done, i.e. by preserving a relative parity of speaking rights.

If symmetry of knowledge and parity in interaction were to apply at all times, however, it might either entail the removal of the teacher from the exchange, as in the 'information gap' exchange described, or else the complete negation of status differences, so that teacher and student are at all times on a par. This might be difficult, or impossible, to effect across the board, given the unequal distribution of subject knowledge underpinning the practice of pedagogy (Edwards and Westgate 1994), a disparity which van Lier considers the very "essence of teaching" (1996: 140). Seedhouse (2004), moreover, critiques the ideal of pedagogic conversation, arguing:

> "[t]he only way, therefore, in which an L2 lesson could become identical to conversation would be for the learners to regard the teacher as a fellow conversationalist of equal status rather than as a teacher, for the teacher not to direct the discourse in any way at all, and for the setting to be noninstitutional. No institutional purposes could shape the discourse, in other words."
> (Seedhouse 2004:70)

While the apparent relevance of setting might be contentious, it serves as a reminder that the location in which institutional events are set often encodes its intended use in spatial design, including configuration of content. Such intent is evident in the case that the teacher, as institutional agent, is able to organize the space him- or herself as part of classroom management (Manke 1997). In the case that this is relatively 'fixed', unlike the more flexible arrangements of blended learning spaces, for example, the design might not be particularly conducive towards conversation between teacher and student. An obvious example is that of the lecture theatre, in which the lecturer's space is 'pre-allocated' in the form of a raised platform, while that of the students represents a fixed seating arrangement. On entering the theatre one is able to draw inferences with regard to the interactional occasion and the part one is expected to play in it. This can be hypothesized from the seeming oddness of comments which would make explicit its use, as Tracy (2002) illustrates:

> "It would be quite strange indeed for a college teacher to begin a class by announcing: "The situation we're in is a lecture. This means I'm going to do most of the talking and you get to do most of the listening. If you want to make

a comment or ask a question, raise your hand." (Tracy 2002:12)

Once the participants are positioned within their pre-allocated places, the spacial divide is itself likely to inhibit the initiation of conversation between teacher and student, in which "who says what to whom and when" is "up for grabs" (Nunan 1987: 137). That is not to say that conversation is entirely precluded by the setting and institutional roles of the participants. Moreover, regardless of the design of the teaching space, plenary instruction arguably finds the teacher 'on stage', playing to the student audience in a "platform performance" (Rampton 2006: 2; cf. Goffman 1983).

Nevertheless, in the course of a lesson, and within the confines of the subject domain, it is possible for the teacher to personalize the topic which represents the pedagogic focus through 'self-revelation' (Richards 2006). The foregrounding of relationality could furthermore invoke conversational episodes of symmetry, particularly if accompanied by an inversion of knowledge states; that is, if the students explain something to the teacher, or voice their opinions based on personalized expertise and experience (cf. Richards 2006). This may otherwise take place in an unscripted 'third space', as the participants deviate from the 'official' topic legislated by the teacher (de Haan 2005),[12] as institutional agent, to meet each other 'halfway', or rather 'third' way. Such digressions may allow the teacher's and the students' personal world views to temporarily merge (Gutierrez et al. 1995). Unplanned interaction in the classroom has accordingly been considered more 'authentic' and to be endorsed in teacher training (see Cadorath and Harris 1998). However, such 'third spaces' are not necessarily sustainable, or even desirably so to the students and teacher, who may to some extent feel that they are 'there', i.e. typically in the classroom, to go about the 'business' of learning and teaching, respectively. It can therefore represent "uncomfortable territory" (Gutierrez et al. 1995: 466), if the teacher or students wish to interactionally preserve some distance, or role complementarity, as the status quo.

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[12] Please note that de Haan's (2005) 'unofficial' talk in this case does not involve student interaction with the teacher (cf. 'off-task' talk in Markee 2005, Mercer 1998, Thornborrow 2003).

As Seedhouse (2004) points out, it is somewhat unrealistic to expect the interaction of L2 lessons to meet the ideal of authenticity as the conversational norm, as the reflexivity of language implies that it both reflects and constructs its own pedagogic context of use. Van Lier (1996) similarly notes that by other yardsticks of authenticity "the classroom must become inauthentic, as a classroom" (ibid.: 123). For this reason, a critique of authenticity of interaction might rather be supplanted by an appraisal of its appropriacy in relation to the pedagogic goal (Walsh 2002), or the effectiveness with which the task as 'workplan' (Breen 1989) is translated to action by the participants in interaction.

Depending on the lesson phase and learning target, teachers might themselves wish to prioritize symmetry in interaction. They may also wish the students to actively participate in class without feeling inhibited by an institutional asymmetry of role-relations, as typified in IRF/E patterning, and thus seek to downplay status differences by conversationalizing interaction. However, as Wilson (1989) notes, it is questionable to what extent institutional hierarchies might, in fact, be entirely negated; and these could extend beyond the confines of the classroom, in the case that instructors are internally employed elsewhere in their official capacity as teacher.

Having considered the distinctions between conversation and the institutional discourse of pedagogy, as epitomized in the classroom, and more particularly, in the plenary stages of instruction, I will now consider some potential implications of their conceptual integration in conversation-for-learning, as institutionally staged interaction between teacher and student.

2.4. Conversation-for-learning: a contradiction in teacher-student terms?

As teachers and students may engage in talk which is more 'person-' than 'position-oriented' (Bernstein 1971), the concept of classroom conversation is not inherently contradictory, as Richards (2006) points out. However, such apparent 'self-revelation' by the teachers would appear to be largely of their

own volition, as they either choose or agree to relax status differentials, particularly in the course of the lesson itself. This may be interactionally emergent in response to either spontaneous student contributions (Cadorath and Harris 1998, Gutierrez et al. 1995), or the planned integration of their social worlds to the topical domain of the lesson focus, as a third 'place' (Kramsch 1993). On the other hand, conversation-for-learning scheduled between teacher and student is non-volitional by institutional design. It takes place 'for learning', namely, on the part of the student, while aiming for conversationality, which is seemingly free of the constraints of pedagogy and institutionality.

Institutional discourse often displays the shifting interactional dynamics of relationality and institutionality (Coupland 2000, Coupland et. al 1994), as participants engage with one another at a personal level, to varying degrees of intimacy, and yet go about their institutional business, to varying degrees of role stratification. In conversation-for-learning among teachers and students, however, conversation itself represents the core institutional business. As conversation-for-learning is institutionally staged 'for' the benefit of the L2 learner, the teacher is to some extent pre-positioned *as* a teacher vis-à-vis the student-participants *for* whom he or she is engaging in conversation. In other words, the teacher is 'there' by institutional design. As such, he or she embodies a professional role as institutional representative in the 'conversational' exchange.

In more formalized contexts of pedagogy the teacher might with relative ease adopt a professional and role-based persona "in conformity to normal and expected patterns of behaviour" (Widdowson 1987: 83). Perhaps in its most ostensible guise, the teacher-persona may, then, manifest itself in the triadic, or 'essential teaching exchange' (Edwards and Westgate 1994), which arguably represents "the characteristic language of a teacher conducting his or her profession" (Brazil and Sinclair 1982: 89). In other words, the teacher expresses him- or herself *as* teacher through the ritualized practice of asymmetry, which therefore deviates from the normative symmetry of conversation. As Markee (2005: 197) succinctly puts it: "teachers 'do' being

teachers by exercising privileged rights to nominate conversational topics, and by deciding which learners may talk when" (Markee 2005: 197).

This contrasts markedly with conversational norms of relative parity. Unlike the well-defined routines of teaching exchanges (Mehan 1979a), in which teachers and students play "complementary roles in the classroom game" (Bellack et al. 1966: 46), conversational 'selves' might not generally be played out as evidently stratified roles. This raises the question of how the teachers might define themselves in conversation-for-learning with students. That is not to say that 'doing being' a teacher necessarily conflicts with a conversational sense of self, sustained by normativity. Our self-concept could partly be founded on such professional roles, which would imply some degree of psychological internalization.

Such processes of internalization may be most deeply established in the case of social roles to which we are exposed as seeming reality in the course of primary socialization in childhood (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Our professional roles of adult life may similarly, to some degree, permeate and define our egoic consciousness, as we personally identify with them. This may involve classing both ourselves and others by the "part that people play in the performance of social life" (Widdowson 1987: 83), i.e. in terms of our "capacities or functions" (Goffman 1974: 129). Such classifications may further imply a "social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586), based on more prevalent notions of prestige.

Being a teacher therefore represents a social insignia or categorization which serves as a "system of orientation" (Tajfel 1974: 69), along with other 'man'-made social-ontological schemes, such as gender or nationality, and the characteristics and relativity of status people might attribute to them. Perceptions of such role-based and politically defined ascriptions are further filtered through our perceived membership of a given category, or group affiliation, as we become emotionally attached to the relevant self-identification (Tajfel 1974). Teachers might thereby "come to see the whole world as a classroom, and in their everyday lives treat every interaction as a

lesson" (Kress 1989: 6). In other words, the being a teacher, or teacher-being, impregnates their self-concept, shaping their perceptions of place and purpose within the social world at large. Nevertheless, teachers may be able to "detach a part of the self and its concomitant reality as relevant only to the role-specific situation in question" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 162), in which case their self-outlook is correspondingly likely to shift.

In the case that our social roles instill in us a persistent sense of inferiority or superiority vis-à-vis our interlocutors, the 'parity principle' (Good 1979), which may define the conventions of conversation in the lack of externally imposed constraints, serves to offset, or attenuate, social differentiation of status. Moreover, the social typification of self-'disclosure' in the initial sequences of conversational encounters among unacquainted interlocutors may largely serve as a preliminary base from which to mutually seek out common ground (Svennevig 1999). Such inter-personal norms of conversation thus contrast with the role-based differentiations of institutional discourse.

It is nevertheless questionable to what extent conversation can ever be entirely inter-'personal', i.e. unconstrained by identification with social collectivities (Tajfel and Turner 1979), or social roles (Goffman 1974). The most familiar context for casual talk to take place might, for example, be in the familial comfort of one's own home, and yet families can themselves be decidedly 'positional' (Bernstein 1971): that is, with clearly demarcated roles and decision-making rights. Such positions are themselves reflective and constitutive of a process of 'institutionalization', involving the "reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 72). Individuals thus become typified through the repeated performance of actions which are habitually and reciprocally recognized as their domain, or 'job', such as the cooking. Social roles are further objectified, as successive generations are born into this 'reality', whose structure of living and concept of being may hence become deeply internalized (Berger and Luckmann 1966). As such, our social roles appear normative, by contrast with professional roles which are overtly reified within an organizational framework of institutionality, as is made explicit when a post is officially 'assumed' by an

applicant.

It is in the normative practice of casual conversation that we may correspondingly feel "most ourselves" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 16); and it is for this reason that it represents such an effective "vehicle for reality-maintenance" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 172). What we define ourselves and others as is nevertheless co-constructed in interaction (Jacoby and Ochs 1995). That is to say, our identities are socially and discoursally constructed (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Burr 2003, De Fina et al. 2006). However, we are able to assume ourselves to be our selves in conversation to a lesser degree of self-awareness of 'doing being' what we are. We can see and present ourselves as 'essential' beings, while at the same time co-constructing ourselves in interaction with others, and to a large extent, therefore, unreflectively. If we were fully aware of the role we played in constructing our social reality, it could not 'objectively' be perceived as such. This arguably also applies to modern-day societies with more permeable and transmutable social categories, in which individuals potentially engage in identity-work to a greater degree of reflexivity (Block 2007a, 2007b, Giddens 1991). That is to say, a sense of self may nevertheless rest on locating oneself, and being located, within a seemingly objective reality, i.e. one residing outside of one's own subjectivity, and hence beyond the reach of individual agency.

Others therefore play a significant role in upholding our sense of self in relation to the reality of our everyday world, as Halliday (1978) expounds:

> "An individual's subjective reality is created and maintained through interaction with others, who are 'significant others' precisely because they fill this role: and such interaction is, critically, verbal – it takes the form of conversation. Conversation is not, in general, didactic; the 'others' are not teachers, nor do they consciously 'know' the reality they are helping to construct" (Halliday 1978: 140).

In educationally staged encounters, on the other hand, teachers are social 'actors' who may play a more conscious part in the (re-)production of an institutional scheme than the 'selves' of conversation. As such, they are more likely to be aware of doing something for a reason, and of being something in

interaction with someone else. In other words, the teachers may 'consciously know the pseudo-reality they are helping to construct' (cf. Halliday 1978 above).

Returning to the present context of research, the question, again, presents itself: what exactly are teachers expected to be in the case of conversation-for-learning? As institutionally staged 'free conversation' which is not free, it is nevertheless lacking the confines of a task which might clearly define their role. Social roles, by contrast, might often remain implicit in the normativity of conversation as a relational pursuit, and are not reflexively shaped by and to a task which is instrumentally staged. In the current setting of research, moreover, such normativity is belied by the English-only policy and advice to students to pre-select a topic of interaction prior to engaging a teacher in 'conversation'. (This will be explored as the focus of my empirical analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively.) The latter further represents an institutionalized inversion of the role of topic nominator, typically assumed by the teacher in the scripted asymmetry of classroom discourse. Whether topic pre-selection by the students serves to conversationalize interaction in an institutionally staged event and to negate status differences presents another matter, and one to which the empirical chapters may provide some insight.

In short, the teacher becomes manifest as teacher in 'on-task' interaction, whether this represents being 'most the teacher' in a platform performance of asymmetry, or 'least the teacher' as a behind-the-scenes manager, who steps onto stage to direct or facilitate the students' L2 production when needed. In conversation-for-learning between teacher and student, the participants might be considered 'on stage' and 'on task', given the institutional staging of the interactional event. While this suggests that the teachers are 'playing' themselves, 'conversation', on the other hand, might imply to the participants that they are 'being' themselves (whatever that is taken, presented and constructed to be in relation to one's interlocutor). At the conceptual level, conversation-for-learning between teacher and student fuses the relationality of conversation with the institutionality of pedagogy. However, as the seeming relationality of the event is itself underpinned by institutionality, the tension

between the two is primarily embodied in the teacher as institutional representative. Conversation-for-learning thereby appears to conflate the person of inter-personal talk with the role-based persona of institutional discourse.

In the current context of research, the teacher further represents a foreign 'native' in a Japanese environment of learning in which "ideas of 'authenticity' are central to the way that English is sold to society" (Seargeant 2005a: 326). (This theme of foreignness will emerge in Chapter 6, as the students focus on the origins of the teacher in their choice of topic.) The concept of 'authenticity' in language teaching has, for example, been challenged for appealing to 'meaning' over form (Cook 1997), or to an idealized symmetry of interactional form (Seedhouse 2004, van Lier 1996), or to an idealized reduction of English varieties and who they supposedly 'belong' to (Kramsch and Sullivan 1996). However, one might further question the institutional personification of authenticity itself, namely, in the form of the native-speaking teacher. Conversation-for-learning, as set within the societal context described by Seargeant (2005a, 2005b), and staged against an institutional backdrop of English-only and topic pre-selection, arguably transcends the instrumental-relational dialectic of institutional discourse. It is the tension and interplay of staged normativity, institutionality and interculturality which will therefore be explored in the current research.

3. METHODOLOGY
AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.0. Introduction

My interest in problematizing the institutionalization of conversation between teacher and student arose out of personal experience of conversation-for-learning: at first, in the conversation lounge of a private language school, and later, at the private university in Japan which is the setting of the current research. While recognizing the potential acquisitional benefits to the learner of conversation practice in the 'target' language, I had often experienced difficulty making on-duty conversation, particularly in the case of unknown students. As this represented a commonly voiced frustration among colleagues, I was motivated to gain a better understanding of the interactional particularities which might hamper the more 'easy' flow of conversation when personally engaged with both the topic(s) of interaction and one's student-interlocutor(s).

The research was accordingly designed to generate data through the staging of conversation between students and teachers, within the pre-existing confines, however, of the conversation lounge in the given university setting. In addition to the interactional events which represent the primary source of data for analysis, it further draws on ethnographic methods of enquiry: namely, interviews with the teachers, and focus group discussions among the students. In the present chapter, I firstly explain the rationale for my research design, locating it within a qualitative research paradigm, before moving on to provide a description of the participants and setting, followed by an outline of my research procedures. I then discuss my approach towards discourse analysis, before finally elaborating on the process of data (re)presentation.

3.1. Rationale and methodological approach

Having developed the argument that conversation-for-learning presents a tension between the pursuit of institutional and relational goals in the previous chapter, it may now be apposite to formulate my main research questions, as follows:

o   In what ways do relationality and institutionality conflict in conversation-for-learning in the current context of research?

o   How is this manifest in the participants' negotiation of topic and expertise?

o   How are such tensions resolved by the teacher in interaction?

o   In what way does this impact on teacher self-definition in the supposedly conversational event?

o   What are the cultural implications of the teacher as foreigner in *eikaiwa*, or English conversation?

o   In what way is the issue of teacher authenticity of self of relevance to conversation-for-learning, as an interpersonal and intercultural event which is institutionally staged?

The 'given' of institutionalized conversation, or *eikaiwa*, is further problematized in my own research design which actually stages the conversations in the lounge, as will later be discussed (in Section 3.3.1.). The researcher is therefore placed at the heart of the project and its rationale. For this reason, the current section will foreground the issue of researcher reflexivity in relation to the methods of data generation adopted: the recorded conversations, the interviews, and the focus groups, before providing a more detailed description and discussion of the research procedures (in Sections 3.2. and 3.3.).

My research might be considered ethnographic in employing participant interviews in its description of the setting, although it differs, of course, from the classic scene of moving elsewhere and seeking to observe its inhabitants, with the aim of providing a maximally comprehensive description of their foreign, and exogamously indigenous, culture (Agar 1986, Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Having staged the interactional encounters myself, moreover, I am neither playing the part of an overtly detached nor covertly involved observer who has a minimal degree of influence over naturalistically occurring events. Nevertheless, my movement from the inside outwards might correspond to a more general trend within Linguistic Ethnography and Applied Linguistics, as noted by Rampton (2007: 590-591), whereby "the research process involves an overall shift from the inside moving outwards, *trying to get analytic distance* on what's close-at-hand, rather than a move from the outside inwards, *trying to get familiar* with the strange" (italics in original).

I consider my own 'analytic distance', however, to be just one part of a movement of contraction and expansion, as I narrow and broaden my focus of enquiry, while positioning myself as both insider and outsider within a qualitative process of research (cf. Rampton et al. 2002). This is furthermore grounded within a textual analysis of the primary interactional events, which themselves provide the interviews and focus groups with their focal points for discussion and extension. According to Rampton (2007: 596), "*ethnography opens linguistics up*", and "*linguistics (and linguistically sensitive discourse analysis) ties ethnography down*" (italics in original). My tripartite research design, which comprises interviews and focus group discussions in addition to the primary interactional events, is similarly intended to ethnographically 'open up' my discourse analysis to a wider institutionalized context of conversation-for-learning.

The methodological approach adopted in the current research falls within a qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research is often defined vis-à-vis its complementary counterpart, quantitative research, whose methods and procedures presuppose that the object of research can be measured as an

external reality, existing independently of both researcher and instrument. As the researcher slices reality into pre-conceived categories, which are encapsulated in definable and controllable variables, the outcomes, whatever they may be, consequently affirm the building blocks of his or her reality. The principles of quantitative research are often therefore thought to be exemplified in the objectivism of the natural sciences, which are correspondingly taken to represent the stronghold of positivism. Somewhat ironically, however, the smallest building blocks of matter, which represents our most tangible and seemingly objective reality, may not definably exist independently of experimental design and its instrument of measurement, that is, independently of its interaction with the researcher of sub-atomic physics. As such, "the observed system is required to be isolated in order to be defined, yet interacting in order to be observed" (Stapp 1971, cited by Capra 1982: 148). It has therefore been suggested that the word 'observer' be replaced with 'participator', as it no longer seems feasible for the scientist to claim the role of detached observer in quantum mechanics (Wheeler 1973, cited in Capra 1982: 153).

In qualitative enquiry the researcher is similarly seen as a participant, to varying degrees, within the generation, analysis, and representation of data - to a lesser degree in a naturalistic qualitative research paradigm, based on similar philosophical presuppositions to quantitative research, and to a greater extent in a progressive qualitative research paradigm (Holliday 2002). In the latter case, the object of enquiry represents both a construction by the participants and an interpretative process with which the researcher him- or herself is engaged. In other words, it is removed, to some extent, from an interconnected web of relations in order to be definable, yet 'interacting' to be understood.

The popular conceptualization of a multi-method approach as triangulation may, therefore, be incommensurable with a progressive approach to qualitative research, as it suggests that the same object is surveyed from the outside, albeit from different angles. The concept of crystallization has therefore been put forward as an alternative in postmodern writing, suggesting

a process of interpretation and representation which is multifaceted, as "crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves" (Richardson 2000: 934; see also Janesick 2000). The conceptualization of my research as crystallization is diagrammatically presented below:

DIAGRAM of CRYSTALLIZATION

Key

T = teacher, S = student, R = researcher

1. CONVERSATIONS

2. INTERVIEWS   3. FOCUS GROUPS
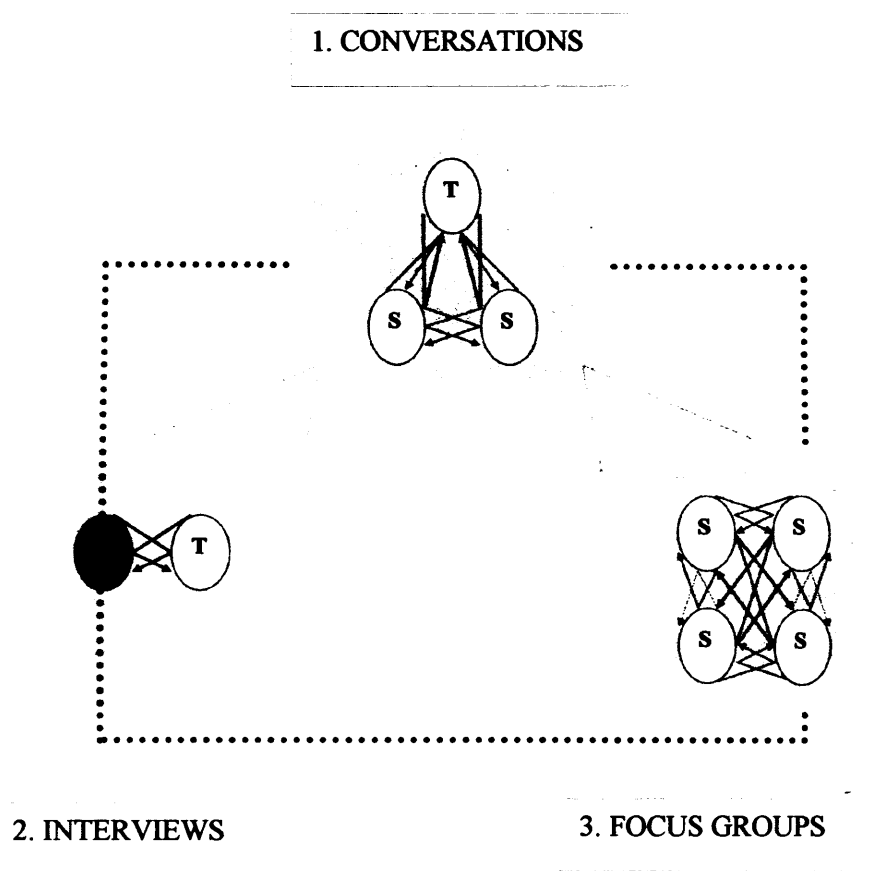
The diagram shows my three methods of data generation: firstly, the recorded 'conversations', for the most part involving a teacher and two student-participants; secondly, the interviews between the researcher and the teachers; and thirdly, the focus group discussions, in all but one case comprising four student participants (with no moderator). As shall be later discussed, the interviews (2.) and focus groups (3.) focus thematically on the interactional events (1.) - hence the arrows directed backwards from the interviews and

focus groups to the original 'conversations' (1.), and refracting back again to source. Those which refract among participants themselves, on the other hand, represent the co-construction of meaning and interpretive practice of sense-making in interaction with other participants. All of the arrows, taken together, therefore imply a reflexivity on the part of the participants, as they position themselves in their social world through their own interpretation of the primary interactional event (which is itself, of course, co-constructed). The reflexivity includes myself, the teacher-researcher, who is positioned in number 2. My interpretation of all bodies of data further circumscribes the process of research, which is, in turn, interpreted by you, the reader. In short, the diagram represents the object of study as process of research, hinging on the interaction of the participants themselves. Paralleling Richardson's (2000) analogy of crystallization, then, it reflects externalities of the situated context of interaction, and refracts within itself.

In a progressive qualitative research paradigm, the researcher openly acknowledges and embraces his or her role in the process of research. As an insider of the present site of research I was furthermore enabled to draw on my pre-existing knowledge and experience, much of which I shared with the research participants, and with which outsiders would ordinarily have needed to familiarize themselves. At the same time, however, it is necessary to remove oneself from what has correspondingly become implicit and normative within one's daily life world, for the purpose of analytic scrutiny and description. Researcher reflexivity, which represents the awareness of one's own positioning in the process of research and product of social representation, therefore removes the 'object' of research from 'out there', as an entity which can seemingly be defined independently of researcher, to one which is in interaction with him or her.

3.2. Participants and setting

My research took place in the English Language Unit (ELU) of a private Japanese university which specializes in the teaching of foreign languages, linguistics and intercultural studies. At the time of research, the ELU comprised English teachers affiliated to one of several university departments.

The ideology of the university, as represented in promotional media and materials, is to educate internationally-minded students by supporting the development of skills in intercultural communication along with cross-cultural awareness of diversity. At the same time the university articulates an aim to foster a deeper appreciation of Japanese culture and society.

The ELU provides the students with English-only proficiency and content-based courses which are integrated with the departmental curricula. As such, most of the courses are compulsory, and all of them credit-bearing. In keeping with the university's ideology of internationalism, the teachers are typically recruited from abroad to represent a breadth of nationals from various English-speaking countries, with the aim, therefore, of exposing students to a variety of Englishes. At the time of research, however, the vast majority of teachers in the unit originated from what Kachru has termed the 'Inner Circle', i.e. "the traditional bases of English – the regions where it is the primary language" (Kachru 1995: 12). The ELU teachers were all on fixed-term, non-renewable, lecturing contracts of three years. Education to at least Masters degree level in TESOL, or a related field, such as Applied Linguistics or Communication, represented a criterion of employment by the institution.

3.2.1. The teacher-participants

The information presented in this section was obtained from the teacher-participants in a simple questionnaire (see Appendix B-4). The 26 teachers who took part in the research originated from the following countries: USA (7), UK (7), Canada (5), Australia (4), New Zealand (1), South Africa (1), and the Republic of Ireland (1). At the time of research they had all gained more than a year's experience of living in Japan, with the longest resident having spent a total of over 12 years in Japan.[1] The average length of time was 5 years, with a median of 4.[2] Their self-report data of spoken Japanese proficiency, on a scale of 1 - 4 (from basic to proficient) is presented below. It

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[1] Length of stay in Japan was listed as a total and may have included separate periods of residence.

[2] Please note that this and the subsequent data exclude one of the teachers who did not complete a questionnaire or take part in an interview, but gave permission for his recorded interaction to be used in the research.

is intended to give a very general impression of proficiency, as self-report data are notoriously equivocal and do not represent a primary concern of the study. (Please see questionnaire in Appendix B-4 for descriptors, which were kept basic for the same reason.)

Table 3.2.1.(a) Teachers' self-reported Japanese proficiency

Japanese Proficiency band	1	2	3	4
No. of teachers	4	7	7	7

In 18 cases the teachers had prior experience of living in countries other than Japan and their own place of origin: namely, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, Hungary, Spain, Greece, Italy, Germany, Poland, El Salvador and Argentina, as well as other foreign English-speaking countries, representing the home countries of their colleagues within the ELU.

At the time of research the teacher-participants fell within the following age ranges, with none of them under the age of 26, or over the age of 40.

Table 3.2.1.(b) Teachers' age range

Age range	26-30	31-35	36-40
No. of teachers	7	13	5

3.2.2. The student-participants

Prior to engaging in the present research activity, the students had also completed a simple questionnaire, from which the following information has been derived (see Appendix C-6 for the questionnaire). The 53 students who took part in the research were all Japanese nationals who were studying English as their major at the university. They comprised 43 females and 10 males, between the ages of 19-21. 34 students had been to the following English-speaking countries: USA (18), Australia (11), UK (9), New Zealand (4), Canada (3), Singapore (2), India (1), Malaysia (1). For the most part, the

total period of time spent at the places listed represented less than a month. However, 7 students had spent a considerable period of time living in an English-speaking country, i.e.10 months or more.[3]

As sophomore English majors in their second semester, the students had all studied English for more than 1½ years at university, and, as the norm, for six years prior to that at junior and senior high school. As the present research does not concern itself with the proficiency of the learner, there is no attempt here to categorize the students by means of language ability.

3.2.3. The conversation lounge

The conversation lounge itself represents an open-planned space with sofas and coffee tables, bordering onto a self-access area. It houses some magazines and newspapers, a games unit, and a couple of television screens. Teachers are scheduled to be 'on duty' in the lounge for set periods of time of 1 or 1 ½ hours, and it is attended throughout the day and week, with two or three teachers ordinarily present at the same time. Its primary institutional aim is to provide an informal, English-only environment in which students can come and go freely, relax, and make conversation with on-duty teachers. In a document which outlines details of conversation lounge duty to the teachers, the institution specifies that the interaction should be informal and non-prescriptive. In addition, students are frequently assigned to go to the lounge by their teachers, who integrate its use within their course syllabuses, for example, as in the case of 'speaking journals', in which the students provide written summaries of conversations they have had with on-duty teachers. Moreover, freshmen ordinarily take part in an orientation, which includes the on-site completion of tasks, as part of a compulsory integrated skills course.

Guidelines provided to both the teachers and the students, independently, stress that the conversation lounge is an English-only environment in which one is expected to make active conversation. In the case of the teacher, this includes projecting a positive and encouraging image, while the students are

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[3] 10 months is here classed as the starting point of a 'considerable' length of stay, as there were no students who listed any periods between 3 and 10 months. In potentially representing the sum of repeat visits, 3 months has not been considered 'considerable'.

informed that they are required to initiate conversation. In addition, they are advised to select topics of interaction prior to approaching a teacher, with a list of suggestions including life in the teachers' countries of origin, their experiences of living in Japan, and travel. Promotional materials further stress that students can come and talk to teachers from all over the world.

In the same questionnaire, the students were asked what they thought the main purpose of the lounge was (see Appendix C-6).[4] Their responses overwhelmingly concerned the improvement of their English proficiency, and in particular, the development of speaking and communication skills. In many cases practice in spoken English was furthermore related to its use with a native-speaking teacher, and learning about the foreign cultures of the teachers also featured on many of their lists. In addition, the lounge was seen by some as a fun, English-speaking environment to relax in. While many of the students mentioned its more instrumental use in order to ask the teachers specific questions, or to help with a given task or problem, a relational orientation was at the same time evident in several responses which intimated 'getting to know' the teacher.

The students' self-reported frequency of usage of the lounge, is presented below. (Please see Appendix C-6 for clarification of descriptors.)

Table 3.2.3. Self-reported frequency of student usage of the conversation lounge

Very frequently	Frequently	Quite frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
2	5	9	19	15	2

As can be seen, the majority of students fell within the 'sometimes' and 'rarely' categories, while relatively few had 'very frequently' or 'frequently'

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[4] As Question 6 was an open question to which the students' responses were freely articulated, the results are not systematically or numerically presented. They were collated and coded by the researcher in order to gain an overview and provide a general impression of student perspective in the description of the lounge.

made use of the lounge. It should be borne in mind that some, or many of them, may primarily have visited the lounge through its integration by teachers with their course syllabuses.

3.3. Tripartite design and procedures

As has been seen, the research draws on three bodies of data: the recorded interaction set in the conversation lounge, which represents the primary source; and the interviews and focus groups, which are considered secondary, as they relate to the primary events and their situated context of interaction.

The research comprises the following audio-recorded data:

26 'conversations' between 26 teachers and 51 students

(duration = c. 7hrs 30 mins in total, with interaction ranging from c.10 mins to c.30 mins)

25 interviews with teachers who participated in the 'conversations'

(duration of interviews = c. 40 – 70 mins; excludes one teacher who was unable to participate)

13 focus group discussions among 53 student-participants

(duration of focus groups = c. 35 – 70 mins; includes 2 additional students who participated in a conversation for which I was unable to gain teacher consent, but who were nevertheless allowed to participate in the focus group discussions with their peers)

The student-participants were selected on the grounds that they were enrolled in two of my sophomore Oral Communication classes, which enabled me to integrate the activity within my course syllabus, without unnecessarily having to involve other teachers. Moreover, having already spent a year-and-a-half at the institution, they had become acclimatised to its norms and practices. As they were in the second semester of their sophomore course, they had further gained a certain degree of confidence in their spoken language ability and had previously participated in recorded activities as part of their coursework. For

this reason, I hoped that they might feel less self-conscious about engaging in recorded interaction with the teachers. I had also informed them that the activity would not be assessed.

The teacher-participants, on the other hand, were selected as their duty times coincided with the students' free periods, which were few and far between. The events were also planned so that there would be no 'repeat performances', that is, with different students by the same teachers, who might have grown weary of the 'conversations' (or suffered from 'conversation fatigue'). This allowed for a greater number of teacher-participants and wider variety of cultural backgrounds, which I hoped might enrich the experience for the students in their follow-up discussions, and ultimately, the research data themselves. Despite being pre-planned, therefore, the selection of teachers was largely unmotivated, as it was based on logistical and methodologically arbitrary grounds.

The students were assigned to go to the conversation lounge and record a 10-15 minute 'conversation' with one of the on-duty teachers. On approaching the teacher, they were told to ask permission to record a conversation with him or her as an assigned activity for their Oral Communication class. They had the option of attending one of two scheduled duty times within a two-week period. All of the teachers of the ELU had been informed in a circular that they might be approached by some of my students for the purpose of recording a 'conversation' as part of their coursework for Oral Communication during the given period. In it, I informed the teachers that I might put the recordings to future use in my personal research, upon obtaining further consent from them at a later date. The students were similarly informed of its potential use in my private research, provided they likewise consented. (Please see Section 3.3.2. for further details of ethics and participant consent.)

For the activity, the students were paired up with a classmate with the intention of allaying any unease they might feel about approaching the specified teacher. As such, the dialogues were predominantly triadic, i.e. teacher-student (1:2), with the exception of one dyadic 'conversation'

resulting from student absence.[5] In all but two cases, the teachers and students were unknown to one another, although the students may have come across, or heard of, the teachers through institutional events and discussions with their peers. Having already attended at least one semester in the same course, they were all familiar, to varying degrees, with their partners. While the activity was integrated with the sophomore Oral Communication syllabus as a semester project, the students were not informed of specific plans for later engagement with it in classroom practice. (The recorded conversations subsequently served as material for listening comprehension and metapragmatic tasks and discussions. Further details of the syllabus itself are considered irrelevant to the present research, however, as they were unknown to the participants at the time of the primary interactional event.)

The student preparation for the activity was kept to a bare minimum to avoid prescribing interaction, beyond, that is, the constraints already institutionally manifest in other pre-existing teaching materials and directions. To sum up, the students practised selecting their own topics and making conversation among themselves in class, having initially completed the questionnaire designed to elicit basic details of the student population, and to stimulate student reflection on the purpose of the lounge. The preparation echoed institutional guidelines in advising them to think up topics prior to approaching the teacher and to be 'active' in the speech event.[6]

3.3.1. The staging of conversations

The 'conversations' were staged as an assigned activity which was integrated within the students' Oral Communication course. As such, they are not what might ordinarily be presented as naturalistically occurring. As Richards (2006: 57) argues, "the instruction to 'have a conversation' belongs in a special category of self-defeating injunctions which includes 'act naturally' or 'be spontaneous'" (cf. Seedhouse 2004: 70). However, I consider a certain degree

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[5] At times during the conversations there were other 'guest appearances' by teachers or students who happened by. This relates to the nature of the setting, and can thus be taken as an indication of the research being to some degree 'authentically' staged, as discussed in the following section (3.3.1.).

[6] Although some expressions were included in the materials to help students make topical transitions during the in-class activity, they were not put to use by the students in their recorded interaction with the teachers, and are not as such referred to here.

of stagedness to be inherent in the interactional design of conversation-for-learning itself, which Kasper has classed in its various forms as 'elicited discourse', namely, "interactions arranged for the purposes of (second) language learning, assessment, or research" (2004: 554). In the conversation lounge in which the primary research events took place, interaction between on-duty teachers and students might always, then, be considered staged to varying degrees: the teachers are institutionally scheduled to be at that particular time and place for the very purpose of conversation-making, and in the scripted role, therefore, of engaging in unscripted interaction. Although the students might ordinarily be free to come and go as they choose, the use of the lounge is often integrated within their class syllabuses, in which case both the teacher and student are 'naturalistically', or by pedagogic design which is normative to the institutional context, compelled to engage in conversation.

The conversation activity was staged for a pedagogic purpose; however, it was simultaneously designed to potentially inform my subsequent research. While this might be considered to present an openly acknowledged ulterior motive, it was not a superior one, as I was at the time employed as a teacher at the institution. It therefore merely served a dual purpose, or differing ends. As such, the research is both semi-natural, as a pedagogically staged encounter, and quasi-experimental, in generating data for research. It might be considered more naturalistic, or less experimental, than interaction among unacquainted interlocutors which takes place for the sole purpose of research, and is set in a laboratory (see, for example, Maynard and Zimmerman 1984[7]); or than interaction which is staged for the primary purpose of research, but with real-life, getting-to-know-you potential for the participants, due to an impending engagement with a common social network, and set in a more informal environment (see Svennevig 1999). On the other hand, it might be less naturalistic, or more experimental, than research involving recordings of independently staged events, as in Mori's study of interculturality in a first-time encounter between Japanese and American students (Mori 2003).

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[7] Please note that Maynard and Zimmerman's (1984) research involved both interaction between unacquainted and acquainted interlocutors.

In their comparative discussion of experimental and naturalistic research designs of interaction, Roger and Bull (1988), however, consider the reason for interaction to be the most pertinent factor in its apparent, and relative, authenticity or artificiality, thereby overriding other considerations such as setting, or selection of participants. In the present research, the participants had a 'real' reason for engaging in talk. For the students it represented an assigned activity as part of their Oral Communication syllabus, with a focus therefore on the practice and development of communication skills. In addition, they had a potential future investment in the exchange, as they could continue to visit the conversation lounge at the teachers' scheduled duty times, independently of their course curricula. While it might be considered a rather ill-defined conversation task, this could itself be characteristic of conversation-for-learning (cf. Kasper 2004) and the staging of seemingly 'free' conversation, more generally, as a pedagogic event. For the teachers, on the other hand, it was part of their 'duty' to make conversation, over and above the particularities of the present research design.

Kasper and Rose (2002: 79-80) draw the distinction that "authentic discourse is motivated and structured by participants' rather than by the researcher's goals". However, to what extent the participants' goals are freely defined by themselves, and to what degree they coincide with institutional norms and practices is a complex issue, further compounded by the commonly assumed role of the teacher him- or herself as researcher. Whether the student-participants' goals are entirely self-motivated and self-governed is open to question, even within a learner-centred curriculum (see Nunan 1988, Tudor 1993, 1996 on learner-centredness).

The question of what represents a typical conversation was itself discussed at length by students in the following focus group discussion, in response to whether they considered their recorded interaction to be typical of conversation lounge interaction more generally.

FG, Card 7, Q7

(Please see Section 3.7. for clarification of reference codes and transcription norms.)

S1(f)	it wasn't a general conversation, was it?
S2(m)	I don't think it was a general conversation[
S3(f)	[no (.) *un* ((agreement))
S4(f)	why? why not?
S3(f)	at the beginning[
S2(m)	[from the start we had to make conversation because we were told to
S4(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S2(m)	it wasn't a normal conversation, was it? because we tried to talk about something
S4(f)	*un* ((thoughtful))
S1(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S3(f)	also because our conversation partner was a teacher
	[...]
S1(f)	*eh?* ((sudden thought))
	as a first-time conversation, it wasn't untypical, was it?
S3(f)	*ah, ah* ((realization))
S1(f)	if we do it many times it will become it
	[...]
S2(m)	how about you, [S3]?
S3(f)	I think that it was a typical conversation, between student and teacher. It wasn't between [Brett][8] and us (.) between student and teacher
(.)	
S3(f)	what is it?
S1(f)	sorry, what do you mean?
S3(f)	oh well, I don't know
S4(f)	what it is
S3(f)	anyway, what does a non-typical conversation mean?
S4(f)	it's like a plastic conversation, isn't it?
S3(f)	sorry? so ((laughing))
(.)	
S4(f)	but it wasn't all like that
S2(m)	I think so too, everyone got used to it in the end
S4(f)	yes, at first, everyone greeted each other and asked about [the teacher's] hometown
S3(f)	*ah* ((thinking))
S2(m)	oh, that sounds typical
S4(f)	it was typical, wasn't it?
S1(f)	personally, when I go to the [conversation lounge] and see an unknown teacher for the first time, I ask that
S3(f)	it's a fixed phrase, isn't it?
S4(f)	*un* ((agreement/ thinking))
S1(f)	*un* ((agreement/ thinking))
S1(f)	it isn't particularly a fixed phrase, but as a subject, I ask "where do you come from?"
S4(f)	but depending on the situation, whether you meet a teacher for the first time or not, the meaning of "typical" will change, won't it?
S?(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S4(f)	yes
S2(m)	if one says "typical"[
S4(f)	[it is typical, I think

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[8] Brett = pseudonym for teacher

S2(m)	*un* ((thoughtful))
	I don't get it, it's started to get complicated
S4(f)	okay, the important point is, if you see each other more and more, it will
	become more conversational, won't it? agreed?
Ss	((laughter))

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

Initially the students comment on the set up of the interaction as the reason for it not being a general conversation, since they *had to* take part in it and *try to* talk about something. However, another student mentions that to her it appeared untypical for the reason that the conversation partner was a teacher. Although the question to which the students are here responding referred to its typicality by comparison with other non-arranged (or lesser-arranged) conversations in the lounge, she therefore extends the notion of typicality to the practice of conversation making more generally; that is, with people who are not teachers. She then mentions that it *was* typical as a teacher-student conversation: it took place between the teacher and them, but not between Brett and them.

It becomes apparent as the conversation progresses that the students consider their interaction typical as a first-time encounter, particularly in terms of formulaic greetings and the initial topic of the teacher's place of origin and hometown. However, conversation between acquainted interlocutors is presented as more typical, perhaps as the repetition of events in itself underpins the notion of typicality. The segment, therefore, illustrates that the participants question what is typical, as well as authentic, since an untypical conversation is suggested by one of them to be 'plastic', or artificial. The points raised in this focus group segment represent recurrent themes throughout the thesis: to what extent do the teachers play 'themselves', i.e. a non-institutionally defined self, and to what extent do they play 'the teacher' in staged conversation-making? How do the need for a topic to talk about and its pre-selection by the students affect the participants' sense of conversational authenticity? And how does the topical focus on the teacher's place of origin impinge on the apparent conversationality of the event?

Similar to the focus group segment above, the student- and teacher-participants responded overwhelmingly that the recorded conversation was typical of conversation lounge interaction; in particular, of first-time encounters and the topics discussed. However, several teachers also mentioned that the recording may have presented a constraint on interaction on the part of the students, while very few of the students themselves mentioned that they had felt nervous because of the recording, perceiving their language ability to have presented the major constraint. Other teachers mentioned that the set up was itself typical, as students frequently visited the lounge for the purpose of completing an assigned task. Furthermore, many of them commented that the interaction seemed typical in its very conversational atypicality.

The potential constraints of the research design should, nevertheless, be borne in mind. It is necessary at this point to reiterate that the research is not claimed to represent 'conversation lounge interaction' *per se*, due to its obvious design by myself, as teacher-researcher. On the other hand, given the diverse goals and nature of the use of the lounge, such interaction might be difficult to subsume under one particular 'genre' of interaction, "which indexes prior situational contexts and their constituent elements (e.g., settings, participant roles and structures, scenarios, goals and outcomes, etc.)" (Bauman 2001: 80); or else as one particular 'activity type' with the same goal-based constraints and 'allowable contributions' (Levinson 1979). In the current research context, the recording of the research events may, for example, have presented a certain kind of constraint, although its real interactional effects on the participants remain to a large extent unknown, perhaps even to themselves. This represents the 'observer's paradox' (Labov 1972), whereby the presence of the observer in itself affects talk as the object of research, which cannot, paradoxically, be observed in his or her absence (similarly, therefore, to the quantum physicist). Even where the researcher is not present, as in the current research design, the participants may therefore be aware of his or her presence as a potential future listener of the recorded interaction, or a physically and temporally displaced 'bystander' (Goffman 1981). One can argue that the recording is forgotten by the participants, or that the degree of awareness or self-consciousness is lessened as the interaction progresses and they become

more and more engaged with both topic and their interlocutor(s). Or one can even argue that by drawing attention to the recording or research design at the outset of interaction, the participants bring it to the forefront, thereby airing its potentially inhibiting effects (see Svennevig 1999). Short of not informing the participants of the recording, with consequent ethical implications, it would ultimately appear impossible to observe interaction with which one does not oneself in some shape, form or measure 'interact' as researcher. However, I attempted to mitigate the potentially inhibiting effects of the recording somewhat by arranging for the students to audio-record the interaction with portable MD players, which I considered to be less intrusive than video-recording equipment. (The resulting loss of audio-visual data is further discussed in Section 3.7.).

3.3.2. Ethical concerns and participant consent

Before the period of data gathering I had gained permission from the then Acting Director, and subsequent Director, of the ELU to stage interaction in the conversation lounge for potential use as research data. I have since made email contact with him, asking whether he has any interest, or concerns, about the research and would like to be kept informed of developments and results. As has been discussed, the teachers themselves had been informed at the time of the primary interactional events that they might subsequently be used for my own research, pending consent at a later date. (To recap: an email had initially been sent to them in which they were advised that they might be approached, whilst on duty, by my Oral Communication students, asking permission to record a conversation with them.) After the teachers had taken part in the recorded interaction, I advised them in a later email that I had provisionally been accepted onto a PhD programme and would subsequently be seeking their permission to make use of the recording in my discourse analytic research. I explained that I was intending to examine it from the point of view of teacher-student informal interaction which takes place as an institutional event, yet outside the classroom, with my research generally falling within the scope of intercultural pragmatics.

I later approached the teachers requesting initial permission orally for use of the recordings and further asked them whether they might be willing to take part in an interview, which would focus on the interaction and the context within which this was staged. The interviews then took place several months later, at the end of the second semester. At that time, the teachers were formally asked to sign a participant consent form, at which point two options were made available to them: one in which they consented to being recorded in the interview, and one in which they agreed to the non-recorded use of the interview data. As all of the participants consented to being recorded, the former is provided in Appendix B-3. The participant consent form seeks to address ethical concerns by ensuring that access to the original recordings is restricted to the researcher herself, that the name of the participants are not disclosed and identifying information excluded or replaced. It also acknowledges the provision of prior consent by the participants to use their recorded interaction for my research. The participants signed two copies, one of which was retained by them and which includes the researcher's contact email in the case that they wish to follow up the research. After the interview, the participants all agreed to complete a basic questionnaire, mainly serving the purpose of research population description (see Appendix B-4). Finally, the teachers were thanked in an email for their participation at the end of the data gathering period, at which time they were also given further details about the research and asked whether they would like to be informed of the progress and results.

Turning to the students, permission was similarly sought to use the recordings of their 'conversations' as data for research on teacher-student interaction. At the same time they were asked whether they would be willing to take part in focus group discussions in Japanese with regard to the interactional event. These then took place a couple of months following the original 'conversations'. They were held during class time due to logistical concerns of having to book facilities and recording equipment, with the students having been advised that they could opt out of the activity, as alternative study and self-access options were available. None of them chose to do so, however. They had also been reassured that the focus groups would not in any way be assessed as part of the Oral Communication programme. The students were

also asked to sign participant consent forms prior to taking part in the focus group discussions. In these they agreed that the original recorded interaction, the recordings of their focus group discussions, and their questionnaire could be used for my personal research, with access to the recordings restricted to myself and my research assistant(s) (see Appendix C-5). Having been provided with my personal contact details, they were also encouraged to approach me with any questions, concerns or interest they might have with regard to the research. These arrangements represented an attempt on my part to put the students at their ease so that they might or might not take part in the research, and that they might feel able to voice their opinions as freely as possible under the circumstances.

As further concerns the ethics of research, I have used my discretion in the selection of which primary interactional data, and interview and focus group quotes to include in the thesis. As the participants, including myself, were all affiliated to the institution, I have taken care to exclude what might be considered sensitive information, such as personal comments with regard to students, teachers, faculty and any overt critique of the institution itself. The project of problematization of the current research is considered to represent a critically insightful view of the practice of institutionalizing conversation between teacher and student more generally, while centering on the researcher-assigned task, as contexted within the conversation lounge of the relevant institution in Japan. It is not in any way intended to be unduly critical of either the institution or the participants, to whom I am, of course, grateful for their support of my research.

3.3.3. Interviews with the teachers

The interviews took place between myself and the teachers several months following the recorded 'conversations', at the end of the second semester. Although this represented the most convenient time, as teaching commitments had ground to a halt and the participants were more readily available to take part in the interviews, I also thought that the passing of time might heighten reflexivity of the teacher-participants, by temporally removing them from the

given event: the interviews were not intended to be retrospective, but reflexively introspective. In other words, they are not taken to represent a reflective account of what the teachers supposedly remember themselves doing and why they did it; they present a means for the participants to reflexively position themselves within their own interpretive rendering of the transcribed interaction and its situated context. The interviews were therefore designed to gain greater depth of ethnographic insight by means of participant representations which are 'con-texted' with the primary interactional events; that is, positioned with, or relative to, the transcripts of the staged 'conversations' themselves.

The interviews followed a semi-structured format: they were conducted with the aid of a guide containing pre-formulated topics and model questions, whose sequential order was loosely, however, adhered to in order to accommodate the participants' flow of talk within the structure of the interviews (Denscombe 1998, Kvale 1996). (See Appendix B-2 for the interview guide.) They took place in multi-purpose rooms which had been booked for individual use during a one-month period, and were audio-recorded, having initially been piloted among teachers who did not take part in the research 'proper', but had participated in dummy 'conversations' with volunteer students from another Oral Communication course. The teachers were first asked for permission to record the interviews and to sign participant consent forms (see Appendix B-3). They were then given simplified transcripts of their interaction to read through, after which they were asked to talk about any general impressions they had on reading it. I then proceeded to make my way, flexibly, through the guide, predominantly asking open-ended questions. Although I did not point to any specifics in the transcript, the teachers continued to make reference to it throughout. Any interview quotes presented in the thesis which themselves contain quotes from, or references to, the original 'conversations', were therefore freely selected by the teacher-participants. While the interview dialogues were, of course, co-constructed between the teachers and myself as interviewer (Grinsted 2005), I attempted by these means to maintain some degree of ethnographic primacy of participant voices.

The transcripts served as a reflexive stimulus in the research events, and were favoured over playback sessions as they were assumed to further remove the participants from the actual events, due to the change of modality, which it was thought might encourage greater reflexive awareness. As such, they differ fundamentally from stimulated recall in verbal protocols, which has become increasingly popular as an attempted means of uncovering cognitive processes in a variety of research contexts and disciplines (Ericsson and Simon 1984, 1985). As these are intended to illuminate "mentalistic strategies" (Cohen 1998: 12) which are not observable from the data themselves, they are often staged immediately following the event, or relatively soon afterwards, in order to facilitate recall, and hence validate research claims (Egi 2004, Gass and Mackey 2000, Kasper and Rose 2002, Mullock 2006, Robinson 1991). By contrast, my interviews took place after a considerable period of time had lapsed, and the teachers were, conversely, informed that they did not have to remember any particulars of the event at the beginning of the interview.[9] While most of them did comment on what they thought they were doing by reference to their transcript, and such potential motives are therefore included in my ethnographic discussions which follow the micro-analysis of primary interactional data, they are not claimed to be 'the real thing'.

The questions either therefore focussed on the teachers' interpretation of the transcribed interaction, or on the external context. As can be seen from the interview guide (Appendix B-2), they shifted gradually from more general impressions of the interaction, to accounts of student-teacher relations, to perceived constraints and issues of impression management, and finally to perceptions of wider institutional and cultural norms. (Please note that while the interview guide provides examples of responses, these were intended as clarification prompts where needed, and they were avoided where possible, in order not to 'lead' the teachers.)

My ongoing working relationship with the teachers meant that it was not feasible for me to step completely out of 'character' by formally playing the

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[9] I did, however, ask the teachers whether they thought they had been previously acquainted with the students, which I then tallied against the students' accounts in their focus groups.

impersonal interviewer, and our existing rapport can be gauged, to varying degrees, in the interview quotes integrated within the body of the thesis. From an objectivist standpoint, where interviewing represents one method of triangulation of an external object, this might be considered to contaminate the research events; however, it is consonant with the qualitative interpretive nature of the present research. It may further have served to put the teacher-participants at ease, as they appeared to voice their opinions quite freely, and were happy to disagree with my reformulations and recapitulations when perceived as inaccurate or inadequate, or to question my questions, when considered ambivalent or ambiguous.

3.3.4. Focus group discussions among the students

By contrast with the interviews between the teacher-participants and myself as researcher, the focus groups discussions took place among the students themselves in Japanese, about two months after the primary interactional events. Focus groups ordinarily involve small group discussions in which participants are asked to 'focus' on specific issues (Vaughn et al. 1996). As the elicited data are interactively generated among the participants, it is often considered a useful method of gaining insight into topical views which are co-constructed by means of a dynamic process of "collective sense-making" (Wibeck et al. 2007: 249). As such, focus group discussions in educational contexts can offer teachers a valuable opportunity to observe student opinion in action, as crafted among peers (see, for example, Vaughn et al. 1996). They present a colourful array of dissenting and harmonizing voices, which reflect and construct the shifting perspectives of the individual participants, as they adopt and modify their stances on a given topic within the collective group (Myers 1998, Zorn et al. 2006). In the qualitative research paradigm the purpose of focus groups is not, then, to ascertain an aggregate of contained participant views, as in a positivist tradition of their use (Zorn et al. 2006).

Striking an ecological balance in interaction may rest on both homogeneity, which is thought to encourage the exchange of ideas (Jarrett 1993), and heterogeneity of participant composition, the latter of which is taken to

illuminate the topical views in focus, or under construction (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999). It might therefore be considered a focussed reflection of communication more generally, underpinned as it is by the tension between sameness and difference, between self and other, which fuels the dynamics of interaction. While in the present research homogeneity is rife, as all of the participants can be classed as Japanese sophomore students of a similar age, enrolled in the same course at the same university, the topical reference to the primary recorded interaction ensures a heterogeneity of differentiated focus events, and hence of participant experience.

What I am here referring to as 'focus group (discussion)' differs, however, from what might prototypically be classed as such, for the reason that it does not include a moderator, who is listed by Vaughn et al. (2006) as one of the usual core elements in its definition. In the present research the moderator's role was replaced, at least in part, by the use of instructions and card prompts. As Kitzinger and Barbour (1999) define them:

> Focus groups are distinguished from the broader category of group interviews by the explicit use of group interaction to generate data. Instead of asking questions of each person in turn, focus group researchers encourage participants to talk to one another. (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999: 4; see also Kitzinger 1994)

The current research design may take such encouragement a step further, as the removal of the moderator might be expected to safeguard interaction among the student-participants (unless they sit in silence, or engage with themselves in monologues). Moderators primarily serve in a guiding capacity and themselves follow an interview guide, correspondingly directing the interaction to remain faithful to its 'focussed' design, while allowing the necessary flexibility for the participants to co-construct their opinions in interaction with one another. In the present context of research, however, it was felt that the presence of a moderator might have inhibited the responses of the students, that is, over and beyond the minimal directing and stemming of interactional flow required to maintain the 'focus', while they might further have looked to him or her for support (see Wibeck et al. 2007).

Similarly to the teachers, the student-participants took part in a discussion involving transcripts of their recorded interaction, an initial version of which they had compiled themselves as part of their Oral Communication coursework. Unlike the teachers, they had therefore previously listened to the recordings of their own interaction. Within the context of focus group discussions, the transcripts served a similar function to stimulus materials, such as images, articles, etc., which are commonly used to spark discussion among participants (Kitzinger 1994, Wibeck et al. 2007). The groups predominantly comprised two pairs of students, who had correspondingly experienced two different 'conversational events'. The focus groups were piloted among students from another Oral Communication class who had taken part in a dummy 'conversation' with another teacher, whereby the effectiveness of the card prompts to stimulate discussion was evaluated, and after which revisions were made to the question design.

On two separate occasions each class, one composed of 7 groups of students and one comprising 6, was provided with MD recorders and envelopes containing transcripts of their recorded interactions, a set of instructions and card prompts with questions. (Please see Appendices C-1 for Japanese instructions, C-2 for English instructions, and C-3 for card prompts in Japanese with English translations.) These were designed so that the students would monitor their own interaction while making their way through the prompts, which may have served to 'focus' what might otherwise have become a rather aimless group discussion.[10] The students were told beforehand to first read the instructions and then systematically make their way through the cards one by one. After clarifying some terms of reference used in the prompts, they were left to their own devices in individual multipurpose rooms which had been booked for the 1 ½ hour period, with the option of coming to find me at a nearby location in the event of any difficulties, which did not, however, occur.

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[10] Leaderless discussion groups tend to be for the sociological purpose of observing the roles the participants play in completion of the task (Vaughn et al. 2006), and are not therefore taken to present an accurate description of the current research events.

The focus group questions were similar to those of the teachers' interviews, in aiming to elucidate the participants' interpretations of the transcribed interaction. However, as has been seen, my research methods to this end differ quite considerably in their means. This is due to the different institutional relation obtaining between myself and the teachers on the one hand, and myself and the students on the other. As the focus of research lies primarily with the teachers, moreover, they are individualized in research, while the students are methodologically collectivized as a 'body'. Nevertheless, the resulting data are dealt with in a similar way to the interviews. That is to say, they are not taken as a transparent reflection of what transpired in the primary event, but as a representation of student interpretations of the transcribed interaction and its situated context of use.

3.4. The underpinnings of analysis: language, context and agency

The current approach to discourse is included in my discussion of methodology, as it is perceived to be intertwined with my reflexive positioning in the research, from the point of view of the progressive qualitative stance adopted at the outset of the chapter. The interrelationship of language, context and agency, and the way in which the researcher positions him- or herself in representing the nexus, is arguably central to the methodology of any project of interactional analysis. In anticipation of the following discourse analytic focus, I will therefore start by outlining a general view of language, context and agency which is concurrent with my approach to identity, or self, as touched upon in Chapter 1, and elaborated on in Chapter 2.

To start with, it can be assumed that language and context are in a reflexive relationship, as language both reflects and constructs its context of use, although the matter of degree is invariably tied up with human agency: to what extent are we free to define our seemingly external reality through the creative use of linguistic tools, and to what extent do pre-existing linguistic and social structures inhibit our ability to renew, or neologize, our contexted reality? To some degree we can speak our social reality into existence, as in

the well-known case of the pragmatics of performatives, such as pronouncing a couple 'man and wife'; however, for the words to be spoken to the intended effect, they must satisfy certain felicity conditions of which the people and circumstances form part (Austin [1962] 1999; see also Allen 1998). These rest on predefined social roles, shaped by pre-existing power relations. That is to say, "the change of status has to be conventionally ratified, on behalf of society, by a qualified agent" (Laver 1981: 291-292).

Giddens (1982: 198-9) asserts that "anyone who participates in a social relationship, forming part of a social system produced and reproduced by its constituent actors over time, necessarily sustains some control over the character of that relationship or system". His 'structuration' approach therefore implies a dynamic between agency and structure, allowing for both the reproduction of apparent stasis and its transformation through the 'reflexive monitoring' of the actors, who are nevertheless constrained by the social structures produced through prior and repeated acts of agency (Giddens 1984). Structuration's 'duality of structure', whereby neither structure nor agency can determine the other, implies that the macro-perspective cannot be explained without examining micro-level activity, the sum of which does not in itself, however, constitute the macro-whole. The history of repeated acts of agency in institutions builds a structure which is therefore to some degree autonomous, as it pre-dates situated acts of communication (Layder 1985). Despite the apparent manifesting power of agency, it is questionable, therefore, whether social actors can be fully and reflexively aware of structure in its entirety, as well as their own role within it (Giddens 1984).

The supposedly emancipatory project of critical discourse analysts, in which they seek to uncover hidden power relations, in fact presupposes that social actors take structure as a given, as the agendas of dominant parties are naturalized and mediated through 'ideologies', i.e. assumptions which are "implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware" (Fairclough 1989: 2; see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) therefore assumes that the micro-analysis of interactional data cannot provide an adequate account of the social dimension of language use, thereby calling

into question methodological empiricism which is firmly rooted in the detail of talk (Fairclough 2004), such as that of CA. Such argumentation may, however, be in part-defence of practices of discourse analysis which liberally transcend what conversation analysts might consider to be empirically evidenced in the data themselves (see, for example, Billig 1999a, 1999b, Schegloff 1999a, 1999b).

Ethnographers, on the other hand, stress the importance of looking beyond text to the setting and the organizational conditions of its use (Duranti 1997, Goodwin and Duranti 1992). Hymes' (1972a) S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. mnemonic provides a contextual framework by which to define a speech event in and beyond its linguistic detail. A knowledge of the relevant 'speaking' culture, as gained by participant observation, is therefore a precondition in the description of its component parts.[11] The sociologist Cicourel, who has combined field research, such as the observation of organizational settings and the examination of documentation, with the analysis of interactional data, has further criticized the narrow view of CA for failing to take wider and pre-existing constraints of language use into account (Davies and Mehan 2007, Heller 2007). As Cicourel (1992) himself puts it:

> "Verbal interaction is related to the task at hand. Language and other social practices are interdependent. Knowing something about the ethnographic setting, the perception of and characteristics attributed to others, and broader and local social organizational conditions becomes imperative for an understanding of linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communicative events." (Cicourel 1992: 294)

However, research methodology does not merely embody an epistemology of what is known and knowable to the researcher, but of what can be shown to be done by the participants, and hence at some level of consciousness to be known by or between them. The question thus presents itself 'whose context' it is, namely, the analyst's or the participants' (Schegloff 1997a). Proponents of CA claim that they are showing what is 'relevant to' the participants, namely, what they have demonstrated to each other in the course of their interaction, which is also therefore visible to the researcher (e.g. Antaki and

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[11] The S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model stands for setting/scene, participants (including speaker/addressee roles), ends, act (sequences), key (tone), instrumentalities (channel/medium), norms of interaction and genres. Please refer to Hymes (1972a) for further elaboration and clarification of terms.

Widdicombe 1998, Drew and Heritage 1992, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, Pomerantz and Fehr 1997, Schegloff 1991, 1992a, 1992b, Silverman 1998, Ten Have 1999). This results in a focus on the sequentiality of talk through the conversational machinery of the turn-taking system, underpinned by a set of rules which accounts for speaker selection and transition (Sacks et al. 1978). As such, it can be shown that the participants' utterances are both context-shaped by that which precedes them, and context-renewing in their projection of the next action (Heritage 1984). As context is 'procedurally consequential' (Schegloff 1991), it is an emergent quality which is intrinsic to the given text itself.

As Schegloff argues:

> "[T]he search for context properly begins with the talk or other conduct being analyzed [...] Curiously, then, it seems at least as appropriate, and perhaps more so, to speak of talk or other conduct invoking its contexts than it is to speak of context impacting on talk or other conduct." (Schegloff 1992b: 197)

While it is evident that Schegloff views context as both constructed within interaction and impacting from without, the methodology espoused by conversation analysis typically restricts itself to that which is considered to be made relevant, i.e. internally invoked, by the participants themselves. The methodological exclusion of the 'external' is legitimated by the 'paradox of proximateness', as anything external which is made 'locally' relevant by the participants becomes internal, while anything that is not, is considered to be of equivocal analytic status (Schegloff 1992b).

Although CA has become a popular methodology within SLA and Applied Linguistics research (see, for example, Gardner and Wagner 2004, Markee 2000, Markee and Kasper 2004, Richards and Seedhouse 2004, Schegloff et al. 2002, Seedhouse 2005), I am not myself adopting a CA approach to analysis, which I feel would be incongruent with my research design. That is to say, my research takes a pre-existing structure into account, as apparent in its inclusion of ethnographic data, i.e. its representation of participant voices, which are rejected as 'etic' in the conversation analytic research paradigm (Hammersley 2003). Moreover, the 'conversations' are staged over and beyond the institutional default of conversation-for-learning as naturalistic

(although, as I have pointed out, the use of the lounge is often similarly integrated by other teachers within their course syllabuses). The CA tenet of participant relevance further serves to remove the researcher's apparent interpretation from the analytic equation. For this reason it is fundamentally at odds with a progressive qualitative research paradigm, predicated on the concept of reflexivity, which firmly plants the researcher in the midst of the process of research and analysis.

The use of CA in SLA and Applied Linguistics research is furthermore motivated by the desire to avoid *a priori* classifications, in particular, those of native and non-native speaker (Firth and Wagner 1997, Schegloff et al. 2002, Seedhouse 2005, Wong and Olsher 2000). This is due, in part, to a methodological concern with pre-analytically 'marking' the non-native speaker as deficient (Firth and Wagner 1997). For example, the participant statuses of expert and novice of the 'target' language of the learner, and linguistic medium of the exchange, may be invoked by the participants in orientation to their differential language expertise (Kasper 2004). However, the category of native and non-native speaker is not etically assigned to them in analysis. A typical line of conversation analytic enquiry in SLA might seek, then, to demonstrate the way in which such expertise is made relevant by the participants (e.g. Hosoda 2006, Kasper 2004, Park 2007), as in the case of repair, i.e. "practices for dealing with problems in speaking, hearing and/or understanding the talk" (Schegloff et al. 2002: 5; see also Jefferson 1987, Schegloff 1987, 1992c, 1997b, 2000, Schegloff et al. 1977 on repair). 'CA for SLA' (Markee and Kasper 2004) arguably, then, has its own agenda, which differs quite considerably from my own. To draw a comparison, I similarly explore the participant statuses of novice and expert with regard to linguistic expertise in Chapter 4, whereby I make reference to repair. However, my argument is concerned with the use of Japanese, of which the learner is the native speaker; and its use is implicitly proscribed through the institutional prescription of English only. As such, my analytic discussion further takes into account the pre-existing structure of institutionality, as theorized in a dual-action agency-structure sociological approach, such as that of Giddens' structuration theory.

To restate the preoccupation of the current research, it is concerned with "problematizing givens" (Pennycook 2001: 7), first and foremostly, in relation to the assumption that conversation can be unproblematically staged between teacher and student. However, this is further particularized in reference to the pre-defined institutional norms of the current setting: namely, to the English-only policy, and to the pre-selection of topic(s) by the students. Such norms and practices are therefore embedded within a pre-existing structure of institutionality, although context is at the same time recognised to be emergent, as the "ongoing accomplishment of the participants in their interactional conduct" (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998: 171).

3.5. Approach to discourse analysis: invoking the 'meta'

As commonly the case, my approach to discourse analysis is somewhat eclectic (Cameron 2001, Jaworski and Coupland 1999, Schiffrin 1994). That is to say, it draws on different sources and tools in its analysis, including interactional sociolinguistics, pragmatics and CA, while taking a broad view of discourse to refer to "nothing more than a multi-utterance unit of talk" (Tracy 2002: 21). As an analytic procedure, I initially surveyed my data for context as manifested within, and through, the text itself. Although my analysis makes reference to different linguistic, pragmatic and sequential properties of talk, it pays particular attention, therefore, to deixis, metalanguage and metacommunicative framing, in the belief that "microcontexts cannot be understood without some concept of macroframes" (Linell 1990: 148). In the case of deixis, or indexicals, meaning is dependent on context in its interpretation, with the same linguistic expression hence relative, in referential terms, to its occasion of use (Levinson 1998). As such, it might be considered to index the external, which thereby becomes interaction-internal. In other words, "indexicals 'point' to the contexts they invoke or identify" (Auer 1997: 14).

The reflexivity of language is further manifest in metalanguage; that is, language which describes the object of its own reflection (Berry 2005, Johnson and Johnson 1998, Lyons 1995). Although such meta-dimensionality

may become encoded within lexis itself, as in the case of *meta*language, it is the users of language who monitor and reflect on the language they produce in interaction with one another. For this reason the use of metalanguage might be considered to fall within the remit of pragmatics, which "by its very definition, concerns the users of language" (Mey 2001: 316), or of *meta*pragmatics (see Caffi 1998), whereby the object of reflection is the communicative intent of the users themselves. Bateson thus drew a distinction between metalinguistic and metacommunicative messages, in which "the subject of discourse is the relationship between the speakers" (Bateson [1955] 1985: 151). Famously observing monkeys play-fighting in a zoo, he explored the framing of the message 'this is play'. As in monkey communication, humans also signal the way in which we wish our inter-action to be intended, namely, as either serious or playful. As such, our messages are framed by metamessages.

Goffman (1974) further explored the concept of framing, in relation to 'keying', i.e. the systematic process by which we transform what we believe we are doing in interaction with one another, by shifting from one frame, by which we organize our experience, to another. Gumperz's (1982, 1992, 1996) work on conversational inference elaborates on the process of interpretation of intent by observing conversationalists' reactions, and hence the knowledge which underpins their presuppositions. This becomes apparent in misinterpretation by participants of diverse social or cultural backgrounds of 'contextualisation cues', or, "verbal and nonverbal signs that both channel the progress of an encounter and affect the interpretation of intent" (Gumperz 1982: 153; see also Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982). In short, frames mark the boundaries of an interactional event, as defined by the participants who signal their intent at the meta-level. Signalling devices might be non-verbal, as in the case of prosody or body language; or verbal, as in metacomment, such as, 'I'm only joking', whereby the intended illocutionary force is metapragmatically 'spelled out' for one's interlocutor, in retrospect. In either respect, a frame represents "a superordinate message about how communication is intended" (Tannen 1984: 23).

The dialectic between relationality and institutionality can therefore become apparent at the meta-level of language use in institutional discourse, as participants 'key' shifts in frames (Coupland et al. 1994), or their "sense of what activity is being engaged in" (Tannen and Wallat 1987: 207). This may accompany a change of 'footing', or the "participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self" (Goffman 1981: 128). Such identity work is thus subject to ratification by one's fellow participants in interaction (Ribeiro 2006). In conversation analytic terms alignment might be taken to refer to "participants' mutual orientation to the set of articulated identities they have projected or assumed in the local strip of interaction" (Zimmerman 1992: 44). Although locally managed, however, such alignment and re-alignment, as signalled by framing, is founded on the participants' individual knowledge structures, or schemas (Tannen and Wallat 1987). Frames and schemas, along with scripts, representing our knowledge of sequences of events (Schank and Abelson 1975), can all, therefore, be seen as "structures of expectation" (Tannen 1993: 5; cf. Ross 1975, cited by Tannen [1979] 1993: 16). Our predictive signalling of intent and our expectation that it will be accordingly interpreted are embedded within preformulated and reformulating structures, both at the individual level of cognition, and the interindividual level of social organization.

Alignment might otherwise, then, be seen as 'positioning', as we position ourselves vis-à-vis one another, or the other(s) vis-à-vis ourselves (see Davies and Harré 1990, 1999, Harré and van Langenhove 1999, Van Langenhove and Harré 1999). Social relations, which may relate to our institutional roles, are thereby signalled by participants in interaction, whose "interactive frames evoke alignments that position speakers symmetrically or asymmetrically vis-à-vis each other" (Gavruseva 1995: 329); depending on the context invoked, one might, then, make reference to conversational or didactic footing, respectively (cf. Prego-Vazquez 2007). This meta-dimensionality of talk is grounded in the particularities of the data themselves, and will therefore become apparent through analysis of the data in the empirical chapters.

3.6. The selection, analysis and presentation of data

All of the excerpts of interaction presented in the thesis involved previously unacquainted teachers and students, which was predominantly the case in the research events as a whole. For the most part, however, I am not making claims of representativeness across the set, as my research is qualitative in approach. Furthermore, my corpus of 26 conversations, totalling 7 ½ hours, is relatively small. While the 'conversations' can be classed as conversation-for-learning, they do not represent 'freely' occurring conversation lounge interaction, and claims of representativeness within such a particularized event might therefore be of limited use. For this reason, I chose to select segments of data on the grounds of their illustrative potential; and by that I mean that they interact in an insightful way with other data presented, through an interplay of similarity, gradation and contrast.

The first data chapter, Chapter 4, draws a contrastive analysis between two widely diverging approaches to the English-only policy by the participants in interaction. In the second data chapter (Chapter 5), I present a four-part cline of data segments which illustrate varying degrees of responsibility assumed by the students for the initial selection and introduction of topic. It is through a gradation of difference among participants that topic initiation is therefore explored. Finally, in the last data chapter (Chapter 6), I make a minor claim of representativeness in its focus on the teacher's place of origin as the students' selected topic. Not only is this a widespread topic within my primary interactional data, but it is frequently commented on by teachers and students alike in their interviews and focus groups, particularly with regard to its perceived typicality among unacquainted parties in the conversation lounge. The chapter therefore moves onwards from the student selection and initiation of topic (in Chapter 5) to examine its interaction with the topic of the teacher's place of origin. The problematic construct of native speakerhood, as discussed in reference to the English-only policy (in Chapter 4) is once again revisited in relation to such cultural focus in the conclusions (Chapter 7).

In terms of the excerpts' placement within the interaction, the two segments of Chapter 4 occur midway, as the focus on language expertise becomes

topically relevant. Chapters 5 and 6, on the other hand, focus on its beginnings, or near-beginnings, as the exploratory phase in which participants "feel their way towards the working consensus of their interaction" (Laver 1975: 221, cf. Goffman 1959: 21). My analysis does not, however, pay particular attention to the initial introductions, as the participants are likely to have introduced themselves, to varying degrees, prior to the start of the recording. As Svennevig (1999) notes, the actual exchange of names may be of little consequence to the ensuing interaction, while Schegloff and Sacks (1974) consider introductions themselves to precede what they class as 'first topic'.

Given the somewhat complex interplay of qualitative interaction from diverse bodies of data, and the growth and 'crystallization' of the research along with the process of writing and its revisions, it is somewhat difficult for me to reflexively say exactly how much of 'myself' I put into the various analytic and interpretative procedures, or even to entirely separate them from one another piece by piece. I tried to proceed inductively from the textual data by openly looking for what might be considered interaction-internal manifestations of context, in order to safeguard against what Carranza (2000: 151) refers to as "free-for-all hermeneutics". As my research design illustrates, however, I was not working in methodological denial of pre-existing institutional structures. At the stage of discourse analysis I had, moreover, already taken part in the interviews with the teachers and engaged with the students and their texts in my teaching syllabus. As such, I was very aware of being aware of wider-reaching issues. My coding of the interview and focus group data was emergent from within the research process, and was continually revised and refined. I began with the teachers, however, as they represented my main focus of research. Although the students' focus group summaries were independently coded, the relatively few segments included in the thesis mainly therefore present parallels or complementarities to the teachers' interview data.

I tried to monitor myself in the writing of my research, and have finally presented it in a way which I feel segments different levels of interpretative analysis. This is reflected in the structure of my data analytic chapters as

follows: initially, I provide a brief introduction to the transcribed interaction, after which I present an interpretative analysis which is, however, firmly rooted in the linguistic and pragmatic details of the texts themselves. I then, for the most part, move on to discuss and interpret quotes by the teachers who took part in the given interactional excerpt, where this is perceived to be of potential relevance to the discussion (as in the case that it has been referred to in the interview, for example). Following the analysis of textual data and broadening of discussion to the teachers' representations, I draw on further ethnographic data involving other participants who are not represented in the texts, but whose interview and focus group segments relate to the analytic theme and focus of the chapters. As such, my more wide-ranging and political commentary follows on from my discourse analysis, as Schegloff (1997a) advises. The later sections of the analytic chapters, which include ethnographic data from additional participants, are not systematically represented or equally distributed among the chapters, as they are abstracted from the primary interactional data, and are mainly intended to enhance my description and discussion.

3.7. Transcription as process and representation

The primary recorded interaction was originally transcribed to a basic level by the students, with subsequent revision by myself. As the students were more easily able to distinguish their own voices, their initial transcripts, which had been used for classwork, were helpful in determining speakership in the lack of any visual information. The students had also been asked to add any relevant para- and extra-linguistic information which they felt contributed to an increased understanding of the text. Such information was therefore dependent on the memory of the students, who completed a basic transcript within several weeks following the event. It was, however, for the most part prompted by the referential content of the recordings themselves. For example, in one case the students added '((points out of the window))' in deictic reference to the screening of a sports event which had been verbalized as "over there". It is possible that listening to their own recordings may have jogged their memory (cf. Tannen 1984). While such information should, then,

be taken as rough and potentially fallible, it might nevertheless be considered of greater validity than the practice of inferring non-verbal behaviour on the part of the researcher him- or herself as transcriber (see Eggins and Slade 1997: 2-3). As both the students and the teachers were presented with simplified versions of their transcripts in the interviews and focus groups, they made relevant amendments in the case that unknown referents, such as place names, had been inaccurately transcribed. The validity of the representations was thereby further enhanced in consultation with the participants themselves.

In the interviews with the teachers, I was able to take notes of any visual data of relevance to their narration, which were later added to my transcripts of the recordings. The latter were kept simple, which is commonly the case in the human and social sciences (see Bucholtz 2007a), as they were not intended for in-depth linguistic analysis. I have tried to remain as faithful as possible to their contextualized use in the way in which they have been integrated with my analytic discussion: I have either included myself as researcher, particularly where my question might have been 'leading', or else have briefly mentioned the context within which they arose.

They are headed with a basic reference code, such as:

<u>Interview; T6: Graham</u>
[Position 126~]

This signifies that the data are derived from the interviews, while the reference code 'T6' refers to Teacher 6 in the table of teachers to be found in Appendix B-1. This is followed by the pseudonym for the teacher, in this case, Graham. (The position locates the segment within my qualitative software data bank, whereby 126~ represents the starting turn of the segment, indicating that 125 turns have preceded it. While it provides a point of reference therefore, it is not of particular use to the reader.)

In the case of the students' focus group data, I enlisted the help of a Japanese research assistant in the process of transcription and translation, who listened to the full set of data and provided summaries of contributions for each card prompt of each focus group discussion, from which I selected data to be transcribed in greater depth. As the focus groups represent a means of eliciting

co-constructed representations among a body of student-participants, they are anonymously 'identified' by number, according to the order in which they contribute to the topic of the given card prompt. That is to say, S4 (f), represents the same female (f) student who was the fourth to speak in the discussion for that particular card prompt, and S2 (m) identifies a male student, who was the second student to speak, etc. In the case of S?(m) or S?(f) the speakership is unknown, while Ss represents multiple, and possibly all, students. Where the students have used backchannelling, it has been written in romanized Japanese, accompanied by my research assistants' interpretation of meaning included in double brackets, e.g.:

S4 (f): *un un un*   ((understanding))

As has been seen in the focus group excerpt included in the present chapter (Section 3.3.1.), the segments are headed with a reference, as follows:

FG, Card 7, Q7

FG signifies that the data are derived from a student focus group. Card 7 refers to card prompt number 7, while Q7 refers to question number 7. (Please see Appendix C-3 for card prompts.)

Similarly to the interviews, the transcripts of the focus groups are relatively simple, as they are intended to enhance the analysis of the primary data by means of ethnographic description. To these methodological ends, the English translation of the focus group segments is presented within the body of the text, along with the other English language data, while the Japanese 'original' is relegated to Appendix C-4 in order to avoid unnecessary occupation of space for dual-language transcription (see Slembrouck 2007). Moreover, the Japanese version is presented in Japanese script, i.e. *kanji, hiragana* and *katakana*. This facilitates readability for Japanese readers who find romanization more cumbersome, while those who are unfamiliar with Japanese might not find romanization accompanied by glosses particularly helpful, given that the focus of analysis does not here lie in linguistic detail. More detailed transcription is therefore reserved for the primary interactional data, which are subjected to greater microanalytic scrutiny.

3.7.1. Transcription as selection

As Ochs ([1979] 1999: 168) notes, "transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions". As it is a researcher's rendition, it cannot be thought a neutral reflection of the recorded event. In my case, the transcription notation might be considered relatively detailed, although it falls somewhat short of the conversation analytic mark. This can be explained due to my divergent methodological orientation, and in part due to an invariable "trade-off between readability and comprehensiveness" (Seedhouse 2004: 15). I have tried to ensure some degree of reliability by revisiting my transcripts and recordings in the attempt to apply my notation consistently. I will here discuss my system of notation in relation to wider concerns of transcription practice within the field of interaction analysis.

Firstly, it should perhaps be said that the application of more in-depth and highly standardized transcription conventions and procedures, as in the conversation analytic tradition of research, ensures that the recorded interaction can be reproduced by different 'observers' to a high degree of *inter*-transcriber reliability (see, for example, Roberts and Robinson 2004). This is of importance where researchers are bound together by the same methodological tools and ends. As context is for all intents and purposes interaction-internal in CA, it is feasible for various researchers of the same disciplinary ilk to put the same data to use for different foci of analysis, particularly where they have access to the original recordings. In other words, the data are assumed to carry the context of research with them, or otherwise seen, the researcher carries the context with him or her in the same methodological toolbox. As Bucholtz states, "the transcription of a text always involves the inscription of a context" (Bucholtz 2000: 1463). Moreover, as she questions the feasibility of eradicating ideological positioning altogether through the increased refinement of transcription practices, she proposes engaging in reflexive discourse analysis, through which the researcher's self would appear to become qualitatively foregrounded.

Where context is described as both internal and external to the interactional event, as in the current case that attention to microanalytic detail is combined with ethnography, which includes the reflexive presence of the researcher, it might be problematic for the textual data to be recontextualized as 'extraneous' research. In the present case, moreover, ethical concerns of anonymity prevent the data recordings from becoming subsequently available to other researchers, while the practice of analysis without recourse to the original recordings may itself be questionable (Jaffe 2007, Psathas and Anderson 1990). As Psathas and Anderson remind us, "the status of the transcript remains that of 'merely' being a representation of the actual interaction – i.e., it is not the interaction and it is not the 'data'" (1990: 77). My transcribed representation of the recorded data of the original 'conversations' is not, then, optimally designed for further analysis, as it lacks detail which might be superfluous to its current use and interpretation. There are two respects in which my transcripts are most obviously simplified by comparison with conventions typically applied within conversation analytic research: that is, a lesser detailing of temporal flow, and the failure to adopt, for the most part, a modified orthography, in which the transcription of vernacular pronunciation of lexis differs from its standardized codification, or spelling.

Before moving on to discuss the detailing of temporal flow, I will first consider the latter choice to apply standard orthography. This was primarily motivated by the wish to enhance readability. At the same time, however, it may also safeguard against the possible stigmatization of the language of the second language learner as deficient in its apparent orthographic deviation from standard English. It is, of course, problematic to socially ascribe an identity to standardized orthography, which is an unmarked, seeming default mode of linguistic representation. As such, it represents an idealization, although its codified authority in print might lead 'naturally', or normatively, to the speaker's assumed use of a prestige variety and accent. The practice of marking the vernacular as deviating from an undefined and abstracted norm might therefore be politically questionable, as such modifications in orthography have been shown to pejoratively affect readers' social ascriptions of the speakers (Jaffe 2000, Jaffe and Walton 2000). As the native speaker is

already a highly idealized construct, often serving as an abstract linguistic model in foreign language pedagogy (see Davies 1991, 1998, 2003, Mey 1981), the markedness of non-native speaker English by means of a perhaps more greatly, or obviously, modified orthography might further elevate native-speakerhood on its podium, thereby constructing a representational divide between native and non-native speaker. The use of phonetic symbols in transcription to render a more accurate representation of pronunciation, moreover, appears cumbersome and unnecessary where the focus of analysis lies primarily elsewhere. That being said, Japanese, or *katakana*, pronunciation has been represented in the case where I perceived it to be markedly voiced by the speaker.[12] From observation of teaching in the given research context, students can at times quite overtly shift into *katakana* pronunciation, which may serve as a means of marking group affiliation among peers, or displaying modesty and tentativeness, or signalling trouble, such as a word search, whereby the student may invite repair (see Carroll 2005).

In the other case of simplification, i.e. representation of temporal flow, I am referring to overlaps and pauses. Although I have marked the beginnings of overlaps, their endings are not included in my notation. Overlaps may represent backchannelling of attentiveness, or a high involvement style of engaging in conversation (Tannen 1984, 1989). However, the start of an utterance overlap can coincide with what has been termed a transition relevance place (TRP) in conversation analytic research: namely, the projected place of possible completion of the current speaker's utterance (Sacks et al. 1978). As this is predicted by the listener, he or she may start speaking at a time when the current speaker continues with their utterance, which is therefore incomplete at that point. The former's apparent interjection might not be considered as such, however, given its positional legitimacy as a TRP, where similarly perceived to be so by his or her interlocutor (Liddicoat 2004). The duration and end of the overlap, on the other hand, is arguably of lesser relevance and has for this reason been omitted in the present transcription conventions.

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[12] Foreign loan words in Japanese are written in the *katakana* script; 'katakana pronunciation' thus refers to the Japanese style of pronunciation of foreign words, most noticeably, the addition of a vowel sound to consonants other than 'n', e.g. *gurasu* for glass.

Similarly, the usefulness of the detailed timing of the pauses is open to question. A visual representation and approximation through full stops, as adopted in the current transcription conventions (see Section 3.7.2.), may suitably serve to give the reader a relative impression of their length, that is, as relative to other pauses. At the same time, it may present less of a visual obstruction to the 'fluency' of reading. As Psathas and Anderson point out, "[t]he relative differences (i.e. that a silence of 0.4 is longer than one of 0.2) are more important than any such notion as 'absolute' or 'clock-time' differences" (1990: 87); and the inclusion of timed pauses may mean *relatively* little where the speed of speech itself is unknown, which could further vary throughout.

While such simplifications may diverge from conversation analytic conventions, the act of transcribing is itself a situated and "metalinguistic practice" (Bucholtz 2007a: 785), particular to the context of the research and the reflexivity of the researcher. As such, Slembrouck (2007: 824) advises each of us to "engage afresh with the question of notational conventions and representational-interpretative priorities" (see also Bucholtz 2007b).

Finally, the key to currently adopted transcription conventions is provided below (in Section 3.6.2.). To a large degree they stem from Gail Jefferson's system of notation (see Atkinson and Heritage 1984: ix-xvi), with further variations pertaining to the particularities of my context of research. They are reproduced for ease of reference in Appendix A-1.

3.7.2. Transcription Conventions

over⌈lap ov⌊erlap ⌊overlap	A left bracket indicates the onset of overlap
	In the case of the English translations of Japanese focus group data, these are placed after the top-level utterance, and before the overlapping lower-level utterance, to signal that at some point they overlap with one another, e.g.:

S4(m)	overlap[
S2(f)	[overlap[
S3(f)	[overlap

latch= =latch	Latched speech between speakers, adjacent in time; or continuing turn of the same speaker from a prior line, i.e. one interpolated by an overlapping utterance by another speaker
italics	Japanese words or other referents which may be unknown to the reader; explanations provided in footnotes Italics are also used to mark *katakana* pronunciation of English
"voicing"	Quotation marks contain a "voiced" utterance, i.e. direct reported speech marked by stylization
Stre::::tching	A colon represents the extension of the preceding sound; the more colons, the longer the stretch
<u>Emphasis</u>	Underlining represents emphatic stress
LOUD SPEECH	Capitals denote emphasis through loudness, whereby the capitalized words are noticeably louder than the neighbouring speech
°quiet speech°	Words enclosed by degree signs are noticeably quieter than the neighbouring speech; double degree signs are used for barely audible speech
↑ rise in pitch	An upward arrow represents a marked rise in pitch of the subsequent word or syllable, or higher than average pitch of speaker
↓ fall in pitch	A downwards arrow represents a marked fall in pitch of the subsequent word or syllable, or lower than average pitch of speaker
Question mark?	A question mark is used to denote a rising inflection, as in questions
Full stop.	A full stop is used to denote a falling intonation
Comma,	A comma signifies continuing intonation
Exclamation!	An exclamation mark indicates an animated tone
Trunc-	A dash denotes an abrupt cut-off, as in a false start, or clipped sound
< slow >	Speech enclosed by angular brackets is noticeably slower than the surrounding speech
> fast <	Speech enclosed by 'less than' signs is noticeably faster than the surrounding speech
Run~together	A swung dash between words indicates that the speech is run together

(^)	Indicates a short pause of less than 0.5 seconds within a speaker's turn; also used to signal a pause within a word, e.g. home^work
(.)	Each bracketed dot represents a pause of circa 0.5 seconds
	In the case of interview and focus group data it is used to represent a pause of indeterminate length
[...]	Indicates that a segment of data has been removed
{wavy brackets}	Indicates transcriber doubt with regard to content
{ ? }	Indicates speech which is unintelligible and has not been transcribed
.hhh	Indicates an audible inbreath
hhh.	Indicates an audible outbreath
(h)	Represents aspiration through laughter
hah	Indicates a laughter particle
	Laughter which cannot be distinguished according to participant is described in double brackets, i.e. ((laughter))
heh	A backchannelling token commonly used in Japanese, which can signal interest or surprise; otherwise represented as he (Iwasaki 1997), or hee (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006)
un	Japanese affirmative, e.g. 'uh-huh' (Hosoda 2006); or a commonly used backchannelling token, which can signal attentiveness, understanding, or agreement; otherwise represented as nn or hn (Iwasaki 1997), huun (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006), uun (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006), (u)n (Cutrone 2005)
((double brackets))	Contains additional paralinguistic or extralinguistic information
[square brackets]	Square brackets contain information substitution in order to maintain anonymity of person or institution, or the addition of information in the interview and focus group excerpts
N.F.C.	Capital letters followed by full stops indicate that letters are pronounced separately, e.g. as in acronyms, or when spelling out a word

4. ENGLISH ONLY AND THE PROSCRIBED USE OF JAPANESE

4.0. Introduction

If adhered to, the English-only policy circumscribing the institutional space of the conversation lounge serves to regulate the linguistic medium of communication, which corresponds to the target language of the student learners and the native tongue of the on-duty teachers. It furthermore represents an implicit proscription of Japanese. The current chapter sets out to explore the implications of English only to the teacher's identity in relation to the prohibited use of Japanese. It does so by contrastively illustrating two diverse approaches taken by teachers Marie and Alison towards the students' native linguistic expertise, as this becomes topically relevant: while Marie attempts to steer clear of Japanese, Alison integrates its limited use into the topic of interaction. Invoking the status of novice and expert is further examined from within the dialectic of institutionality and relationality which forms the conceptual and analytic backbone of the research. The discussion is finally extended to the wider institutional and socio-cultural context through the inclusion of ethnographic data.

4.1. 'Do you speak Japanese?' The linguistic confines of the lounge

My discourse analytic discussion begins with Marie, whose dialogue indexes the 'external' context through metalanguage. This becomes 'internally' manifest in the indexical use of implicature (Grice 1975), which serves to highlight the interplay, or mutual constitutiveness, of language and context of use. Its ongoing effect is further made apparent through Marie's interaction-internal orientation to English only by means of metacommunicative framing and a corresponding change of footing. The analysis is split into two parts: firstly, the initial invocation of the external is explored (Excerpt 4.1.1.), and

secondly, its subsequent effects on the trajectory of interaction (Excerpt 4.1.2.). (The two excerpts are presented as a continuous flow of text, along with an intervening section which has here been removed, in Appendix A-2.)

4.1.1. English only as implicature

In the first excerpt, the topic of Japanese language ability is introduced when the Canadian teacher Marie mentions her length of stay in Japan. Prior to the start of the excerpt, she has explained that she had returned to the English-speaking world in order to do a Masters degree, avoiding her home country of Canada, however, in the hope of lessening the impact of 'reverse' culture shock. It is at this point that one of the students, Rieko, relates her own experience:

Excerpt 4.1.1.

Participants:

        Marie (T2)
        Rieko (Sf)
        Sayaka (Sf)

```
1.   Rieko:   yeah ↑I know how it i:s (^) cos uh:m (^)
2.            ↑I lived in the United States for a year?
3.            ⌈as an exchange student
4.   Marie:   ⌊oh ↑really where.
5.            ⌈(.)
6.   Rieko:   ah:: (^) Minnesota?=
7.   Sayaka:  =°°which city.°°
8.   Marie:   it's just down Canada.
9.   Sayaka:  ⌈°°heh::°°
10.  Rieko    ⌊but when I got ↑back to Japa:n, (..) I
11.           was (.)I was ↑really nervous every single
12.           day because(...)uh:: °°I don't know°°
13.           maybe I've changed a little? >I mean a
14.           ↑lot<
15.  Marie:   yep
16.  Rieko:   so:⌈::
17.  Marie:   ⌊not maybe:
18.  Rieko:   hah (.) °y(h)eah°=
19.  Marie:   =for su:re=
20.  Rieko:   =yea:h (..) so it was hard to (..) uh::(^)
21.           to get ↑used to:: (..) uh::: living in
22.           ↑Japan
23.  Marie:   yeah
24.  Sayaka:  °°hn:⌈::°°
25.  Rieko:   ⌊so::
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26.  Marie:      °yeah°
27.  Rieko:      hm::
28.  Marie:      so (.) after a ↑year living abroad (.)
29.              maybe (.) the(..) the experience coming
30.              back (.)↑ will be (^)still quite
31.              different (^) °but-° I had lived in
32.              Japan.for (..) about (.) ↑nine years (.)
33.             ┌at that point
34.  Sayaka:    │nine!
35.  Rieko:     └nine years!
36.  Marie:      nine or >nine and a half< (.) ↑YEAH (.)
37.              right now I've lived in Japan for almost
38.              ten years
39.  Sayaka:     °°hn::°°
40.  Rieko:      °°really°°
41.  Marie:      °yea:h°
42.  Sayaka:     do you speak Japanese?
43.  Marie:      uh: NO-! not in the [conversation lounge].
44.              ((laughter))
45.                 (..)
46.  Rieko:      heh::?
47.  Marie:      yeah (..) I forget everything in this room
48.  Rieko:      hah ┌
49.  Marie:      hah │hah hah
50.  Sayaka:         └hah hah hah
51.  Rieko:      heh:::?
52.  Marie:      hm. so:: (^) ↑yeah (^) ↑I- that's that's
53.              what I thought ↑BUT anyways we'll get back
54.              to our travel (^) talk.
```

In the excerpt, empathy is conveyed through the interrelational sharing of experience, whereby Rieko expresses her own discomfort on returning to Japan. This is prefaced by 'I know how it is' (line 1), in reference, therefore, to Marie's preceding disclosure about reverse culture shock. Rieko posits that she may herself have undergone personal change whilst in the US (lines 13-14), mitigating the proposition through 'maybe' (line 13), which Marie then vicariously rejects and upgrades to 'for sure' (lines 17 and 19). She thereby relationally validates Rieko's experience, before contrasting it with her own considerably lengthier stay in Japan (with, by implication, potentially greater debilitating homecoming effects). Sayaka, who is lacking any experience of having been abroad, has maintained a largely muted interactional presence until that point, at which she exclaims her surprise, along with classmate Rieko (lines 34-35), at Marie's prolonged stay in Japan.

Sayaka's question 'do you speak Japanese' (line 42) therefore follows on in stepwise topical progression from reverse culture shock and foreign residence.

Moreover, it seems to be topically rooted within a predominantly relational segment of talk, as evidenced in the display of empathy and apparent interest of the participants in interaction (Aston 1993, Schneider 1988). Marie's response, by contrast, shows a humorous orientation to the institutionality of the event, however. When asked if she speaks Japanese, Marie, who is self-reportedly fluent, replies in the negative, appearing at first to signify that she cannot speak the language; yet, this is subsequently negated when she indicates that her Japanese is spatially bound: 'not in the [conversation lounge]' (line 43).[1]

Sayaka's use of the simple present tense in her question could, in theory, be syntactically ambiguous. One might expect its usage to be further qualified by an adverbial phrase, such as of time or location, were it to be interpreted in terms other than language ability, e.g. 'do you speak Japanese at home with your children?'. Marie's response (line 43) thus represents a grammatical pun, which can be understood as such, as it is pragmatically non-ambiguous. Given its context of use, Sayaka's question normatively refers to language ability, and not to habitual or situated action. In flouting conventional usage, Marie's apparent misinterpretation of meaning results in humorous implicature, which is further reinforced by the subsequent and highly improbable assertion that her memory malfunctions in the given setting: 'I forget everything in this room' (line 47). In Gricean terms, then, she is flouting the Maxim of Quality, in terms of truth, as her alleged amnestic condition, in being locally induced, appears to be patently untrue (Grice 1975).[2]

Hence the students might be able to infer that Marie can, in fact, speak Japanese, but is not willing or able to do so in the conversation lounge. Moreover, her response to the question, which is pragmatically discordant

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[1] Marie marked herself at level 4 in the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix B-4), while further explaining that she is fluent in Japanese.

[2] The Maxim of Quality, relating to truth and evidence, is one of four maxims originally proposed by Grice (1975). These are underpinned by the co-operative principle, on the basis of which interlocutors make assumptions of utterance meaning, seeking alternative interpretations in the case that a literal meaning is non-co-operative with what they believe themselves to be saying and doing. A deliberate and discernible failure to observe a maxim, or to 'flout' it, therefore gives rise to 'implicature', which may be inferred by one's interlocutor. See Thomas (1995) for an introduction to Pragmatics.

with its design, remains unexplained, and the situated knowledge pertaining to institutional norms of interaction is thus assumed on her part. The students' hearty bursts of laughter (lines 44 and 48-50) suggest that they can appreciate the element of humour implicit in her remarks, while Rieko's backchannelling of interest in an extended and rising Japanese 'heh' (line 46) may further convey a sense of regard for Marie's explicitly denied, yet implicitly verified, Japanese language ability.

Although her Japanese appears to have engendered a certain degree of interest, Marie avoids engaging with the topic and effects a metalinguistic switch back to travel talk (lines 52-54). She initially displays some hesitation, which is propositionally manifest in her expression, 'I- that's that's what I thought' (lines 52-53), whose anaphoric reference is, however, unclear. The interactional signposting: 'but anyways we'll get back to our travel talk' (lines 53-54) then incontrovertibly redirects the participants back to the prior topic. While 'anyways' (line 53) marks the resumption of the main topic (cf. Strodt-Lopez 1991: 347, Ferrara 1997: 133, and Schiffrin 1987: 165), with the preceding talk correspondingly cast as tangential, the metacomment 'we'll get back to our travel talk' further restates and reintroduces the former topic. The subject of Marie's Japanese language ability, which had initially been broached by Sayaka (line 42), is thereby retroactively cast as a 'side sequence' (Jefferson 1972[3]), and hence bracketed off from the main business of talk, with 'anyway' serving as a form of 'right-hand parenthesis' (Schegloff 1984: 38). In other words, the topic is traced one step back, rather than proceeding forwards in stepwise progression. The pragmatic implicature thereby becomes sequentially reinforced, as the subject of Marie's Japanese is further circumvented.

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[3] While the examples provided by Jefferson (1972) are remedial, i.e. 'misapprehension sequences', side sequences themselves appear to represent a superordinate with other undefined subclasses (Coulthard and Brazil 1992). Upon Marie's resumption of the prior topic, the present example becomes a non-remedial digression and can thereby be considered to conform to a more encompassing definition of side sequences, in being "interpolated into a larger, ongoing activity, *from* which it created a temporary departure and *to* which there should be a return on its completion" (Schegloff 2003: 35; italics in original).

4.1.2. From co-construction to the re-distribution of knowledge

The topic then returns to travel, and the institutionally prescribed use of
English as the sole medium of communication is not further made reference to.
However, Marie's ability in Japanese is subsequently made to impact on the
trajectory of interaction, when Sayaka mentions her trip to Kyushu in Japan
and a third student, Tomoko, who has since joined the conversation, expresses
an interest in the local cuisine:

Excerpt 4.1.2.

```
1.   Tomoko:   how about ↑food (^) in Kyushu⁴?
2.   Sayaka:   ah::
3.   Tomoko:   mentaiko⁵ (.) I(h) I only know ment(h)aiko.
4.   Sayaka:   ah:: (...) I: (^) I: ate (^) Hakata-ramen⁶
5.   Rieko:    ⌈ah::!
6.   Marie:    ⌊ah: okay::!=
7.   Rieko:    =heh? tonkotsu?⁷
8.   Sayaka:   yes
9.   Rieko:    un~un~un~un~un
10.  Marie:    so (..) ↑let's ↑let's imagine. (.)okay:
11.            that I:(.) don't know anything about Japan
12.            (.) and I don't know Japanese so what's
13.            what's mentaiko and what's (.) what's
14.            tonkotsu (.) how can you °explain that
15.            in English°
16.  Rieko:    uh:::
17.  Sayaka:   hn:::?
18.  Rieko?:   °°mentaiko?°°
19.  (..)
20.  Marie:    s- so what is- what is (^) the BASIC
21.            ingredient of(.)mentaiko?
22.  Rieko:    ⌈i(h)ngredient?
23.  Sayaka:   ⌊m(h)entaiko? hah hah
24.  Rieko:    heh:: mentaiko wa::⁸
25.  (..)
26.  Sayaka:   heh?
27.  Marie:    well what does it come from? does it- it's
28.            E:GG (^)does it come from a CHICKEN?
29.  Rieko:    ⌈no it's
30.  Sayaka:   ⌊no::!
```

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⁴ *Kyushu* = the southernmost main island of the Japanese archipelago

⁵ *mentaiko* = spicy cod roe

⁶ *Hakata-ramen* = Japanese noodles in broth (*ramen*) from *Hakata* (a ward in *Fukuoka* city on
the island of *Kyushu*)

⁷ *tonkotsu* = a soup made of pork bone stock

⁸ *wa* = Japanese particle, which serves as a topic marker

```
31.  Marie:    no!
32.  Sayaka:  ⌈°°hah hah hah°°
33.  Rieko:   ⌊uh:: (..) what kind of fish is it (^)
34.           tara?⁹
35.  Sayaka:  °°maybe°°
36.  Marie:   ⌈cod (..)
37.  Rieko:   ⌊tara (.) tara
38.  Marie:   I think cod
39.  Rieko:   cod?
40.  (.)
41.  Marie:   I think tara is ↑cod (.) C.O.D. (^) cod
42.  Rieko:   cod
43.  Marie:   cod roe (.) R.O.E.
44.  Rieko:   °heh:::?°
45.  Marie:   cod °roe:° (^) ↑ROE means the fish (^)of
46.           an egg.¹⁰(..) hm: mentaiko (.) ↑yeah so it's
47.           spicy.
48.  Sayaka:  yeah⌈::
49.  Marie:        ⌊what- what spice is it- is
50.           (^)included? it's uh (..) togarashi.¹¹
51.  Rieko:   yeah
52.  Sayaka:  ⌈°°oh:::°°
53.  Marie:   ⌊so a- (.) red pepper spice >a kind of<
54.           chili spice
55.  Sayaka:  °°ah::°°
56.  Marie:   °°hm:: (.) yeah°° (..) how about tonkotsu
57.           what's that?
58.  Sayaka:  chicken soup
59.  Marie:   ⌈ch(h)icken soup!?
60.  Rieko:   ⌊hah hah hah
61.  Marie:   chicken? (..) ⌈CHICKEN!?
62.  Rieko:                ⌊hah hah hah
63.  Sayaka:  n(h)o! n(h)o!
64.  Rieko:   pig! pig!
65.  Sayaka:  hah hah (.) what is it?
66.  Rieko:   °I don't k(h)now° I don't know about the-
67.  Marie:   yeah it's a (.) it's (^) comes from a ↑pig
68.           but when we talk about food we'll say pork.
69.  Sayaka:  pork
70.  Marie:   yeah (.) pork-based (..) pork-based soup
71.           or pork consommé or °something°
```

As Sayaka hesitates to respond to the initial question regarding food (line 2), Tomoko provides the first example herself, namely *mentaiko*. However, in laughingly admitting that *mentaiko* is the 'only' food she knows (line 3), she modestly devalues her own knowledge of the topic domain. Rather than pre-empting Sayaka, she appears to facilitate subsequent contribution in making a

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⁹ *tara* = cod

¹⁰ Presumably Marie intends to say 'egg of a fish' and has inverted the possessive order by mistake. (This order is the same as the Japanese, whereby the possessive particle *no* qualifies the preceding noun, although it might not necessarily represent a case of 'L2 transfer'.)

¹¹ *togarashi* = red Japanese spice blend, including chili

start to a co-constructed list, while in search of *more* information. Having herself been to Kyushu, Sayaka is enabled to lay greater claims of expertise to the conversational topic. Following some speech perturbations (a filler, pause and false start), she responds by contributing '*Hakata-ramen*' to the ensuing list (line 4), which is received with simultaneous exclamatory backchannelling by both Rieko and Marie (lines 5 and 6), suggesting that they also know of the dish. Rieko then proposes *tonkotsu*, preceded by a short Japanese questioning '*heh*?', and tentatively cast in rising intonation (line 7), inviting confirmation from Sayaka, which is subsequently forthcoming (line 8).

In this small segment of discourse, prior to Marie's intervention in line 10, all of the student participants exhibit some degree of apparent knowledge of topic, i.e. food from Kyushu, while at the same time upholding Sayaka's status of experiential expertise, which is conversationally transient. Previously, she may have been topically marginalized due to her lack of experience of foreign travel. However, the onwards progression and shift of topic serves to redistribute knowledge among the participants in interaction. Despite Sayaka's personal expertise, however, all of the student-participants are active in co-constructing topical sustenance by bringing their individual contributions to the conversational potluck.

4.1.2.1. The chicken and the egg: a pedagogic interlude

It is at this point that Marie intervenes with a metacommunicative directive based on an explicitly 'pretend' distribution of knowledge: 'let's imagine okay that I don't know anything about Japan and I don't know Japanese' (lines 10-12), which presupposes, therefore, a 'real' knowledge of Japan and Japanese, along with an assumption of her interlocutors' knowledge of that knowledge through the inclusive 'let's imagine'. In other words, Marie takes for granted that her prior implicature has been correctly inferred by the students: namely, that she is, in fact, able to speak Japanese.

Having intimated that her lack of knowledge is a mere pretence, Marie proceeds to display that very knowledge through the use of questions which

are designed for the purpose of its elicitation; that is, Marie already knows the answers, as evidenced through her subsequent use of prompts. When asked to explain *mentaiko* and *tonkotsu*, the students appear to find it difficult to comply with her agenda, as the use of extended fillers and the quiet repetition of the word '*mentaiko*' followed by a pause would suggest (lines 16-18). She then further prompts them to describe its basic ingredient (lines 20-21). However, this is met with repetition of her preceding words, 'ingredient' (line 22) and '*mentaiko*' (line 23), which is, furthermore, punctuated by embarrassed laughter, suggesting that the students either do not know the basic ingredient or are having difficulty explaining it. Rieko's subsequent utterance in Japanese (line 24) is propositionally incomplete and ends in sound stretching, whereupon a pause ensues. This suggests that her difficulty in providing the answer is not related to L2 proficiency, as she appears unable to formulate a description in her L1. In other words, the problem appears to lie with providing a definition of the food. After a puzzled '*heh*?' by Sayaka (line 26), Marie further prompts the students by asking them to describe the food by means of its derivation, namely, 'what does it come from?' (line 27). She facilitates this by providing a superordinate definition herself, namely egg (line 28), while prompting the students to further specify what kind of egg it is. In giving an absurdly, and hence evidently incorrect example with 'chicken' (line 28), whose eggs are considerably larger than cod roe and obviously of a different taxonomic type, i.e. avian, Marie is modelling an answer which fits the agenda, namely, to elicit a definition of the ingredient in pursuit of an English-only description of the food. Moreover, the use of a yes/no question highly constrains the students to provide an answer, both structurally and referentially, and takes them one step further towards the anticipated response by means of a humorously improbable process of elimination.

The answer to the question of how to explain *mentaiko* in English - in other words, its description in the linguistic medium of the exchange - is provided by means of interactional scaffolding, namely, support which is incrementally refined (and ultimately disassembled with the increasing aptitude of the learner) (Bruner 1983, Wood et al. 1976). However, as Marie prompts the students to describe the food in the supposed pretence that she does not know

any Japanese, her own knowledge paradoxically becomes increasingly more apparent. She firstly translates *tara* as cod (line 36), and then extends the definition to cod roe, which is the basic ingredient of *mentaiko* (line 43). Having mentioned that it is spicy, she proceeds to ask which spice is included, once again providing the answer herself, namely, *togarashi* (lines 49-50), which she describes in English as a red pepper chili spice (lines 53-54).

Having thus modelled a suitable means of description, which circumvents the sole naming of the Japanese food, she asks her interlocutors the same question with regard to *tonkotsu* (lines 56-57). While Sayaka's response 'chicken soup' is appropriate to the agenda (line 58), it is mistaken, which prompts an other-initiated repair sequence by Marie (in lines 59 and 61). This is effected by means of repetition, which in conversation could be construed as a hearing check (Mazeland and Zaman-Zadeh 2004, Svennevig 2008): it perspectivally locates the problem with the initiator of the repair, namely, Marie, and not with her interlocutor. It can therefore be considered to represent the "least complicated and costly remedy" in conversational interaction (Pomerantz 1984: 156; cf. Svennevig 2008). Other-initiation is also a prevalent mode of repair in pedagogic discourse and may involve the element of withholding (Macbeth 2004, McHoul 1990), as evident in Marie's case, whereby her thrice repetition of 'chicken' acts recursively to locate the repairable, thus renewing opportunity for self-repair (Jefferson 1972, Schegloff et al. 1977). Marie's final repetition, in an extremely loud, exclamatory and incredulous 'chicken' (line 61) when a repair is not forthcoming shows overt other-prompting of self-repair, through which the repairable becomes 'exposed' as the main interactional business (Jefferson 1987). Marie's increasing display of her own knowledge thus culminates in the correction of the mistranslated *tonkotsu*, by Sayaka's classmate Rieko, and its final reformulation as 'pork-based soup or pork consommé' (lines 70-71) by Marie herself.[12]

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[12] Marie's surprise at Sayaka's mistaken definition (lines 59 and 61) can perhaps be better understood in light of the Japanese itself, whereby the *ton* of *tonkotsu* actually means pork (and its Japanese *kanji* script ideographically represents a pig). The obviousness of such a mistake could thus be the cause of the surprise and amusement pervading this segment of the exchange.

4.1.2.2. Pretence and display as scaffolded interaction

Whereas it is possible to infer that Marie has some knowledge of Japan and Japanese, from both the implicature of Excerpt 4.1.1. and her framing of the exchange in Excerpt 4.1.2. (lines 10-15), the extensiveness of that knowledge, at least with reference to the current topic, becomes subsequently evident in her display questions and scaffolding of interaction. Ordinarily, display questions function to elicit students' knowledge in classroom discourse in an initiatory move, which aims to prompt a response from the student(s), as in the well-documented example of triadic IRF/E patterning, whereby it is followed by a third move on the part of the teacher (e.g. Cazden 1988, Mehan 1979a, 1985, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). It is evaluation, as opposed to mere acknowledgement of a response, which overtly signals the teacher's tacit claim to 'know' the answer (see, for example, Lee 2006, Long and Sato 1983, Mehan 1979b, Nunn 1999 on display questions). Ironically, given Marie's initial metacomment on pretence (lines 10-12), it is predominantly her own knowledge, then, which is put on display. In asking her interlocutors to imagine that she does not know anything, Marie is making explicit a formulaic, or ritualized practice (Rampton 1999, 2002), which is normative in classroom settings, yet, having been established, ordinarily remains implicit between teacher and student. That is to say, the teacher asks a question to which he or she already knows the answer (or a framework of appropriacy given an underlying pedagogic agenda), and the student preferably, therefore, provides a response which is concordant with its design.

In such classroom practice, the displayed process of meaning-making is predicated on a distribution of knowledge among the student-participants, even if assembled with the aid of extensive scaffolding by the teachers themselves. A high degree of intersubjectivity, resulting from both shared schemata and rehearsed procedures of scripted interactional norms would appear to be pre-requisites for a relatively smooth enactment of IRF/E dialogue; namely, for a student's 'R' to function as a building block in the construction of content relevant to the teaching agenda. Knowledge is, then,

distributed among the participants in the exchange, and the teacher purposely designs such initiations in order that the students are able to respond. Where they are not, he or she may consequently modify the display questions, similarly to Marie in Excerpt 4.1.2., in continued and scaffolded aspiration towards a pre-defined goal.

However, unlike the use of display questions to elicit student responses to which the teacher holds the key, thereby legitimating a third move in the form of feedback or evaluation, Marie's questions here serve the project of modelling a conversational dialogue which minimizes or obviates the use of Japanese. Her metacomment on the feigning of ignorance thus aims to reallocate knowledge in interaction, from a relatively equal distribution amongst participants (despite the greater apparent expertise of Sayaka), to one in which all of the students are cast as experts vis-à-vis Marie, the novice, thanks to her professed ignorance of both Japan and Japanese. In theory, i.e. were it to be successfully instantiated in interaction, this would contrast starkly with the differentiated distribution of knowledge which is implicit in the classroom use of display questions, and through which the teacher retains the professionally scripted 'ultimate' status of expert, as evident in the pre-allocated final turn of a third move. The metacomment and subsequent scaffolded sequence appear, therefore, to represent an attempted metacommunicative inversion of the classroom epistemic order.

4.1.2.3. On knowing what you eat and how to translate it

While the status of expert is conferred on the students, they might under such circumstances be expected to face one of two difficulties, beyond those potentially relating to their level of L2 proficiency: (i) that of knowing whether the food terminology should be translated into English or can be directly transferred from the Japanese, i.e. as pre-existing loan words; and (ii) that of being able to 'explain' it, in the case where the former does not apply. The food may come as a pre-packaged and ready-made product and be so common in its 'home' country that, in representing culinary normativity, it is problematic to define. This would apply, in particular, where the ingredients

are unknown, or successively require further description through English circumlocution of the Japanese (as in the case of *mentaiko* being defined as a type of cod roe, which further contains the Japanese spice *togarashi*). Both difficulties are, then, related to the participants' socio-cultural knowledge of the topic domain and relevant lexis, as well as their perceived awareness of the knowledge base of the recipient of information.

In contexts of intercultural communication the participants are likely to draw on the assumed knowledge of their interlocutor as a member of a given cultural group, that is, in the lack of known personal characteristics which would potentially override such membership due to greater topical relevance, for example, if one's English-speaking interlocutor were a chef, or more specifically, a chef of a Japanese restaurant in an English-speaking country. Marie has, moreover, negated any knowledge of Japan and Japanese through personal experience of residence, despite the interaction being 'set' in Japan, which for the purpose of the current epistemic game-play simplifies the issue of what to explain and what not to explain, as everything effectively requires explanation due to the totality of Marie's supposed ignorance. Thus, on the one hand the interculturality of the encounter appears to be underscored by the differential distribution of knowledge between native and foreigner, and on the other, it results in a rather unnatural state of acute imbalance, given the 'real' Japanese setting, whose linguistic parameters are, however, re-configured within the monolingual institutional space of the conversation lounge. This is empirically manifest in Marie's interaction-internal orientation, through metacomment, to the institutional prescription of English, and hence to the proscription of Japanese. Her feigned ignorance is so absolute that it might arguably supersede that of an uninformed foreigner on their home turf, who might nevertheless be familiar with Japanese dishes such as *sushi*, as such food vocabulary is often well-travelled, although unpredictably so (Dalby 2008).

As is apparent through Marie's deft use of questions and prompts to scaffold and model an institutionally appropriate English-only dialogue, she is, in fact, extremely knowledgeable about Japanese cuisine. She appears, moreover, to

be better able to describe the food than the supposed experts, who flounder to explain it in their native tongue of Japanese (line 24), appear uncertain which fish produces *tara* (lines 33-35), and mistranslate *ton* as chicken (line 58). It is possible that Marie has to some extent become 'naturalised' to the country and its culture after such a prolonged period of residence, whereby the strange has become familiar, and she may not even herself be fully aware of the extent of her own knowledge. Conversely, the apparently familiar may have become strange, on returning to her home country, potentially resulting in the 'reverse' culture shock which has here been the topic of discussion. This might make it difficult, moreover, to know which Japanese loan words really are current in the English-speaking world, and a blanket solution of total ignorance would represent the most simple and effective way to re-distribute knowledge. Yet the strange which has become familiar in Japan has nevertheless been learnt, having initially been unknown. This contrasts with the students' familiarity of knowledge never potentially having been considered strange enough to be deconstructed; hence, the second problem of culinary normativity. In some respects, then, Marie 'knows' more about Japan, having at one time been strange to it than the students, who are compelled, on the spot, to engage in a form of cultural estrangement.

Marie's vigilance of language use, which causes her to intervene when the students make use of Japanese food terminology, along with her attempt to re-sculpt the epistemological underpinnings of the exchange, suggest that she does not consider her 'real' self, i.e. someone who has spent a prolonged period of residence in Japan and is proficient in the language, to be the best conversational persona for the students to practise English conversation with. Furthermore, as her metacommunicative (and metacognitive) directive follows on from and implicates her former implicature, in which reference is made to the setting of the conversation lounge, her attempt to remodel self through a remodelled dialogue is interconnected with the institutional constraint on the linguistic medium of interaction. Her linguistic vigilance and redistribution of knowledge appear, therefore, to represent an attempt at safeguarding against her 'real' self as a foreigner who is knowledgeable about Japan and Japanese from altering the very design of talk, wherein English is to

be the institutionally prescribed sole medium of communication. Her regulatory intervention hence appears to be caused by the students' use of Japanese among themselves failing to incorporate the 'ideal', monolingual native speaker of the linguistic medium in its 'audience design' (Bell 1984). In other words, they do not accommodate to her as a listening participant who is a non-speaker of Japanese.

Total ignorance of all things Japanese might, by many language teachers, be considered a positive deficit in a native English-speaking conversation partner for the learners to practise their L2 with, hence necessitating the 'negotiation of meaning', i.e. "the collaborative work which speakers undertake to achieve mutual understanding" (Ellis 1994: 260), without recourse to their L1. The English-only policy of the conversation lounge is similarly underpinned by such monolingual language learning ideology, as embedded within a wider political context of L2 pedagogy in which the problematic construct of the native speaker may reign supreme (Auerbach 1993, Mey 1981, Phillipson 1992). As Marie's feigned ignorance is founded on an understanding of her prior implicature, through which the external context of the conversation lounge is internally invoked, the person she is overtly pretending to be and the institutional prescription of English only are instrumentally interlinked.

4.1.3. From nip to bite: a play framing of pedagogic reality?

Marie orients to institutional norms at times when the interaction displays a high degree of relationality, firstly through the interrelation of experience and display of interest and empathy (Excerpt 4.1.1.), and later through the collaborative construction of topic by the students in interaction with each other (Excerpt 4.1.2.). In both cases this is structurally manifest in the relative parity of speakers to self-select speaking turns. Initially, she is able to circumvent the potential threat to the linguistic medium, i.e. English only, through implicature while maintaining, or even heightening, conversational rapport in humorous alignment with her interlocutors vis-à-vis the mutually relevant constraint of institutionality. The second excerpt, however, marks a shift to asymmetry of speaking rights, as characteristic of classroom discourse.

It paradoxically uncovers the instrumentality of the staged event, as the tension between relationality and institutionality becomes apparent: the overtly stated pretence of redistributed knowledge as a means of fashioning an institutionally sanctioned 'conversational' self is undermined by the display of real-life knowledge in the dialogic and asymmetrical modelling of interaction. The scaffolding thus serves to demonstrate an idealized version, as proposed by Marie (cf. Wood et al. 1976), while its asymmetry indexes a differential teacher-student status, by contrast with the 'collective scaffolding' which can occur among co-equals (Donato 1994). Although Marie metacommunicatively seeks to redistribute knowledge so that the students become the experts, it is herself who is effectively cast as such. While Excerpt 4.1.2. could, therefore, represent 'institutionalised outmoding', i.e. a shift from conversational to institutional discourse (Wilson 1989), it might perhaps inversely be seen as 'institutional *in*moding'. That is to say, it reveals the 'real' underpinning institutionality of the event, typically reflected in the initial framing of the 'conversations', which will be the subject of exploration in the following chapter.

'Let's imagine' (line 10, Excerpt 4.1.2.) appears, moreover, to represent a play framing of talk, which hence becomes bracketed off from the real epistemic underpinnings of the exchange. In the words of Bateson (1972: 180): "The playful nip denotes the bite, but it does not denote what would be denoted by the bite". Nevertheless, the metacomment and instruction to explain the Japanese food terminology in English marks a shift from relative parity among the participants to classic pedagogic asymmetry of speaking rights. The obvious, and metacommunicatively keyed change of footing (Goffman 1974, 1981) is relationally legitimated by means of play framing. At the same time, however, it appears to remain unmitigated in terms of its 'real' interactional effects. The paradox noted by Bateson, whereby "these actions in which we now engage do not denote what those actions for which they stand would denote" (1972: 180), is further compounded by the pedagogic 'staging' of conversation. In the current context of play framing the paradox might better be put as: *these actions in which we now engage profess not to denote what those actions for which they stand would denote, but they really do*

denote just that. Thus the distinction between the nip and the bite is obscured by the complex interplay of relationality and institutionality, set against the backdrop of the English-only policy. While the sequence is framed as a ludic exchange, it might, therefore, conversely represent a pedagogic inter-lude, or a 'real' institutional break in a relational play.

While Marie ostensibly negates her knowledge of Japanese and Japan as a means of engineering English-only interaction which is congruent with the normative expectations of the institutional space, the following example contrastively illustrates an orientation to the linguistic expertise of the students which is tacitly founded on an apparently 'real' and uneven distribution of knowledge.

4.2. The teacher as learner: *monjayaki* and the 'real' negotiation of meaning

In the following excerpt an American teacher, Alison, casts the students as experts when she encounters a seemingly unfamiliar Japanese food, *monjayaki*.[13] Three excerpts of the clarification sequence are here presented (4.2.1., 4.2.2., 4.2.3.), with the complete segment provided in Appendix A-3. The first excerpt follows on from talk about the centre of Tokyo, which has been painted as rather hectic, polluted and lacking in neighbourliness. One of the students, Yuto, who has remained in the topical background, is now drawn into the conversation by classmate Miho, who asks him whether he is himself from Tokyo:

Excerpt 4.2.1.

Participants:
        Alison (T5)
        Miho (Sf)
        Yuto (Sm)

---

[13] Alison's self-reported Japanese proficiency was level 3 on the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix B-4).

```
 1.   Miho:      °°hn:°° (...)heh? are you from Tokyo?
 2.   Yuto:      ah: I'm from Toky- ah: I live in: (...)uh I live
 3.              in To(^)kyo? (..) do you know: (^)uh like uh
 4.              (..)shitamachi?¹⁴ °downtown?°
 5.   Miho:      ah::
 6.   (.)
 7.   Yuto:      °°(like)°°
 8.   Miho:      do you know?
 9.   Yuto:      °do you know°
10.   (..)
11.   Alison:    I think so
12.   (.)
13.   Miho:      °°un°°
14.   Yuto:      °Futen no° (^)_°°Tora-san°°¹⁵
15.   Miho:      °T(h)ora-s(h)⌈an° hah hah hah .hhh
16.   Yuto:                  ⌊like hah hah
17.   Miho:      heh Asaku- near Asakusa?
18.   Yuto:      ⌈↑not near (.) Asakusa li- uh near the Ueno
19.   Alison:    ⌊↑°oh okay° oh
20.   Miho:      °°un::°°
21.   (..)
22.   Alison:    hn:: (.) do you have a neighbourhood ↑feel in your
23.              °°town?°°
24.   Yuto:      I thinku (^) maybe people are kindu (^)and~uh:
25.              (^) ↑uh (^)is famous fo:r (.) monjayaki¹⁶ do you
26.              know monjayaki? (^)⌈like okonomiyaki¹⁷
27.   Miho:                        ⌊yeah (.) okonomiyaki
28.   (.)
29.   Alison:    what's the monja mean
30.   Yuto:      monja!=
31.   Miho:      =monj(h)a?!=
32.   Yuto:      =mon⌈ja! wh(h)at d(h)oes mean monja?
33.   Miho:         ⌊hah hah hah I(h) d(h)on't kn(h)ow
34.   Alison:    Is it kind of meat? (.) mon- (^) you said
35.              monjayaki?
36.   Yuto:      mo⌈n↑ja^yaki
37.   Miho:        ⌊monja^yaki
38.   Alison:    <monjayaki>
39.   Miho:      so do you know okonomiyaki?
40.   Alison:    hn: so the yaki¹⁸ means fried °noodles°⌈(^)right? so:
41.   Miho:                                            ⌊yes
42.   Yuto:                                            ⌊ah::
43.   Miho:      °°ah (.)⌈not-°°
44.   Yuto:             ⌊maybe:: no meaning heh monja (^) buto
45.   (..)
```

---

¹⁴ *shitamachi* = literally downtown; the term is used to describe a number of old local towns situated by the rivers on the east side of Tokyo, belonging to the 23 wards constituting central Tokyo, but not within the prestigious central Yamanote ring

¹⁵ *Futen no Tora-san* = 'The vagabond Mr Tora'; refers to a series of comedy films set in the same type of location, famous in Japan; *Futen* = vagabond, *no* = possessive particle, *Tora-san* = Mr Tora, the character's name

¹⁶ *monjayaki* = fried dish made of a runny dough mixture with various finely chopped ingredients, originating from the Tokyo area

¹⁷ *okonomiyaki* = perhaps better-known equivalent, of thicker consistency (hence more like a pancake) and chunkier ingredients, from the Kansai region, with a local variation from Hiroshima also well-known throughout Japan

¹⁸ *yaki* = fried or grilled; here Alison may be thinking of *yakisoba*, which are fried noodles

Here Yuto tries to explain what his hometown is like, firstly in allusion to the popular Japanese films about the character *Futen no Tora-san*, by portraying the kind of local *shitamachi* area he comes from. This conjures up an image, to those familiar with the cultural reference, which contrasts starkly with the busy central area of Tokyo previously discussed. Unlike Marie's case (Excerpt 4.1.2.), however, both of the students check that Alison has understood *shitamachi* (lines 8-9), and following the reference to *Tora-san*, which could be abstruse to many foreigners, collaboratively negotiate its precise location, whereupon Alison signals understanding with 'oh okay' (line 19). As Miho had previously intimated that Tokyo lacks a neighbourhood feel, Alison's query with regard to Yuto's hometown (lines 22-23) marks the resumption and personalization of a prior theme, which Yuto then expands upon, mentioning its signature food *'monjayaki'* (lines 24-26). Once again, however, he checks that Alison is familiar with the food, helpfully comparing it to its better-known gastronomical cousin *'okonomiyaki'* (line 26). While the students do not assume that Alison is on completely unfamiliar linguistic and cultural turf by giving premature, or unwarranted, clarification, they nevertheless provide for its potentiality. Their use of the understanding check 'do you know' (lines 8-9, and lines 25-26) thus differs from the students' unchecked use of Japanese at the beginning of Excerpt 4.1.2., whereby Marie's own knowledge is either assumed, in the aftermath of her implicature (Excerpt 4.1.1.), or not addressed at all.

Alison's apparent lack of topical knowledge consequently prompts an extended clarification sequence, which is founded on a differential distribution of knowledge, without necessitating any metacommunicative framing, or epistemic re-framing. Unlike Marie's dialogue, the participants orient to the negotiation of meaning as a real exchange of information. It is initiated by Alison's request to explain the meaning of *'monja'* (line 29), whereby she makes relevant the students' native linguistic expertise. This is to the evident surprise of both Miho and Yuto, however (see exclamatory repetition, lines 30-31), who appear to be unfamiliar with the meaning (see lines 32-33), which may, as it later transpires, be non-existent (see Yuto, line

44), or at least non-extant.[19] Alison, however, perseveres in her search for the signification of *monja*, aware that the latter half 'yaki' relates to fried food, and asks whether it is meat (line 34). She then repeats the word *monjayaki* in rising intonation, seeking confirmation from the students, who accommodatingly repeat it back to her, minimally disconnecting the former and latter parts in order, presumably, to facilitate acquisition (lines 36-37). Alison consequently once more repeats the word slowly, as in a learner's display of uptake (line 38).

Immediately following the above sequence, the students try to describe the food, primarily with reference to its ingredients and runny consistency (see Appendix A-3); however, the dish is better clarified in their later attempt, as follows:

Excerpt 4.2.2.

```
1.   Miho:    hah .hhh uh::m (.) we ↑divide the food and (^) like
2.            ↑soup ⎡(^) liquid and solid and (.⎡.)ah:: kind of=
3.   Alison:       ⎣°°yeah°°                   ⎣okay
4.   Miho:    =hard to (?) first we make (..) like a doughnut
5.            shape?
6.   Alison:  okay:
7.   Miho:    and (.) ↑then pour: (..) pour: °°nani°°²⁰ ⎡(^) pour
8.   Yuto:                                            ⎣°°like s-
9.            sou- sou soup°°
10.  Miho:    soup inside
11.  Alison:  okay
12.  Miho:    and mix
13.  (...)
14.  Alison:  okay: (...) so the soup is that like (^) egg? or:
15.  Yuto:    ah⎡:: to- (^) a (^) ↑little (^) flour and too many=
16.  Miho:      ⎣ah::
17.  Yuto:    =too much uh water
18.  Alison:  okay
19.  Miho:    °yeah°
20.  (..)
21.  Alison:  almost like (.) pancake mix
22.  Yuto:    yeah
23.  Miho:    yes pancake mix
24.  Yuto:    almost like (.) but (.⎡.) kokei ja nai²¹ hah hah
25.  Miho:                          ⎣hah hah hah
26.  Alison:  it's not thick?
```

---

[19] One possible etymological explanation is that the dish was originally known as *mojiyaki*, the *moji* signifying 'text', as people used to draw characters with the food while cooking it.
[20] *nani* = what
[21] *kokei ja nai* = it's not thick

```
27.   Miho:     ⌜yeah
28.   Yuto:     ⌊yeah
29.   Alison:   kind of thin
30.   Miho:     °yeah°
```

The students are here able to describe the way *monjayaki* is cooked, detailing
the steps involved; that is, firstly, shaping the solid ingredients in a ring (like a
doughnut, lines 4-5), then pouring the 'soup' inside (lines 7-10), after which
they are mixed together (line 12). The negotiation of meaning is, in part,
advanced through Alison's participation, as she requests to know the
composition of the 'soup', herself proposing egg, to which Yuto responds
with flour and water. Alison is therefore able to make a comparison with
pancake mix, which allows the students, in turn, to draw a contrast by
reference to its runnier consistency, thereby further refining its definition.
Noteworthy is that Alison not only lets pass the use of the Japanese '*kokei ja
nai*' (line 24), but herself tentatively provides its successive translation: 'it's
not thick' (line 26), further reformulating this as 'kind of thin' (line 29). While
this segment bears similarities with the type of interaction Marie seeks to
model in Excerpt 4.1.2., as it involves the students describing a Japanese dish
in English for the benefit of the foreign teacher, Alison's apparent lack of
knowledge creates a seemingly real imbalance, and she appears willing to
accept the minimal use of Japanese in bridging the conversationally transient
epistemic gap. The difference in interactional design is, moreover, apparent in
her topical suggestion 'egg' (line 14), which functions as a 'real' question, as
opposed to Marie's intentionally preposterous chicken egg of Excerpt 4.1.2.,
serving to scaffold the desired outcome for the purpose of subsequent
replication with additional Japanese terminology.

Having explained the dish, the dialogue proceeds immediately as follows:

Excerpt 4.2.3.

```
1.   Alison:   ↑oh-okay (.).hhh yeah I've never had it (^) so::
2.   Yuto:     it's very- delicious I love- ⌜(^) I love it!
3.   Miho:                                  ⌊yeah!
4.   Alison:   hn: ↑sounds good ⌜(.)I think I don't like=
5.   Miho:                      ⌊°°un::°°
6.   Alison:   =Hiroshima: (.) style okonomiyaki so ↑much it's too
```

```
7.                 fried?
8.    Miho:        ⌈ah:::
9.    Yuto:        ⌊ah:::
10.   Alison:      so sometimes afterwards I have a °stomachache°
11.   Miho:        hah ⌈hah hah really?
12.   Yuto:            ⌊hah hah hah .hhh
13.   Alison:      yeah!
14.   Miho:        .hhh hah
15.   Alison:      I had it on Saturday and I realized ((clicks
16.                fingers)) you know what? like hah hah⌈(..)↑last
17.   Miho:                                            ⌊hah hah
18.   Alison:      time I had okonomiyaki I- this also happened (^)
19.                little bit of a stomachache
20.   Miho:        ⌈°oh:::°
21.   Yuto:        ⌊hah hah .hhh
22.   Alison:      just ↑hard to digest because it's so:: fried,
23.   Yuto:        ah:::=
24.   Miho:        =°ah°
25.   Alison:      there's no:: (^) no moisture: like maybe .hhh with
26.                (^) mo- mo:: (.) what is it called?
27.   Yuto:        monja^⌈yaki
28.   Miho:              ⌊monjayaki
29.   Alison:      maybe (^) <monjayaki>? (^)there's more:: (..)
30.                liquid? >it's a little more< wet so⌈: maybe it's=
31.   Miho:                                            ⌊yeah
32.   Alison:      =(^) easier to eat
33.   Miho:        yeah maybe I(h) th(h)⌈hah hah
34.   Yuto:                             ⌊may⌈be
35.   Alison:                                ⌊kamoshirenai²²
36.                ⌈I don't know maybe
37.   Yuto:        ⌊hah hah⌈hah hah hah hah
38.   Miho:                ⌊hah hah hah hah .hhh
39.   Miho:        yeah:: (^)⌈but I want- (^) I want you to try?
40.   Alison:                ⌊maybe
41.   S?           un::
42.   Miho:        to eat
43.   Alison:      monja::
44.   Yuto:        ⌈yaki
45.   Alison:      ⌊yaki
46.   Miho:        yaki
47.   Alison:      okay (.) °>I'll write⌈it down<°
48.   Miho:                              ⌊hah .hhh
49.   Alison:      monjaya⌈ki
50.   Miho:               ⌊monjayaki
51.   Alison:      ((writes the word down on a piece of paper in
52.                Japanese))
53.   Miho:        °oh!° can you write Japanese?
54.   (.)
55.   Alison:      just barel(h)y hah monjayaki? (^) like this?
56.   Yuto:        ⌈yeah! (^) excellent
57.   Miho:        ⌊yeah! (^) very beautiful letter hah hah
```

In the above excerpt, Yuto expresses his love of the dish and Miho
recommends that Alison try it. In showing an interest in *monjayaki*, which she

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²² *kamoshirenai* = maybe

feels may be easier to digest than *okonomiyaki*, Alison self-initiates other-repair. Firstly, she attempts to say the word, but, seemingly unable to progress beyond '*mo*', asks the students what it is called (line 26), whereupon Yuto and Miho once again provide the name of the food, '*monjayaki*' (lines 27-28). Alison then repeats this hesitatingly, i.e. slowly and in rising intonation, as she embeds it in her proposition that it may be easier to eat on account of its runnier consistency, adding the Japanese for 'maybe': '*kamoshirenai*' (line 35). Her affiliative code-switching may serve to attenuate her claim, while briefly casting herself in the role of non-native speaker through which she orients to the students' greater topical and linguistic expertise. Self-initiated other-repair then later becomes 'exposed' as the main business of talk (Jefferson 1987) when Alison practises the word, saying the first part '*monja*' and inviting other-repair through sound stretching (line 43). She subsequently repeats the word once more (line 49) and jots it down in Japanese, possibly downplaying her writing ability with 'just barely' (line 55) as she responds to Miho's query with regard to whether she can write Japanese. She then further seeks confirmation through her question 'like this?' (line 55), whereupon she receives highly positive feedback from both Yuto and Miho. Thus, once again, she briefly casts herself as a learner of the students' language, as she overtly orients to their linguistic expertise by inviting evaluative, and potentially corrective, feedback.

4.3. Marie and Alison: contrast and expansion

Marie's excursion into pedagogic discourse, in seeking to model an English-only dialogue founded on an unreal distribution of knowledge, paradoxically culminates in the other-initiated self-repair of the students (by the teacher) with regard to their own supposed field of expertise. On the other hand, Alison's excerpt conversely draws to a close with her own self-initiated other-repair (by the students), ending in their evaluative feedback of her Japanese writing. Her apparent reversal of expertise casts her in the role of novice, or learner. However, it does not cast her as a student. The students may facilitate her learning, and feel justified in positively evaluating her writing due to their native 'ownership' of the language; however, their topical and linguistic

expertise is not underpinned by an institutional superiority of status. They thus deal with repair in the way that native speakers 'teaching' non-native speakers might in 'free', i.e. non-institutional, interaction. That is, non-native speakers predominantly initiate other-repair of their own mistakes by locating, and signalling, trouble, thereby inviting the native speaker to suitably amend the targetted forms, or alternatively to validate them in the case of 'correct' and appropriate usage (Hosoda 2006, Wagner and Gardner 2004). This contrasts, therefore, with much of classroom interaction, in which other-initiated self-repair commonly takes place, i.e. the students' repair of their own contribution as prompted by the teacher (McHoul 1990), as is also evident in Excerpt 4.1.2. A student-like orientation of the non-native to the expertise of the native speaker in seeking help with vocabulary and displaying uptake through repetition, following the latter's feedback, has likewise been noted in conversational interaction (Hosoda 2006). Yet in talk between adults, the native speaker is unlikely to engage in other-repair uninvited (cf. Hosoda 2000), as in the case of display questions, which serve a 'greater' agenda for which the interlocutor imbued with institutional authority holds the key epistemic responsibility. In the case where the non-native speaker subsequently repeats the correction, as in a display of apparent uptake following repair, which is reminiscent of the foreign language classroom or L2 talk in institutional settings (e.g. Mazeland and Zamn-Zadeh 2004, Mori 2004), it might in conversational interaction serve to claim the amended feature as one's own. Having initially been solicited, it consequently becomes appropriated through a display of learning by means of repetition.

Although exploring the tension between relational and institutional frames in conversation-for-learning represents the current focus of research, the 'teaching' by the students might here be considered largely 'conversational', rather than institutional in design. As Keppler and Luckmann (1991:145) note with regard to conversation:

> "Whenever a teaching sequence is in progress, the 'egalitarian' style which characterizes informal dialogue is temporarily replaced by a 'hierarchical' one. This does not mean that conversation yields to another genre of communication – if, indeed, conversation may be considered a genre in the first place. Conversational teaching remains an enclave *within* conversation. It does not

adot the form of an institutionalized pedagogical enterprise." (Keppler and Luckmann1991: 145; italics in original)

It is arguably even less likely to do so if the person one is conversationally teaching really is a teacher of the institution at which one is studying, while the conversation is not quite a conversation, having been pedagogically staged as such.

Casting the student as current topical and linguistic expert to some extent counterbalances status differentials between teacher and student in the pedagogically staged encounter, not merely because the students are teaching the teacher, but because the teacher is acquiring information from them which is relevant to her existence over and beyond the institutional setting of the university, namely, to her life as a foreigner in Japan, and as a non-native speaker of Japanese. Thus, the student is interactionally brought up to a relative par with the teacher. Richards (2006) has similarly argued that the interactional occasioning of 'transportable' identities based on physical or cultural attributes, as opposed to the default 'situated' identities of teacher and student, can effect a shift to more symmetrical talk in the classroom (Richards 2006; cf. Zimmerman's 1998 analytic framework).

The linguistic medium of the exchange, namely English, remains the hidden domain of expertise of the teacher, and is not topically relevant. Moreover, the exchange of information transcends the immediate referential needs of the participants in sustaining intersubjectivity, as it potentially holds personal benefits for Alison, and she later, in fact, mentions her intention to sample the dish at her local eatery. Here the construction of topic is not based on a classroom interactional framework of knowledge display and validation, but on a seemingly genuine, unequal distribution of knowledge among participants. The non-institutional self of the teacher as foreign resident in Japan is hence foregrounded in her bid to obtain topic-specific information from the students, who thereby serve as a practical resource both in the current conversational endeavour and, more generally, in her experience of being a foreign resident in Japan. Such access to local knowledge can potentially enrich Alison's everyday life and support her ongoing

development of socio-cultural awareness; at the same time, her orientation to the expertise of the students interactionally serves to offset the pre-existing institutional imbalance of teacher and student statuses.

When asked to describe the type of interaction in her interview, Alison commented on a difference of roles when talking about Japan, as opposed to her own home state of New York, the initial topic of conversation selected by the students:

Interview; T5: Alison
[Position 75~]

I think it [my role] changes a little bit, like certainly when they're teaching me about uh I forgot the name, *monjayaki*, like clearly then we're speaking as friends, uhm, or when we're talking about really Japan stuff, Shinjuku being crowded, I sort of uhm show my vulnerability, that I'm a foreigner in this country and that they have so much more access and cultural capital than I dream of, and uhm so I think when I show my vulnerability like that, it's much more friendly, uhm, but when I'm teaching them about like 'oh New York is a big place', that's more teacher-student, so I think our roles here are kind of flexible and ambiguous

[...]

yeah I use conversations like this because I need them to know, to learn more about Japan, I don't have many friends outside of university, where I can learn about, ask them specific Japanese culture, at the same time that's a bit of a constraint, like I wouldn't go to a bar and like talk about Japanese culture all night and you know ((laughing)) I wouldn't find that enjoyable, I don't want to be pigeon-holed that much in my relaxation time in that role yeah

Alison considers herself to assume more of a teacher role while she is telling the students about her home state of New York. On the other hand, she feels that they are 'speaking as friends' when the interactional roles are reversed, with the students telling her about Japan. In other words, their interaction would appear to become conversationalized, despite, or because of, the 'teaching' by the students. In the second part of the quote, however, it becomes apparent that Alison perceives an orientation to Japanese culture to have a pigeon-holing effect, whereby she is cast as a foreigner seeking cultural information. This in itself appears constraining and reductive. Although the topic of Japan may provide for a friendlier conversation than when Alison 'teaches' the students about New York, in which case the topic

represents her own field of expertise, it nevertheless appears to differ from the type of interaction she might herself wish to informally engage in.

While it is relatively easy for Alison to draw on her ignorance as an intercultural resource in conversation with the students, having spent only half a year in the prefecture, added to one year's prior stay in another part of Japan, it might be difficult for Marie to negate her real knowledge as a longstanding resident. This could explain her use of implicature and subsequent play framing, having previously revealed her length of stay in Japan. Alison appears able, however, to draw on her own reality as a foreign resident who is happily, for the current institutional purposes, lacking in topic-relevant and culture-specific knowledge. She may therefore find it easier to conversationalize talk with the students, as her 'true' non-institutional self requires 'real' communication based on an unequal distribution of knowledge and topic-relevant language expertise. The resulting relative parity, however, ironically rests on a minimal breach of institutionality by Alison, who marginally flouts the English-only policy in 'allowing' the use of Japanese, herself providing translation and affiliatively codeswitching to Japanese.

On the other hand, Marie's interaction-internal orientation to institutionally prescribed norms paradoxically occasions an asymmetry of interaction inimical to its supposedly conversational design. In her interview, she laughingly responded to the first question regarding her overall impression of the transcribed interaction with: 'she must be a teacher', followed by the further speculation that she must have lived in Japan for a prolonged period of time. Marie's perceived need to explicitly redefine herself through reference to knowledge-based criteria in interaction with the students, moreover, highlights the element of performance of engaging in conversation which is pedagogically staged. This she views as a means of occasioning the use of 'communication strategies', as she explains in response to the question of whether she thought that the students might have perceived any interactional constraints:

Interview; T2: Marie
[Position 106]

> well, just maybe they [the students] have ideas they want to express and they don't
> have the language but, then (.) that's you know communication strategies and what
> they are going to do if they don't have the language, how are they going to approach
> this this task of explaining what they want to say to me, but even towards the end here,
> what is it, *Hakata-ramen* and *tonkotsu* and then I say 'okay, well imagine I'm not
> Japanese and I don't know what that is so now explain it to me', so they've got to use
> some form of you know communication strategy there and and either say well it's like
> this or so, yeah, I, I if this is probably quite ((laughs)) quite arrogant, but if they can't
> explain something to me then they'll have a hard time communicating in the real world,
> you know uhm

It would appear from the quote that Marie views her own extensive
knowledge of Japanese and Japan as divorced from 'the real world'. She
therefore describes a more 'real' persona: namely, someone lacking any topic-
relevant linguistic knowledge, so that the students are compelled to deploy the
desired communication strategy, seemingly to negotiate meaning in their L2.
Such reality appears to be instrumentally anchored in the belief that the
students are learning English for the purpose of use outside Japan. At the
same time the persona is congruent with institutional norms of interaction,
whose acquisitional goal is tacitly encoded within the monolingual policy. In
other words, an adherence to English only would itself appear to index the
institutional identity, or role-based persona, of the teacher.

4.4. Affecting English only, and true to self in Japanese

Although Marie has implicated that she is able to speak Japanese, in the case
that such information is unknown to the student participants, the strategic
feigning of ignorance would appear to present a 'real' interactional possibility
for extended clarification and contribution by the students. This is suggested
by a Canadian teacher, Callum, in his interview, as he reflects on his role
while on duty in the lounge:

Interview; T23: Callum
[Position 116~]

> Callum: I mean of course I have a role as a teacher but you can try to minimize
>   [...] the students' awareness of that role by the things you say and do,

maybe because it would be more motivating for them to <u>deal</u> with you if they feel there's less of a barrier and again there's always the, thinking of myself too though right, it's always, I for <u>me</u> it works best, for me as a person to enjoy myself while I'm working, it works best to have less of a barrier and less constraints between myself and the students too, right

Researcher: and do you feel this is the way you were interacting in this example? [referring specifically to Callum's transcript]

Callum: uh, (.) well I guess so, I guess, would I say these things like trying to make sure, you know, trying to make sure that they get turns to speak and by asking questions and giving them a chance you know these kind of things might be meant to, or I guess making little jokes like I tell a couple stories here that have, you know, comical implications because of my poor pronunciation in Japanese and stuff, these kind of things I would hope or, yeah, I'd hope that they lead to you know keeping me in the teacher role, because I'm still trying to teach them something [...] so that there's the teacher role, but still bringing them into a more you know less constrained uh sphere by doing these things like telling little jokes or asking questions and making sure that they had their turn, letting them teach <u>me</u>, right, I see I've done that a few times, right, even asking questions that I know the answers to in Japanese but, letting them teach me letting them, you know what I mean, letting them, <u>pretending</u> I don't know, to give them a chance to teach me to make it seem more like a conversation than a one-way lecture

Callum considers a more conversational approach, accomplished through the partial dismantling of the barriers between teacher and student, to engender greater motivation for both. His means of 'minimizing their awareness' of his teacher's role, as read into his own data, would appear to involve safeguarding a certain degree of interactional parity by enabling the students to take the floor, humbling his own skills by humourously foregrounding his poor Japanese pronunciation through narrative, and, more relevantly to the current discussion, casting the students as teachers of Japanese, despite, as he maintains, possessing prior knowledge of the relevant subject. Drawing on the students' expertise in interaction and consequently assuming the role of novice thereby appears to represent a strategy by which interactional asymmetry, as here epitomized in the 'one-way lecture', may be allayed in the pursuit of conversationality. In this case, however, the 'teaching' by the students is occasioned by questions to which Callum claims to know the answer. Unlike display questions, his knowledge of the answer is not assumed, or it is much rather assumed not to exist within a supposedly conversational framework of information exchange; and his questions are not therefore intended to test or 'display' their knowledge. As such, the feigning of

ignorance in order to cast the students in the role of teacher is concealed from them, and while touched upon in the teachers' interviews, and if true, is nevertheless non-relevant to the other party in interaction, and hence not 'demonstrably relevant' to either one in analysis of their discourse itself (Schegloff 1997a).

Extending the discussion to beyond the linguistic confines of the conversation lounge itself, the use of Japanese is similarly perceived by another teacher, Fraser, as a means for breaking down barriers, while English, on the other hand, would appear to index his role as teacher in his extra-curricular engagement with the university squash club. This is illustrated when Fraser is asked to describe whether he felt that his way of interacting with students varied across different settings within the university:

Interview; T12: Fraser
[Position 119]

I take part in uhm in the club activity I'm uh with the squash club and uhm I think that you know when when I'm playing squash with them [the students] then I'm more like a teacher and then when it's off, when they're not playing then uhm, you know, I'll use more Japanese or uhm, or I'll talk to them sort of less as a teacher kind of role, so uhm that would be more similar to the [conversation lounge] situation, except that, uhm, there is this temptation to throw in some Japanese there, uh you know that does come in, I do have to kind of break down barriers

The use of Japanese therefore appears to be equated with a lesser degree of institutionality than, by implication, the sole use of English. Although Fraser likewise views his role in the conversation lounge as less of a teacher, he nevertheless appears to legitimize, or excuse, his use of Japanese, referring to it as a 'temptation' and stressing 'I do have to kind of break down barriers', whereby the relational ends may serve to justify the prohibited means. In the squash club, on the other hand, Fraser's reported off-task use of Japanese is implicitly contrasted with his on-task use of only English; however, his justification of Japanese usage in the interactional arena of the conversation lounge suggests a more complex and contradictory incumbency to speak English and at the same time to mitigate status differences, potentially achievable by means of code-switching. The issue of language use, while often obscured from analytic view, would therefore appear to lie at the heart

of the tension between relationality and institutionality in the pedagogic staging of conversation, during which the distinction between 'on' and 'off' arguably becomes blurred.

In terms of context of talk, the teacher might be considered most teacher-like in his or her design of instructional, teacher-fronted interaction, which typically takes place in the classroom (Sinclair and Brazil 1982, Markee 2005). Drawing on the wider institutional context in their discussion of language use, some students comment on the choice of code between teacher and student during and outside of class:

<u>FG, Card 10, Q14</u>

S2(f)	sometimes I have lunch with Tony,[23] at those times we often mix Japanese into our conversation
S4(f)	*un* ((interest))
S2(f)	of course we talk about things, but we don't make any conversation in Japanese, do we
S4(f)	*un un un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	during class, but at those times, we say things in Japanese, such as "*sou na no*"[24] and "*sou, nan toka nan da yo ne,*"[25] it's more[
S4(f)	[*un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	things such as "*wadai tonda ne*"[26]
S1(f)	*un un*[((agreement))
S4(f)	[*un un* ((agreement))
S3(f)	except for class, we have a funny conversation, mixed with Japanese, don't we?
S2(f)	*un*[((agreement))
S4(f)	[*un* ((agreement))
(.)	
S2(f)	it doesn't have anything to do with the location, does it?
S3(f)	*un ne* ((agreement))

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

From my own observation, it appears common for students and teachers to naturally, or 'funnily', mix Japanese into their informal conversation in non-instructional contexts of talk, such as over lunch, although the linguistic medium may be predominantly English. While many of the teachers make use

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[23] Tony = pseudonym for teacher who was not able to take part in the research

[24] *sou na no* = colloquial expression along the lines of 'oh really'

[25] *sou, nan toka nan da yo ne* = colloquial expression along the lines of 'yeah, it's something like that, isn't it'

[26] *wadai tonda ne* = idiomatic expression along the lines of 'we've gone off on a tangent, haven't we', more literally translatable as 'the subject has flown, hasn't it', whereby *wadai* = subject, *tonda* = flew, *ne* = particle which functions similarly to a tag question

of Japanese with students outside of class, both within the institution and quite often at externally held informal social events, including Marie in the latter case, it is possible for the monolingual (instructional) pretence to exceed the confines of the university. This can be seen in the following quote by the American teacher, William, which leads on from the question of perceived differences in interaction according to setting:

Interview; T4: William
[Position 195]

I used to pretend that I didn't speak Japanese at <u>all</u> and when we'd go out I wouldn't, I would just speak English the whole time, but you know, you weigh those gains and losses I guess, and then, so, and I still kind of mix a lot, but at the same time, I'm not afraid to speak Japanese, because, I still think there's positives even at college level me speaking another language, especially when they didn't think I could, so this is just a recent thing that's happened right, but I'm free, I'll speak Japanese and most people didn't know until like this set of parties, with the end of the year parties that have happened, that I've actually started speaking Japanese

In this pretence, the teacher would be able to consistently feign ignorance across the board, even at events which might not ordinarily occasion institutional discourse, such as class parties to which the students often invite their teachers. The teacher's institutional identity, or role-based persona, is thereby still relevant, as it affects both the choice of code used and interpretative interactional procedures, yet it is covertly so, and only, therefore, known to the teacher him- or herself. Nevertheless, it provides a blanket means of inducing predominantly monolingual negotiation of meaning, which can easily therefore be maintained in 'real' English-only institutional settings, such as the conversation lounge. Given Marie's inconsistent use of language across different settings, ostensibly flouting the Maxim of Quality (or truth), as she does, represents a means of remaining true both to herself and to the institutional policy. Were she to baldly deny any Japanese language ability, it might subsequently become uncovered by the students, even if temporarily undetected by them in the course of interaction. Her implicature therefore serves to reconcile the tension between relationality and institutionality.

Moreover, as William's subsequent switch to code-mixing suggests, it is questionable to what extent entirely negating one's linguistic skills and

abilities in Japanese is sustainably desirable, when weighing the interpersonal gains and losses against those of institutionality. While teachers might initially be able to save face in avoiding the use of Japanese altogether, particularly where their language ability is poor, once they have spent a prolonged period of time in Japan, or are known to have worked at the university for several years, the apparent inability to speak *any* Japanese might conversely cause loss of face. Mixing could then represent a fail-safe intercultural compromise, which facilitates interpersonal communication through the interactional alignment of participants to non-institutional identities, or selves, predicated on a real, or more real, distribution of topic-relevant linguistic knowledge.

4.5. Conclusions

Placing the issue of Japanese language expertise once again against the backdrop of the English-only policy of the conversation lounge, the role of the native English speaker would appear to be pivotal, in that it has the somewhat illusory effect of entirely governing language use through audience design. One might otherwise expect the students to ordinarily converse with one another in their L1, namely, Japanese, in the absence of a native English speaker who is appropriately bereft of Japanese language skills (at least from the pedagogical and institutional standpoint). In effect, however, it is the physical realm of the conversation lounge itself which prescribes the language, as students are likewise constrained by the English-only policy in the absence of an on-duty teacher as conversation partner, although they cannot be taken to 'task' for breaching the rules unless there is a teacher around to 'enforce' them. As such, the teachers to some extent become the personalized embodiment of the institution and its practices when participating in talk with the students, as their L1 coincides with the monolingual language policy, and therefore with the officially sanctioned medium of communication. At the same time, however, the English-only policy remains vague and undefined without the interactional presence of a teacher, who can through personal indexicality and experiential attributes provide form to linguistic abstraction; namely, what kind of English is used, for whom is it designed, and to what

extent can it incorporate the use of Japanese? The teachers thus act as agents of structure, yet are at the same time reflexively constrained by it.

Unless the on-duty teachers are willing to bend the pre-defined rules *in situ* to allow intercultural conversation which is both productively and receptively true to their level of Japanese, as appears to be the case with Alison, the feigning of linguistic ignorance, and hence re-distribution of knowledge, presents an additional incumbency for the on-duty teacher. In Marie's case, moreover, the covert feigning of ignorance would imply a substantial negation of self, which might conflict with more 'real-life' scenarios, such as class parties in eateries, at which she would be expected to place her order in Japanese, or anywhere she might be witnessed interacting with non-English-speaking Japanese, including employees of the university itself. Her situated predicament is thus to some extent pragmatically encapsulated in her initial implicature, founded on the Maxim of Quality (Grice 1975). An explictly truthful account of Japanese proficiency might produce interactional effects antithetical to the monolingual concept of the lounge, while an obvious lie might, on the other hand, appear interpersonally uncooperative, or even morally reprehensible, if detected by the students, either at the time of speaking or subsequent to the event. Marie's interpersonal integrity is thus preserved in ostensibly flouting the maxim, as opposed to covertly violating it. Nevertheless, her subsequent interaction-internal orientation to English only, prompted by the failure of the Japanese students to accommodate to the intersubjective needs of a supposedly monolingual 'native' English-speaking interlocutor, effects a shift to asymmetry, which at the same time appears inimical to the relational design of conversation. Thus, a strict adherence to English only may somewhat counter-productively index the institutional identity, or role-based persona, of the teacher, in what is intended to be an informal intercultural encounter, albeit for the underlying pedagogic, and hence instrumental, goal of L2 acquisition.

While it might be easier for some teachers to covertly feign topic-specific ignorance of Japanese, particularly where such pretence is relatively close to their true ability, or where that ability is not particularly advanced and the

difference between real self and enacted persona is not, therefore, easily discernible, a sense of authenticity of self may present a challenge to one's motivation to do so. In his discussion of personalizing interaction in the L2 classroom, Richards (2006) notes:

> "The interactional, pedagogic and moral legitimacy of the sort of engagement I have proposed depends on the authenticity of the encounter: a person who feigns aspects of their transportable identity (except when explicitly assuming a different identity as in role play situations or on stage) is guilty of deception." (Richards 2006: 73)

Although this might appear a somewhat harsh condemnation of inauthenticity, it serves to address the point that, by contrast with such role play scenarios, the teachers are supposedly playing themselves in the conversation lounge. At the same time, however, they may not be overtly assuming the interactional roles and responsibilities characteristic of the classroom, as in the obvious scripted pursuit of pedagogic agendas, such as IRF/E patterning. Unlike the role play or the classroom, the less obvious pretence of conversation-for-learning thus has implications for the projected person of the teacher, and caught in an institutional double-bind between pedagogic and conversationally relational commitments, it may be difficult to be true to self (at least insofar as this can be defined in terms of real knowledge states and associated experiences). Moreover, the difficulties presented by the situated context of talk may strip from the teachers a much valued sense of authenticity (N. Coupland 2003), who might therefore find themselves largely 'innocent' in the pedagogically motivated game of 'deception'.

Whether such pretence is covert or overt, the resulting dialogue arguably presents a form of orchestrated monolingual 'authenticity', which is divorced from the real-life native speaker as a foreign resident in Japan. It thus invokes a personification of an abstract construct, which may well have its uses as myth and model in pedagogic description and prescription, yet remains problematic in the flesh (Davies 1991, 1998, 2003). As the native speaker is often equated with monolingualism (Kramsch 1993, Rampton 1990), the circumscription of the institutional space of the conversation lounge by English only breathes life into a sociolinguistically essentialized entity. It thus raises questions with regard to the 'real' pragmatic value of the idealization of

the native speaker (Mey 1981, Leung et al. 1997). Certainly, the teachers are interculturally versed in communicating with Japanese and, to various degrees, in the linguistic medium of Japanese itself. Moreover, it is such personal knowledge and experience which might invest the institutional encounter with an air of conversationality. In interactional practice, however, English only appears to institutionalize the person of the teacher, and serves as a reminder of the underpinning goal-orientedness of the event. This becomes further apparent in the participants' negotiation of topic, which is explored in the following chapter.

5. MOBILIZING THE MEDIUM: TOPIC AS A FRAME FOR CONVERSATION-FOR-LEARNING

5.0. Introduction

If two or more people are brought together for the supposed purpose of conversation making, they need to 'talk about' something, and language thus represents a mediating tool in the construction of topic. To the participants engaged in the interactive process of meaning making, its use might remain largely unheeded as they focus on intending and interpreting message. Language use itself, however, provides the underpinning instrumental goal of conversation-for-learning in the present context of research, to which the English-only policy itself bears testimony. This points to a situated paradox, whereby the primary goal of mobilizing the medium is, in functional terms, secondary to its propositional content. The latter is, furthermore, essential to the deployment of language, even if it may appear to be of lesser import than the overriding relationality characteristic of conversational exchange. As conversation-for-learning appears to be lacking an obvious design for its instrumental use, the present chapter sets out to examine the initiation of topic, as a means of both making and framing talk in first-time encounters among teachers and students.

In the case of fluency focussed instruction in the classroom, the L2 teacher may often make use of so-called 'carrier topics', whose propositional content is intended to 'carry' the language, inversely to the conduit metaphor of communication, in which language represents the vehicle of content (Reddy 1979). In the current conversation lounge setting, the institution does not set a topical agenda, yet it pre-emptively seeks to shape interactional design through the recommendation that students select topics prior to approaching a teacher. This is commonly articulated in freshman orientations to the lounge, as well as in the accompanying promotional and teaching materials.

Normative assumptions of conversation-for-learning thus extend beyond the use of English as the medium of communication to the actual scheme of interaction. Moreover, the students' manner is further implicated, as they are at the same time advised to be 'active' participants in conversation. 'Activeness' might be interactionally manifest in the self-selection of speaking turns. As such, it is structurally interlinked with the students' pre-selection of topic, as this becomes translated from plan to action when introduced by them to conversation-for-learning. In other words, the institutional recommendation that students pre-select topic equates with the interactional pre-allocation of topic nomination.

In the present chapter, four examples of topic initiation in which the students make use of metacommunicative framing are explored. They are placed on a cline of student responsibility for the introduction of topic to conversation-for-learning, from its initial attempted concession to the teacher (Excerpt 5.1.) to its final appropriation by the students (Excerpt 5.4.).

5.1. 'What do you want to talk about?' A concession of topic choice

The first excerpt illustrates metacommunicative framing by the student, Yuto, whereby he concedes the selection of topic to the teacher, Fraser, who comes from New Zealand:

Excerpt 5.1.

Participants:

> Fraser (T12)
> Yuto (Sm)

```
1.   Yuto:     so what do you want to talk about hah hah=
2.   Fraser:   =what do ⌈↑ I want to talk about!?=
3.   Yuto:            ⌊ uh::
4.   Yuto:     =yes uh:: I I heard you a- you are Australian.
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5.   Fraser:   hm~THAT's not true.
6.   (.)
7.   Yuto:     ↑not true=
8.   Fraser:   =you heard incorrectly.
9.   (.)
10.  Yuto:     really?
11.  Fraser:   yes.
12.  Yuto:     ↑where are you from.
13.  Fraser:   °I'm from New Zealand°
14.  (.)
15.  Yuto:     New Zealand!?
16.  Fraser:   yes.
17.  Yuto:     oh(h) rea(h)lly (.)uh:: so:: hah ⌈hah
18.  Fraser:                                    ⌊who told you I
19.            was from °Aus↑tralia°=
20.  Yuto:     =my friend my friend told,
21.  (.)
22.  Fraser:   your friend who is that.
23.  (..)
24.  Yuto:     °↑who° ah:::=
25.  Fraser:   =((clicks tongue))°oh:::: well you'd better tell
26.            your friend that,°=
27.  Yuto:     =hah hah hah .hhh really? uh:: ↑so: ah::: (...)
28.            uh:: °introduce yourself a little bit (.) I don't
29.            know about you a- anything.°
30.  (.)
31.  Fraser:   >I'm ↑Fraser I'm from New Zealand.<
32.  Yuto:     >anyway< uh anything else? uh:: what's your hobby.
33.  (.)
34.  Fraser:   hobbies? Uh I ↑LIKE uhm::: sports and I ↑like
35.            uh::: cultural things like uhm:: (...)((clicks
36.            tongue))
37.  Yuto:     °sports? (.) what what (.) uh:: which sports (^)
38.            a:re popular in New Zealand.°
39.  Fraser:   ↑well of course (.)the main sport i::s >in New
40.            Zealand< is ↑rugby
41.  Yuto:     rugby?=
42.  Fraser:   =and >of course< ↑TOMORROW is a very ↑IMPORTANT
43.            DAY FOR RUGBY.
44.  (..)
45.  Yuto:     °ah you mean° Japan?
46.  (.)
47.  Fraser:   uh
48.  Yuto:     New Zealand?
49.  (..)
50.  Fraser:   ↑well (^) uhm it's the Rugby World Cup
51.  Yuto:     uh ↑World Cup.
52.  Fraser:   YES!
53.  Yuto:     ↑really=
54.  Fraser:   =of rugby
55.  Yuto:     uh~huh
56.  Fraser:   and uh:: that's kicking off tomorrow (.) in
57.            Australia.
58.  Yuto:     Australia? hah ⌈hah
59.  Fraser:              ⌊in Austra⌈lia
60.  Yuto:                           ⌊in(h) Austra(h)lia(h)
61.            .hhh uh (.)so:: ((clicks tongue))↓uh::: you are
```

```
62.                 not from Australia .hhh
63.     (.)
64.     Fraser:     I am not from Australia °no°.
65.     (.....)
66.     Yuto:       so~uh:: (..)uhm uhm I was (^) pre(h)pa(h)ring (.)
67.                 I was preparing for Australia ah=
68.     Fraser:     =>to talk about< Australia I used to- I lived in
69.                 Australia for about a year.
```

The interdependence of propositional content and linguistic medium is implicit in Yuto's opening question 'so what do you want to talk about' (line 1), whereby 'talk about' encapsulates both topic ('about') and medium of communication ('talk'). While on the one hand it addresses the need for a topic in doing talk, on the other it places the responsibility for its selection on Fraser. In other words, Yuto appears to frame the interaction as one in which Fraser is expected to select the topic. Fraser's response, however, suggests that he thinks otherwise, as he echoes Yuto's question with a 'deictic shift' (Levinson 1983) in person reference from 'you' to 'I', which is heavily stressed: 'what do I want to talk about?' (line 2). Pronominally stressing 'I' thus serves to pinpoint the locus of contention, while his rising intonation, which markedly contrasts with the neutrally cast question, appears to convey a sense of surprise, or mild incredulity. In other words, Fraser signals that he does not believe it is *his* responsibility to select a topic.

Yuto then proceeds to provide a topic himself by introducing nationality through hearsay: 'I heard you are Australian' (line 4). His assertion is 'pre-topical' in that it invites Fraser to make a relevant contribution which might serve as topic initiation, if then followed up by Yuto (see Maynard 1980, Maynard and Zimmerman 1984). However, Yuto has been given the wrong information: Fraser is not from Australia, but New Zealand. Fraser's response appears to be underinformative, as he merely informs Yuto that it is untrue (line 5), without correcting the mistake himself. Despite Yuto's repetition of 'not true' (line 7) and the questioning intonation of 'really?' (line 10), Fraser further responds with 'you heard incorrectly' (line 8) and 'yes' (line 11), respectively. Yuto is thus compelled to formulate the question which has remained unspoken, yet appears inevitably pending in the lack of either other-

repair or new information which might prompt self-repair, namely: 'where are you from' (line 12).

Having established that Fraser is from New Zealand, and not Australia, and following a brief insertion sequence in which Fraser attempts to glean from him the source of his erroneous information (lines 18 – 22), Yuto is once again placed in the position of initiating topic, as Fraser does not extend his response beyond the requisite information; nor does he redirect the question, or a topic-relevant response, to his interlocutor. Yuto's next step is, then, to ask Fraser to introduce himself, saying 'I don't know about you anything' (lines 28-29). Yet Fraser supplies information which is already known, namely, his given name (which is on the schedule) and his place of origin, which has just been established. Moreover, he provides this information rapidly and in utterance final intonation, appearing unwilling to extend his response. Yuto's presentation-eliciting request is thus met with a propositionally unelaborated response. As such, it does not serve as a topical 'bid' (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999), which might be accepted and extended by Yuto. So, following a brief pause, Yuto introduces another topic: that of hobbies (in line 32).

Once Fraser has mentioned sports (in line 34), Yuto appears keen to latch onto the topic, cutting him short (line 37) while in the process of expanding his list of interests with reference to culture, which is left propositionally incomplete (line 35). Yuto quickly follows up with another question, which he links to Fraser's country of origin, asking 'which sports are popular in New Zealand?' (lines 37-38). Having mentioned rugby, Fraser this time extends his contribution by informing Yuto of the upcoming World Cup, which paves the way for topic progression. Somewhat comically, as a result of this, 'Australia' pops up again as the location of play (line 57), and is followed by a sequence of repetitions (58-64), interspersed by laughter on Yuto's part (lines 58 and 60), which appear to be both referentially affirmative and relationally affiliative. When Yuto contrastively stresses: 'so you are not from Australia' (lines 61-62), he implicitly foregrounds his former mistake. After Fraser's confirmation, once more by means of repetition, and ending in a gentle 'no'

(line 64), Yuto concludes by explaining that he had been preparing to talk about Australia. Fraser helpfully, for the purpose of topic progression, volunteers the relevant experience of having previously lived in Australia for a year, from which the topic is then 'legitimately', i.e. by means of accurate information, enabled to proceed.

5.1.1. A breach of norm and withholding of self

In providing the propositional bare minimum, while withholding information, and thereby failing to extend contributions or reciprocate Yuto's questions, Fraser appears unwilling to play an 'active' role in topic nomination and progression himself. However, his apparent lack of facilitative involvement may, in part, be rooted in humour. When he advises Yuto to put his friend right about his nationality (lines 25-26), it could be in mock offence and chastisement, as he intimates at the more general level with regard to mistaken nationality in his interview:

Interview; T12: Fraser
[Position 70~]

I'm entirely used to it, so it doesn't offend me but uh I'll I'll perhaps I will pretend that I'm offended just to underline the point that you know some people get uh rather annoyed if you get the nationality wrong

[...]

I guess uhm what I was doing in the first bit uhm is trying to like delay information, so I keep them guessing a bit, and get them sort of active into that conversation

Fraser's restraint in occupying interactional space could, therefore, represent a means of compelling Yuto to complementarily assume a more dominant interactive role. Fraser does not seem to be willing to bear the onus of conversation making, as can be inferred from his initial resistance to providing the topic himself when asked by Yuto what he wants to talk about (line 1).

Although the participants are free to choose whichever topic they want to talk about, they are at the same time constrained to talk. The volition implicit in Yuto's use of the verb 'want' could, however, relate both to topic choice and the very act of talking itself. In other words, it might also appear to frame the 'conversation' as an activity in which the teacher 'wants' to engage. This would be in contrast with the teacher's obligation to participate while 'on duty', however. Yuto may simply be aiming to accommodate towards the teacher's topical wants out of other-oriented consideration, yet in so doing appears to be attempting to relinquish responsibility for topic selection. Whatever Yuto's reason for opening in this way, it could appear to Fraser that he is seeking to engineer teacher-led interaction by ceding his pre-allocated right, or obligation, to select topic.

Fraser might reasonably assume, given the context of interaction, that Yuto has approached him for a purpose, i.e. an instrumental reason for engaging in 'conversational' talk, and may correspondingly expect him to supply the topic of interaction himself. Such an expectation would be in interactional accordance with institutional norms, whereby the students are expected to think of a topic prior to approaching the teachers on duty. Fraser's reaction in line 2, moreover, signals that Yuto's comment is an unexpected breach of the topical 'order'. In my data corpus it is, in fact, overwhelmingly the students who initiate 'conversation' on a topic of their choice. Although there are cases where the topic is negotiated among participants, the teacher never fulfils the sole role of initial topic selector. The present case might, then, be classed as 'deviant' in that the student asks the teacher directly what he wants to talk about. Fraser's response would suggest that he, too, considers it an apparent breach of norms. Yuto's metacommunicative framing, which represents the start of the four-part cline of student responsibility for topic initiation, is, then, unique. However, for this very reason it can be accorded special analytic status. As Svennevig (1999: 67) notes:

> "Deviant cases also testify to the norm in that the deviation itself will either be accounted for or else sanctioned by the participants in the interaction. In this way, they provide extra strong evidence for the normative character of the conversational procedures."

In his research interview, Fraser mentions that students tend to rely on the teacher to 'direct the conversation', or act as 'master of ceremonies', while he tries to 'peel off responsibility'. This could provide further insight into his seeming reluctance to actively participate at the beginning of this particular 'conversation'. While Yuto frames the interaction as one in which the teacher is expected to select the topic of interaction, it might appear to Fraser as if he himself were being framed, that is, set up with the responsibility not only for topic nomination, but for its development throughout the conversation itself. The interaction thus appears light-heartedly to begin with an inverse struggle for topical non-dominance. By bringing his former mistake to the forefront of interaction and subsequently revealing that he had been preparing to talk about Australia, it becomes apparent that Yuto's initial framing of interaction was not due to 'inactiveness' on his part, and this serves to retroactively put right any possible misinterpretation of his opening question. Fraser consequently appears to grant him some clemency in showing a willingness to advance the chosen topic, as he tells him that he has, in fact, spent a year living in Australia.

Following the initial deflection of Yuto's question 'what do you want to talk about?' (line 1), the further delay in topic introduction is, therefore, occasioned by a case of mistaken national identity. However, the withholding of personal information on the part of Fraser extends well beyond this, as his self-introduction is inadequate for the purpose of topic progression. While his withholding succeeds Yuto's question which casts him in the interactional role of topic selector, and appears consequential to it, the following excerpt similarly illustrates a humourous delay in topic introduction, which conversely precedes the metacommunicative framing of topic by the students.

5.2. 'What shall we talk about?' Negotiating topic selection

In Excerpt 5.2., the need and responsibility to introduce a topic in service of conversation-for-learning once again becomes apparent through delay and

metacommunication. However, this time the students defer choice of topic to the teacher, Graham, in a way which implicates all of the participants inclusively. He, on the other hand, returns the ball to the students' court, whereby topic selection becomes cast as an interactional entitlement.

Excerpt 5.2.

Participants:

        Graham (T6)
        Sanae (Sf)
        Saori (Sf)

```
1.   Saori:    °hai°
2.   Sanae:    °°okay°°
3.   ( . )
4.   Graham:   hello::!
5.   Sanae:    hell⌈o::!
6.   Saori:        ⌊hello::!
7.   Graham:   hello::
8.   Saori?:   hah hah hah
9.   Sanae:    hello!
10.  Graham:   HELLO::! ((speaking to recorder))
11.  Sanae:    hah hah hah hah hah .hhh
12.  Saori:    uhm (^) ⌈uh (.) ⌈my name is Saori.
13.  Graham:            ⌊hm
14.  Sanae:                    ⌊hah hah
15.  Graham:   hi Saori
16.  (.)
17.  Sanae :   °°yeah°° (^) I'm Sanae.
18.  Graham:   I'm ↑Graham (..) nice to ↑meet you!
19.  Sanae:    ⌈nice to meet you::
20.  Saori:    ⌊nice to meet you::
21.  Graham:   nice to ↑meet you
22.  Sanae:    hah hah hah
23.  (..)
24.  Saori:    h(h)ow are you?
25.  Graham:   I(h)'m ⌈very well thank you how are you?
26.  Sanae:          ⌊hah hah hah hah hah hah
27.  Saori:    I'm fine
28.  Graham:   °°very good°°
29.  (....)
30.  Sanae:    °°hah ⌈hah hah°°
31.  Saori:         ⌊so:::
32.  Graham:   so⌈:::?
33.  Sanae:      ⌊so:: hah hah
34.  Saori:    s(h)o hah hah
35.  (...)
```

```
36.  Sanae:     what shall we talk about
37.  Saori:    ⎡yeah hah hah
38.  Graham:   ⎣ah you can you can decide
39.  Sanae:     I can decide hah hah
40.  Saori:     heh⎡::
41.  Graham:       ⎣you can decide.
42.  (.)
43.  Saori:     ah ⎡uhm
44.  Sanae:        ⎣hah hah hah
45.  (..)
46.  Saori:     wh- ⎡(.) what about summer vacation?
47.  Sanae:         ⎣hah hah hah
48.  Graham:    summer vacation we ↑can, (..) but I had a very
49.             boring ⎡summer vacation.
50.  Sanae:            ⎣hah hah hah
51.  Saori:     hah hah t(h)hat's too b(h)ad
```

Prior to the introduction of conversation topic, the segment is marked by playful repetition. Graham repeats his 'hello' (line 7), having initiated the greeting himself, and having since received a response from his interlocutors (lines 5 and 6), whereupon it is once more repeated by Sanae (line 9). Moreover, in greeting the recording equipment with a resounding 'hello' (line 10), Graham over-extends socialities to address a temporally and physically displaced listener who is unable to respond, and whose identity is unknown. Having performed the greetings, the participants proceed to the introductions, after which Graham adds a 'nice to meet you' (line 18). Despite the phrase having been reciprocated by both students (lines 19 and 20), he repeats it once again (line 21), with the sudden rising intonation of 'meet' lending a singsong and comical air to the utterance, to the amusement of Sanae (line 22).

As Saori laughingly pursues the introductions with a 'how are you?' (line 24), Graham, also laughingly, responds and reciprocates the question (line 25). Upon Saori's response (line 27) he adds a third turn assessment; namely, a 'very good' (line 28), as may be characteristic of such personal state inquiry (Sacks 1975). Graham's turn functions as a 'sequence-closing third' (Schegloff 2007a), as it closes off a question-answer sequence without extending or renewing conversational preliminaries. Graham thus waits for the students to proceed with the conversation as a lengthy pause ensues (line 29), after which Saori resumes talk with an extended continuer, 'so' (line 31), which is then repeated by Graham in rising intonation (line 32). The continuer

further becomes extended through speaker transfer, neither leading anywhere in Graham's own turn, nor in the successive ones by Sanae and Saori (lines 33-34), who themselves both laughingly repeat the 'so'. The introduction of topic is thereby deferred from one speaker to the next (with the students to some extent acting as a unit, as both are known to one another and engaged in the mutually assigned task of making conversation with an unknown teacher).

Sanae finally puts an end to the delay with the metacommunicative question 'what shall <u>we</u> talk about?' (line 36). She places emphasis on the 'we', thereby framing the exchange as a joint exercise in topical construction, by contrast with Yuto (Excerpt 5.1.). Her question nevertheless compels a response, which could, in answer to the 'what', position Graham in the role of topic selector. However, he returns the option to his interlocutor with: '<u>you</u> can decide' (line 38), stressing the 'you', which thus contrasts with the preceding collective pronoun 'we'; and Sanae is thereby explicitly cast as topic selector. She then parallels his proposition with: '<u>I</u> can decide?'(line 39), similarly stressing the personal pronoun and questioningly underscoring her own role as the agent of topic choice, as interactionally allocated to her by Graham. Despite her laughter and Sanae's apparent backchannelling of uncertainty ('*heh*', line 40), Graham repeats 'you can decide' (line 41), in falling and definitive-sounding intonation. Although Graham's use of 'can' casts the choice as an entitlement, the students are at the same time interactionally constrained to select a topic, given his own apparent lack of intent to do so. It is classmate Saori who finally proposes the summer holidays as a potential topic, and despite Graham's summer appearing to have been uneventful, the topic is subsequently adopted by the parties in interaction.

5.2.1. Deferring topic choice and its introduction through humour

In the above excerpt, the introduction of topic is delayed by the participants by means of a rather extensive and comical rigmarole of greetings and introductions, after which the responsibility for topic selection itself becomes

light-heartedly re-negotiated, as most evident in pronominal stress in reiteration (cf. lines 1-2, Excerpt 5.1.). Although the decision with regard to topic is cast as an entitlement by Graham, the participants seem to be aware of the interactional onus of topic selection, which is deferred by means of humourous repetition. As Johnstone (1994: 6) states, repetition "is one of the primary forms of play". The tone is here playful from the outset, with the repetition extending far beyond the expected second pair part of the adjacency pair, and the response thus being overplayed by the participants in interaction.

Graham provides an example of humourous repetition as typical of first-time encounters in the conversation lounge:

Interview; T6: Graham
[Position 106~]

Researcher: right, so are there any other things you find typical or not typical of [conversation lounge] conversations in general when you look at this?

Graham: hm, well the amount of stuff done for comic effect, which is not really funny but like I don't know, 'you can decide' 'I can decide' 'you can decide' that's the kind of, you get quite a lot of that stuff

Researcher: right right, so that is typical or not, sorry, not typical

Graham: fairly typical I would say, it kind of depends, but if it's a first meeting I think that's fairly typical.

Researcher: right, so you mentioned before that you were putting on a bit of a show because you were being recorded

Graham: to an extent but I think I probably always try to put on a bit of a show ((laughing))

Researcher: ((laughs))

Graham: anyway, just cos it's, I think if you, if you try hard to generate an interesting conversation, but a conversation where they're relaxed and they're laughing it makes everything go a bit quicker than you just sit there, not smiley and whatever, it's painful isn't it

Researcher: right right, so you're trying to convince yourself ((laughing))

Graham: I think I'm trying to entertain them a little bit

The humour further becomes evident in Graham's boisterous inclusion of the recording equipment in the initial greetings, through which he draws attention to the staging of the speech event, thereby making light of the potentially

inhibiting effects of its recording. While it has been noted for participants in an informed context of research to comment on its set up, including the recording equipment (see Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999), Graham takes this one stage further in theatrically booming a 'hello' at the MD recorder. Thus, the teacher is aware of 'scrutiny by an audience' (Bauman 1992: 44, and Bauman and Briggs 1990: 73), physically manifest in the students' use of recording equipment, and he further makes his co-participants aware, as displayed in his displaced greeting. This may, then, present a means of socio-relationally aligning all in interaction vis-à-vis the instrumentality of the event.

The excerpt thus illustrates deictic reference to the external context, which is consequently internally invoked, as in the case of Marie (Excerpt 4.1.1.), and may similarly serve to relationally mitigate the effects of institutionality, while at the same time complying with task-specific expectations. In Graham's case it explicitly addresses a personified instrumentality in the form of the recorder, which is humourously included in the greetings as a 'ratified participant' (Goffman 1981). In contrast with Marie, however, it pertains to the more particular staging of the current research event; yet it is arguably of shorter-lived duration and of lesser 'relevance' in being initially foregrounded and then laid to rest (cf. Svennevig 1999) than the recursively demonstrable relevance of English only (Excerpt 4.1.). While Graham mentions the recording as one of the potential constraints in accomplishing the task, he also suggests that it may be of passing concern:

Interview; T6: Graham
[Position 100~]

Researcher: right, so uhm, yeah so the constraints [for the students] you mentioned were you could imagine perhaps language constraints and that you're a teacher and then they kind of worry about what they say to the teacher

Graham: yeah, I don't know how worried they were about the tape, I thought they were in a way, but maybe I think that comes down to creating a reasonable atmosphere, if you get the atmosphere going then you kind of forget about the tape and I think I did, I didn't particularly care, but I don't know about them, but probably they didn't think about the tape I guess for a while, uhm

The humour apparent in the repetition of greetings, including the personification of the MD recorder, may therefore serve to mitigate status differences (Wilson 1989), as well as stall the introduction of topic. Within the core institutional business of teaching, humour can represent a powerful means of inducing a more informal atmosphere, whereby it serves to reduce the divide between teacher and student (Nguyen 2007). As Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 109-110) point out "[h]umour typically constructs participants as equals, emphasising what they have in common and playing down power differences". Generating a friendly atmosphere is a recurrent theme in Graham's interview, whereby it is presented as a means of lessening the potentially inhibiting effects of institutionality, whether in the more immediately tangible form of the task itself, or the more widely obtaining barriers he perceives between teacher and student. Informality as the overarching aim in conversation-for-learning can be intimated from the following quote, which forms part of Graham's response when asked to describe the conversation, as he goes on to prompt the researcher for further clarification of the question:

Interview; T6: Graham
[Position 48~]

Researcher: so for example if you, do you think that it's a kind of teacher-student conversation or do you think of it as a kind of informal or more formal or friendly or whatever springs to mind

Graham: okay, it's certainly informal and friendly and I think trying to be very friendly, as if, I don't know trying to generate an atmosphere as if, this was the first time I had ever spoken to them I guess which can sometimes be awkward but trying to, as if we'd spoken a lot, that kind of atmosphere, uhm, I don't think it's a particularly teacher-student conversation, I think I probably, I don't think I asked more questions than they did, I suspect I did try to get them to talk, hm, but I yeah, but I think they were asking me a question I think (.) so in that sense I was trying to get them to speak, which isn't teacher-student kind of

In depicting the 'conversation' as more informal than teacher-student interaction, the latter appears to be characterized by a quantitative imbalance in question-asking, whereby the teacher predominates. In the present example, he notes the questions by the students and his own attempt to 'get them to speak', which he considers to be less teacher-student oriented. Moreover, he

acknowledges elsewhere, and in passing, that he 'forced them to decide a topic first'. As such, the withholding on the part of the teacher which has been seen in the previous and current excerpts might be considered a type of enforced parity, with the humour employed by the teachers pertaining both to the interactional need for a topic, and the responsibility for its selection by the students. Similarities can therefore be drawn between Excerpt 5.1. and Excerpt 5.2., as the students frame the event as one in which the teacher is expected to select a topic, which causes the teacher, in turn, to interactionally renegotiate such positioning. Progressing onwards in the metacommunicative cline of student responsibility, the following two excerpts see the students themselves suggesting a topic of conversation.

5.3. 'Can we ask about you?' The teacher as topic and resource

In the next short excerpt, a student's metacommunicative question serves as a pre-request for information from teacher Callum, who himself represents the proffered topic of conversation.

Excerpt 5.3.

Participants:

>Callum (T23)
>Tomomi (Sf)
>Yayoi (Sf)

```
1.   Tomomi:  can we(..)ask about you?
2.   Callum:  of course yeah (.) we gotta talk about something=
3.   Tomomi:                  uhm
4.   Callum:  =right?
5.   Tomomi:  y(h)es :!
6.   Yayoi:          hah hah hah
7.   Callum:  sure.
8.   (..)
9.   Tomomi:  uhm .. °let's see°. (..) what class are you
10.           teaching (..) like (.) Freshmen?
```

In contrast with the previous two examples the question by student Tomomi appears more topically proactive, as she proposes Callum himself as both the topic and its source of information (line 1). Callum's response 'we gotta talk about something' (line 2) highlights both the need to talk: 'gotta talk', and for topic in its accomplishment: 'about something'. He thus makes reference to talk as a requirement, and topic as a requirement in talk, namely, as the 'something' which serves as the message of the medium. Callum's topical metacomment is, furthermore, met with an emphatic and laughing affirmative from Tomomi (line 5), as well as laughter from the other student, Yayoi (line 6).

In this example, then, the institutional and relationally non-volitional character of the exchange becomes evident. As all participants are bounded by institutional design, Callum is able to humourously draw on the requirement to talk, and correspondingly of having to select a topic, as a mutually perceived constraint.

5.3.1. Metacommunicative framing as unnaturally explicit

Callum also mentions the need to talk about something in the more general context of conversation lounge interaction in his interview:

Interview; T23: Callum
[Position 86]

> I don't know but people joke a lot right about uh the sort of forced, well, stilted part of it, yeah, I don't know these forced conversations, you've got to talk about something so you latch onto something quickly and then go with it right

In elaborating on the 'forced' nature of conversation-for-learning, beyond the formulation of topic, Callum mentions its explicitness as the quality which causes it to feel unnatural. He describes the usual scenario of students approaching a teacher on duty in the lounge, whereby the students ask 'uh

excuse me, are you busy, can I talk to you', as a preliminary to conversation making, and ponders whether they might be able to behave otherwise under the circumstances:

Interview; T23: Callum
[Position 128~]

Callum: I don't know because I don't have that experience myself, what should they do right, uhm, it still seems forced though right, it still seems, it still seems unnatural to do it so, I don't know

Researcher: even for this setting?

Callum: well, yeah I guess not right, I mean I guess it's not, because everyone does it, right, so I guess it is natural for this setting, but it still feels unnatural, but then would I do, if I go and talk to somebody who's twenty years older than me and say Japanese, so their, you know, different native language, and I go to interrupt them in Japanese, I do the same thing right, I say 'excuse me, do you have a few minutes, can I talk to you', so it may be a sort of hedge to make sure that everything's clear, that they're not missing you know they use, they use, they make these sort of non-verbal cues, so they want to make sure by asking that everything is, that it is fine for them to sit and talk right, so they make it really explicit and don't leave anything implicit

In imagining the reverse scenario, with himself approaching a Japanese person in order to practise Japanese, he considers such expressions of communicative intent to serve as a hedging device, presumably in mitigating the impact of getting straight to conversational business. It is the explicitness itself, in contrast to implicit conversational practices, which Callum appears to feel lends an air of unnaturalness to conversation-for-learning. The explicit introduction of topic to the conversational equation is merely one of the signs of the institutionality underpinning such interactional events, while the staging of conversation-for-learning appears to be metacommunicatively evident to varying degrees and in different forms, beyond the particularities of the present research design.

5.3.2. A note on topical metacomment and volition

Given that interaction is to varying degrees staged within the conversation lounge, the participants' reflexive use of language relates to institutional

context and instrumental design. Thus metacomment with regard to topic, which serves as a 'carrier' of linguistic medium, or to the 'setting up' of conversation, may be more prevalent, and ostentatious, than in non-institutional talk, or the ideal of conversation 'proper' as defined in Chapter 2. In the latter case, participants may often engage in relational talk to a lesser degree of reflexivity, insofar as this represents more widely pertaining normative behaviour. Such 'ordinary' conversation might also, at times, feel 'unnaturally' constraining. This may become the object of reflection if, for example, one feels socially obliged to make conversation. Yet such perceived constraints are arguably less likely to be remarked upon, as they are potentially face-threatening to one's interlocutor: that is, by making explicit that conversation, a seemingly phatic pursuit, is in this case non-volitional.

If, on the other hand, it is clear that all parties feel likewise coerced into conversation, such threat might be circumstantially mitigated. For example, where two single people at a party are strategically manoeuvred into one another's proximity by their matchmaking hosts, they might begin their conversation with some meta-talk, perhaps humourous or ironical, to alleviate the discomfort of the 'framed' situation, e.g. 'well, what shall we talk about', or 'it is customary to comment on the weather in such situations'. In the latter example it is not only the context, but the normative practice of 'small talk' itself which becomes the object of reflection. Such objectifying may, then, to some extent personally remove the interlocutors from the relationally threatening implication of not engaging in phatic communion of one's own volition, i.e. not really choosing, or necessarily wanting, to talk to one's interlocutor.

Although volition has been considered a key characteristic of conversation (see Cheepen 2000), it might be naive to assume that people making conversation with one another by definition always wish to do so, thereby overlooking numerous social constraints which might propel the participants to go through the normative interactional motions with varying degrees of personal commitment to the relational endeavour. Yet, conversely, where the

interlocutors do not wish to make conversation with each other, it might not be perceived as prototypically conversational, in that it is in some way felt to fall short of the relational ideal, and thereby becomes qualified upon reflection and in narrative description as 'forced' or 'stilted'.

In sum, where conversation evidently springs from external pressures, metacomments with regard to its social design might, then, appear non-personal, and may pose a lesser threat to face. As the scenario is overtly staged, it could be considered to bear similarities with the instrumental framing of talk in the current research, in which topic serves an overarching agenda. However, it is otherwise lacking the role-based instrumentality and stratification of institutional discourse. In other words, a mutuality of perceived obligation to make conversation in informal social events might nevertheless differ to the mutually observed constraints of institutional requirement.

5.4. Topic as agenda: 'Today we are going to talk about sports'

The final excerpt illustrates the introduction of topic by the students themselves, whereby there is no need for the teacher, Phil, to confirm a proposed topic (as in Excerpt 5.3.), or to re-negotiate responsibility for topic selection (as in Excerpts 5.1. and 5.2.).

Excerpt 5.4.

Participants:

> Phil (T15)
> Jun (Sm)
> Kenichi (Sm)

```
1.   Jun:      hello nice to meet you (^) ah ↑my name is Jun
2.             Kawaguchi
3.   Phil:     ah okay ⌈hi
4.   Jun:             │and he is
5.   Kenichi:         ⌊my(^) my name is Kenichi Hashimoto
```

```
 6.  Phil:     right (^) so I'm- I'm Phil
 7.  Jun:      Phil
 8.  Phil:     yeah (^) Phil O'Riordan
 9.  Jun:      °nice to meet you°
10.  Phil:     how are you doing? hah hah
11.  Jun:      ah: (.)fi:ne
12.  (.....)
13.  Kenichi:  ah:: (...) so:: (..) today we (.) we are going to
14.            (.) talk about (.....)so ↑sports
15.  Phil:     aha aha
16.  Kenichi:  ah ↑Marion saidu (.) you you came fro::m
17.  Jun:      Ireland=
18.  Kenichi:  =°Ireland°
19.  Phil:     that's right yeah yeah yeah
20.  (.)
21.  Kenichi:  °°so:°° (...) I (^) last year (..) I- I met the
22.            (.) Irelandu (.) national soccer team
23.  Phil:     ↑yeah they were::(^)⌈in:: the
24.  Kenichi:                       ⌊yeah (.) they came [Dokodemo]
25.  Phil:     yes yeah for the ↑World Cup
26.  (..)
27.  Kenichi:  (°and°)(.)°ah::° I (.....) ah the ↑keeper (..)goal
28.            keeper (.) Given
29.  Phil:     ah yeah Shay=
30.  Kenichi:  =yeah Shay=
31.  Phil:     =Shay Given?⌈right (.) you⌈met him.
32.  Kenichi:             ⌊hn            ⌊gave- gave me the (..)
33.            autograph=
34.  Phil:     =ah okay hah hah
35.  Jun?:     hah hah hah .hhh
36.  Phil:     did you- ↑where did you meet him in (^) like in the
37.            ↑street or in ↑the hotel⌈°or:°
38.  Kenichi:                          ⌊hotel
39.  (.)
40.  Phil:     right right
41.  Kenichi:  a kind of event (..) hn
42.  (..)
43.  Phil:     .hhh okay hah=
44.  Kenichi:  =and the (...) that appeared (.) uh: newspaper
45.            (.)uh (^)°°the°° uh Sankei:: (^) Sankei:: (..)
46.            Sankei Shinbun¹
47.  (.)
48.  Phil:     what's that? the=
49.  Kenichi:  =the Sa- Sankei:: (..) Shinbun.
50.  Phil:     ah that's the name of the newspaper?=
51.  Kenichi:  =ah yeah yes
52.  Phil:     right right (^) °right°
53.  (...)
54.  Kenichi:  uh(.) what sports do you like?
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In the current excerpt the students, Jun and Kenichi, instigate the greetings
and introductions themselves, somewhat formally including their surnames

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¹ *shinbun* = newspaper

(lines 1-5), which is mirrored by Phil in response (line 8). This contrasts, therefore, in its lack of playfulness with Excerpt 5.2., the other example in which social preliminaries precede the introduction of topic. Here, the seriousness of the students, who lead the conversation from the outset, is formally matched by Phil, although he lightens the tone by adding 'how are you doing' (line 10) and laughing, while Jun responds with a serious 'fine' (line 11). Following the introductions there is a prolonged silence before Kenichi hesitatingly (with considerable pauses) introduces the topic prefaced by a metacomment: 'so today we we are going to talk about so sports' (lines 13-14). Conjoint reference is then made to Phil's place of origin, i.e. Ireland, by the students (lines 16-18), having solicited the information prior to the activity. This serves as a personalized segue to the chosen topic of sports, as Kenichi's subsequently related experience of having met the Irish national football team happily marries both. While Phil has taken a back seat so far, particularly in allowing the students the interactional space within which to introduce a topic (in line 12), he plays an active part in its co-construction, mentioning the World Cup (line 25), expanding on the name of the goal keeper (lines 29 and 31), and asking for particulars both with regard to where the incident took place (lines 36-37) and to the *Sankei Shinbun* (lines 48 and 50). Nevertheless, the responsibility for topic progression subsequently falls back to the students, following a pause, with Kenichi pursuing his line of questioning related to sports (line 54), which then remains the topical focus of interaction until the end of the recording.

5.4.1. Voicing the teacher and fixing the agenda

The most obvious difference in the current example to the other uses of metacomment discussed is that the student, Kenichi, here tacitly claims the pre-allocated right to select topic, while assuming the voice of authority with: 'so today we we are going to talk about so sports' (lines 13-14). He appears to 'set' the interactional agenda with his formulation of the 'day's' topic as in a

classroom lesson (cf. Heyman 1986), which is located within a temporal continuum as a regularly scheduled event (Mehan 1985). That is to say, the topic becomes syntactically 'scheduled' through the temporal adverbial 'today' and use of 'going to' to signal an intended or planned future (Swan 1995). Kenichi's introduction of topic therefore conforms with Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) definition of metastatement in classroom interaction as being "realized by a statement which refers to some future time when what is described will occur. Its function is to help the pupils to see the structure of the lesson, to help them understand the purpose of the subsequent exchange, and see where they are going" (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975: 43). Such metastatement by the teacher is, then, instrumental in design and institutional in effect, as it discursively mobilizes the identities, or personae, of student and teacher through the interactionally manifest right of the latter to determine the topic, as relevant to the instrumental goal of interaction (even if it merely serves as an instruction to get the students to select their own topics, which itself reflects a teacher-led project of learner-centredness).

In the current context of interaction, however, 'today' appears to be misplaced: the students are merely intending to have a 10-15 minute 'conversation' which is for all intents and purposes never to be repeated. Moreover, it is the student, Kenichi, and not the teacher who sets the topical agenda for conversation-for-learning. In echoing what might be considered typical teacher talk and framing the interaction as a task reminiscent of the classroom, Kenichi appears to adopt a teacher's voice, through which an inversion of interactional roles is metacommunicatively signalled. Although the students assume responsibility for the management of topic, its progression may, however, be hampered by their very framing of the activity, which clearly 'sets' the topic as the agenda of interaction.

Having initially made reference to the interaction as an 'interview', Phil mentioned in his research interview that the topic seemed 'fixed', unlike more natural conversation. Topic change in casual conversation might, by contrast, be considered more frequent and transitionally linked (e.g. Gramley and Pätzold 2004). Phil, in fact, initially assumed upon reading the transcript that

the students had prepared questions in advance:

<u>Interview; T15: Phil</u>
[Position 76~]

Phil: but, they, they, they <u>didn't</u> have, did they have like a list of scripted questions? oh I don't think so, no I can't see it here, right, no they don't go 'oh let's move on now next question'

Researcher: no, they were told not to do any of that, but obviously you got the impression they were sticking to one topic right kind of thing?

Phil: because, they think, they say, 'we want to talk to you about sports, today we want to talk about so sports'

While Phil implies that the interaction did not appear natural to him due to the topical framing by the students, citing Kenichi, he later touches on the potential benefits of greater specifics in task design to the activity. This occurs in response to the question of what constraints he considers there to have been on the interaction:

<u>Interview; T15: Phil</u>
[Position 121~]

Phil: yeah, but it was very open-ended (.) you know, just talk about, just talk about any topic you want [...] uh (.) I'm just wondering because the it was open-ended so they could have a conversation, that was basically it [...] if they had pre-planned the activity it would have given them, you know obviously it would have put the control on their side to a little greater degree, because they could have said 'okay now we've done question one and we now, you know, we'd like to ask you another question about this topic'

Researcher: it could have been more like an interview in a way, than a conversation

Phil: well, yeah possibly, it could have gone both ways I mean because it could have turned even within all of those little things it might have generated a little bit more on their part (.) but as you know, the <u>fear</u>, you're always, the normal fear in those situations yeah you're just scripting something and it's, it's even <u>less</u> natural

So the lack of constraints would in itself appear to pose a constraint. Phil therefore suggests that it might have been better for the students to have pre-planned the conversation through the preparation of questions, although he had earlier commented on the apparent 'fixing' of issues at the time when he

had, in fact, retrospectively assumed it to be an interview. Phil's conflicting stances might to some extent relate to a certain defensiveness on his part, as he appeared, in his interview, to be quite self-critical about his own occupation of interactional space. However, it also reflects a paradox of the staging of 'free' conversation, whereby the freer it is, the more this might, in itself, be perceived as a constraint within the context of its institutional staging. Thus, in order for it to 'work', i.e. appear a natural interactional task for student and teacher to engage in, it might be considered preferable to provide a goal-driven structure to the task. On the other hand, Phil notes the danger, or teacher's 'fear', that in scripting interaction the result may be less natural, presumably when held against the conversational ideal delineated in Chapter 2. This is supported by Mori's (2002) research, in which L2 learners of Japanese were asked to prepare a discussion with a classroom guest native speaker. The resulting dialogue displayed the characteristics of a structured interview, through the interactional dominance of question-answer adjacency pairs, a lack of extended comments by the students in the third position, and the lack of reciprocity by the guest.[2] Phil's comment similarly raises the question of whether conversation can be planned, and whether unplanned conversation which is institutionally staged, to whatever degree, can be conversational.

5.5. Implications of the cline: topic framing and responsibility

The four excerpts analysed in the current chapter presented a cline of student responsibility for topic initiation, summarized below in the opening meta-talk:

1. So what do you want to talk about	(Ex. 5.1, line 1)
2. What shall we talk about	(Ex. 5.2, line 36)

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[2] In Mori's research the discussion was referred to in Japanese by the teacher as a '*zadankai*', the definition for which she translates into English as: "A meeting in which several people get together and discuss their opinions or impressions on a certain issue. It aims at discussing matters without enforcing formal structures" (Mori 2002: 328). Its lack of 'formal structures' thus distinguishes it from an interview in design, although it diverges from conversation as a meeting with a predetermined topic.

3. Can we ask about you   (Ex. 5.3, line 1)
4. Today we we are going to talk about so sports   (Ex. 5.4, lines 13-14)

The signalling of metacommunicative intent by the students appears to be reflective of the institutional staging of conversation-for-learning, as it implies a heightened awareness of engaging in talk, and of doing so for a purpose of some kind. Moreover, communicative intent is evidently interlinked with topic, which is made explicit through the use of 'talk about' (numbers 1, 2, 4) and 'ask about' (number 3). The latter openly seeks pre-topical permission from the teacher to use him as a resource for questioning in the exchange. It therefore differs considerably from more usual conversational preliminaries, such as, 'can I ask you a question', pertaining to a given reference which is subsequently introduced by the questioner (see Schegloff 1980). Such metacommunicative framing by the students would appear to signal that the 'conversation' is topically driven. This is incrementally evident in the excerpts presented here, from the responsibility for topic introduction being contested (Excerpt 5.1), to negotiated (Excerpt 5.2), to confirmed (Excerpt 5.3), and to accepted (Excerpt 5.4) by the teachers, in relation to the increasingly proactive approach to topic selection and introduction by the students.

Disregarding initial topics which are temporary or preliminary, such as introductions, Schegloff and Sacks (1974) consider the position of first topic to be of special significance to the interlocutors, suggesting that:

> "[T]o talk a topic as 'first topic' may provide for its analysability (by co-participants) as 'the reason for' the conversation, that being, furthermore, a preservable and reportable feature of the conversation. In addition, making a topic 'first topic' may accord it a special importance on the part of its initiator (a feature which may, but need not, combine with its being a 'reason for the conversation')." (Schegloff and Sacks 1974: 243)

The 'reason for' a conversation would appear to be further compounded by the metacommunicative framing of topic in the current context of interaction, especially where its 'special importance' is signalled through a 'wanting to know' frame, as shall be seen in the following chapter.

Although the conversation task, and research design, may initially heighten participant reflexivity, metacomment which reflects the need to engage with a topic in the making of conversation is relevant to the wider context of conversation-for-learning. This is implied in the following teacher's quote, having been asked whether he felt that the topics of his recorded interaction were typical or not of the conversation lounge:

Interview; T25: Andrew
[Position 86]

Uhm, uh, no, well that's a difficult question, no, uhm I mean it strikes me that this is a conversation and I don't think what usually happens out there is a conversation, so I think there's much more of an artificial creation of topics uh that's going on in the [conversation lounge] uh 'what shall we talk about now' whereas I just don't think that happened in this situation I don't think it happens in good situations

More generally, then, the conscious search for a topic, whether openly or silently voiced, may make such interaction appear forced or unnatural. Moreover, engagement with the topic might itself be marred by one's 'duty' to talk about it. This is comically touched on by Marie, when asked if she felt there was any particular way she ought to be speaking or acting when on duty:

Interview; T2: Marie
[Position 35]

I think probably yeah in a warm way, in a welcoming way, in a inviting way, yeah, yeah (.) not intimidating that kind of thing yeah, although yeah, sometimes though, like you know, when you're tired, you're sitting there and it's like someone comes up to you and 'do you like apple' ((voices Japanese student)) you know, it's like, it's like, get out of my face, I don't want to deal with it, so I, you know, you okay, well you know, they want to sit and talk to you, but you don't want to sit there pulling teeth for ten minutes because you're tired and you know, and you hate apples right then

Beyond the confines of having to deploy an initial, and potentially persistent, topic, on-duty interaction itself is portrayed as unnatural by many of the teachers, such as Graham, who has previously referred to it in his research interview as 'not normal':

Interview; T6: Graham
[Position 190~]

Researcher: oh okay, so what makes you feel that conversation in the [conversation lounge] is not normal?

Graham: because it's a job when it comes down to it and your job is to talk to students to get the students to talk and hopefully have a nice conversation, but you're in, I'm in teacher mode I think, even if I'm not trying to {make} conversation {as} I'm the teacher you're the student, you're still in teacher mode and you're just doing your job

Graham, once again, mentions that his job is to 'get the students to talk' (cf. 5.2.1.), which the teachers consider the aim of such 'conversation', as commonly expressed in their interviews. It can be accomplished to some degree by the humourous withholding which has been seen in Excerpts 5.1. and 5.2, in the case that the students concede the pre-allocated right, or responsibility, for topic selection to the teacher through metacommunicative framing. Whether it is considered necessary to 'get the students to talk' by interactionally enforcing topic selection, or whether this is readily undertaken by the students from the outset, the pre-allocation of topic nomination can easily result in question-answer patterning in first-time encounters between teacher and student, similar to an interview structure of interaction, rather than the free turn-taking system of conversation (Sacks et al. 1978).

5.5.1. Topic as motive and motif: the structural effects of information exchange

The expectation that students pre-select topic, and hence the pre-allocation of its initiation, suggests that in first-time encounters they are likely to begin with a topical metacomment or question, or else a pre-topical comment or question, in the lack of any shared history of 'conversation' with the teacher, such as: 'I heard you are Australian' (see Excerpt 5.1, line 4). Had Yuto been correct, Fraser's probable confirmation could then have presented a topical 'bid' (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984), as the initial part of a presentation-eliciting sequence (Svennevig 1999). Moreover, new topics in first-time encounters are typically other-oriented, excepting the mutuality of deictic

references (Svennevig 1999). The potential impact of such other-orientation on cultural representation and the trajectory of interaction will represent the topical focus of the following data chapter, while the current discussion will restrict itself to the question-answer patterning which commonly succeeds topic introduction in the wake of its metacommunicative framing.

The pre-selection of topic by the students, then, effects its initiation in interaction, while the expectation that they should be 'active' may imply the making of so-called 'strong' moves, namely, initiatives, as opposed to responses (Linell and Luckmann 1991). Both topic selection and activeness therefore presuppose, to varying degrees, the self-selection of speaking turns by the student. However, 'strong moves' and what Linell (1990) terms as 'quantitative dominance', pertaining to the actual occupation of interactional space, may not necessarily go hand in hand: while one person may be dominant in asking questions, they may be less dominant in productive verbal output. Moreover, topic control through the asking of questions can serve to minimize one's own interactional presence. Fraser (Excerpt 5.1.) therefore comments in his research interview that Yuto appears to be playing an active role in asking questions and prompting responses, yet at the same time observes that he himself is doing much of the talking with regard to the selected topic, i.e. Australia, as the conversation continues. This is similarly noted by other teachers, as well as many students in the focus group discussions, as can be seen in the following example:

FG, Card 5, Q4 (1)

S2(f)	it was a long text [by the teacher] wasn't it? (.) our responses were short, because I had no idea how I should respond in English, so I only came up with backchannelling
Ss	*un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	it's like a '*ah un un*'
Ss	((laughter))
(.)	
S3(f)	we also had a long pause in our conversation, it took around 5 seconds. [Tomoko] managed to ask questions to move the conversation along, but there is 'dot dot dot' in our transcript
S1(f)	we found that
S3(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S1(f)	it's difficult, isn't it

S4(f) we only come up with typical questions, don't we?
S3(f) we can't respond with anything decent on the spot

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

Having initiated a question-answer adjacency pair, it may be less taxing in their L2 for students to ask another question, or to produce minimal response tokens in a third position, rather than to extend it with a remark of their own. This would require them to closely attend to the contingent nature of talk, while further projecting the topic in relation to their own ideas (cf. Mori 2002). As such, the potential for topic shift remains underdeveloped if the students' contributions, following the teacher's answers, are largely 'responsive' (Svennevig 1999). Such one-sidedness furthermore intimates the 'quantitative dominance' of the respondent.

As Sacks famously hypothesized, "there looks to be a rule that a person who asks a question has a right to talk again afterwards" (1995 Vol. 1.: 49), noting an ensuing concatenation of questions by the initial questioner. Moreover, within an institutional framework of interaction with pre-allocated rights of topic introduction, such right may turn to obligation through expectation. Thus, many of the participants in the current staging of conversation-for-learning mentioned that it appeared to take the form of an interview. This is apparent in the following segment from the teacher Liam's interview, as he responds to the question of whether he thought there may have been any constraints on interaction:

Interview; T22: Liam
[Position 35~]

Liam: I mean obviously it's just an interview style, so I just (.) I wasn't answering them for conversation sake, just giving an answer and asking a question

Researcher: oh, so you felt it <u>was</u> like an interview, more than a conversation?

Liam: hm, yeah, it didn't feel like a, it wasn't a <u>two</u> way thing, uhm yeah, I wasn't asking them anything, so it felt like an interview

Liam's quote highlights a perceived lack of his own reciprocity, similarly to that observed by Mori (2002) in her research. Many of the students likewise

considered their interaction to be dominated by question-asking, which in the following example also related to a noted lack of reciprocity by the teacher:

FG, Card 4, Q2

S1(f)	anyway, we waited until the teacher finished talking, and then we asked another question
S2(f)	*un* ((understanding))
S1(f)	it feels like we just kept waiting and waiting
S4(m)	you mean, you mainly asked questions, is that it?
(.)	
S1(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S4(m),S3(f)	((laughter))
S1(f)	the teacher didn't ask any questions
S3(f)	*ah* ((understanding))
S1(f)	he didn't ask, 'how about you?', that's why
S3(f)	*ah* ((understanding))
S1(f)	that's why it seems like we just asked questions, and when he finished answering them, we asked the next question
S3(f)	*un* ((interest))
S1(f)	it isn't catchball, is it?
S4(m)	it seems like lighting a firework and it doesn't go off
Ss	((laughter))
S1(f)	yes, yes, yes, along those lines
S2(f)	it goes '*pyuuuuu*' (.) and that's all
S1(f)	yes, something like that

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

The focus group quote suggests a lack of stepwise topic progression, as the students felt that they were merely asking questions to which the teacher was responding, without reciprocating. The conversation did not, then, spark any fireworks for them. In fact, Sacks might similarly have considered such conscious 'topic starts' to be the hallmark of a 'lousy' conversation:

> It's a general feature for topical organization in conversation that the best way to move from topic to topic is not by a topic close followed by a topic beginning, but by what we call a *stepwise* move. Such a move involves connecting what we've just been talking about to what we are now talking about, though they are different. I link up whatever I am now introducing as a new topic to what we've just been talking about. Now, this stepwise thing is a really serious feature of topical organization, and it's my rough suspicion that the difference between what's thought to be a good conversation and what's thought to be a lousy conversation can be characterized that way, i.e., a lousy conversation is marked by the occurrence of a large number of specific new topic starts as compared to such a conversation in which, so far as anybody knows we've never had to start a new topic, though we're far from wherever we began and haven't talked on just a single topic, it flowed. (Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.: 566)

Despite being classed as 'conversation', therefore, many of the participants felt that the interaction appeared more like an interview, commenting on its question-answer structuring. While Svennevig (1999) also notes an interviewing phase in his research on conversations between unacquainted interlocutors, when self-presentational sequences fail to prompt extensions, the present case of question-answer structuring may be compounded by the lesser reciprocity by the teachers, given the pre-allocation of topic nomination to the students, as well as its metacommunicative framing. Svennevig in fact claims that ordinarily "other-oriented topic introductions are subject to a strategy of reciprocity whereby the participants typically return topic initiating questions" (Svennevig 1999: 86).

In the following example, topic selection by the students is, furthermore, contingently linked to its perceived interview-like structure:

FG, Card 5, Q4 (2)

S1(f)	it felt like we supplied a topic
S2(f)	[un
S1(f)	and the teacher was talking about it[
S2(f)	yes, yes ((agreement))
S3(f)	ah ((understanding/agreement))
S1(f)	we asked questions[
S2(f)	[it feels like it's one-way[
S4(f)	[ah, you mean it seemed to become like an interview?
S2(f)	yes, it did, didn't it

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

Such pre-allocation of turn-types is common in interviews, in which the interviewer's questions are reflective of a topical agenda, while the interviewees are largely restricted to responses (see, for example, Greatbatch 1986, 1988 on news interviews). In the context of conversation-for-learning, however, the lesser reciprocity by the teachers and lack of self-oriented topical contributions by the students may asymmetrically remove the participants from the institutional goal of conversation making, as mutuality of self-presentation appears to be a necessary step in the establishment of common ground. In contrast to my data corpus, Svennevig thus notes that, "[a]ll in all

there is a clear tendency to reciprocate presentation-eliciting questions, or at least to take turns at eliciting self-presentation. This gives the conversations an overall symmetrical character" (1999: 122).

Such question-driven cases of conversation-for-learning might appear markedly one-way, and hence lacking conversational rapport. As one of the students succinctly put it in her focus group discussion: 'Obviously, you can't become close to one another in a one-way conversation'.[3] Grant, one of the teachers, makes a similar point in his research interview, while discussing whether he felt there were any constraints on interaction:

Interview; T7: Grant
[Position 35~]

Grant: I think it was also the fact that those two people were unknown, so as the conversation continued and I listened to what they were trying to ask me and what they wanted to know and, of course, after I found out that they were your students there was a much better rapport ((laughing))

Researcher: ((laughs)) so you feel at the beginning you're kind of feeling around

Grant: well, it's question and answer, isn't it? basically question-answer, so it's not, I'm not really feeling around for rapport, there is no rapport, they're asking questions, I'm answering

While the question-answer structure of information exchange is seen as lacking rapport, the first part of the quote jokingly suggests that the initial difficulties of the first-time encounter were eventually surpassed, although this involved Grant coming to some kind of understanding of 'what they [the students] wanted to know'. Thus the goal of interaction itself, from Grant's perspective, appears to have remained grounded in the exchange of information.

Since conversation-for-learning lacks a clearly defined goal other than to gain practice in the L2, as noted by Kasper (2004), the topic would appear to serve a pseudo-instrumental purpose, in mobilizing the medium of language. While the participants may be able to build rapport during the exchange, relationality

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[3] "やはり一方的だとあんまり親しくなれないけど" [FG, Card 4, Q3, S3(f)]

is not the overriding goal of conversation-for-learning. As such, topic serves as both the motive and motif of interaction, as illustrated by the following students in their discussion:

FG, Card 8, Q9

S2(f)	but, it would be good to have a purpose, wouldn't it
S4(m)	*un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	go there wanting to talk about it
S3(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	we can make conversation actively with each other[
S3(f)	[I think so too, *un* ((agreement))

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

The pseudo-instrumental goal of topic might therefore become more real if there were a 'real' purpose to talk about it. In that case, the interaction might be governed by the exchange of information, presenting an overarching instrumental goal, concordant with the institutional staging of interaction, through which to build rapport.

5.5.2. Topic selection as inverted institutionality

The recommendation that students 'actively' engage in conversation-for-learning equipped with an idea of what they wish to talk about is founded on the belief that the teachers would otherwise be expected to introduce and consequently manage the topic of interaction themselves. This is borne out in the teachers' interviews, in which many voice a commonly perceived frustration with students who fail to play an active role in constructing topic, thereby leaving the teachers with the onus for conversation making itself. In institutional discourse more generally, the right to select and control topic through question-answer sequences is normatively assumed by the representative of the institution, with the non-institutional party in talk complementarily cast as respondent (Benwell and Stokoe 2006, Drew and Sorjonen 1997). More particularly, within the context of classroom discourse, it is the teacher, then, who ordinarily controls the topic, often through

question-answer sequences which serve an overarching pedagogic agenda (see, for example, McHoul 1978, Slimani 1989). As such, the pre-allocation of topic initiation represents an inversion of an assumed institutional asymmetry, as the students are 'granted the right' of the institutional representative. The advice to pre-select topic is therefore intended to offset an inequality of institutional roles which might otherwise be normatively assumed and played out by the participants in interaction.

Yet the pre-determination of topic is itself characteristic of institutional discourse (Marková and Foppa 1991), and the metacommunicative framing of the current interactions, moreover, suggests that it similarly here serves as an agenda of communication. The interview-like question-answer patterning of the exchange, commented on by many of the participants, thus markedly contrasts with the default structural norm of conversation, whose turn-taking organization functions independently of its propositional content. Such contrast is remarked upon by Sacks et al. (1978) as follows:

> "The turns an "interview system" organizes alternatingly are "questions" and "answers." In these and other speech-exchange systems, the turn-taking organization employs, as part of its resources, the grosser or finer pre-specification of what shall be done in the turns it organizes.
>
> By contrast with these other speech-exchange systems, the turn-taking organization for conversation makes no provision for the content of any turn, nor does it constrain what is (to be) done in any turn. [...] One aspect of conversation's flexibility is a direct and important consequence of this feature of turn-taking organization: Its turn-taking organization and thus conversational activity per se operate independent of various characterizations of what occupies its turns, the "topic(s)" in them." (Sacks et al. 1978: 21)

A 'pre-specification of what shall be done' is evident in the students' metalanguage, namely, to 'talk about' or to 'ask about' something as the agenda of communication. Moreover, the teachers orient to topic selection as the task of the students, which is evident in their response to the degree of responsibility assumed by students, or assumed to be assumed, as interpretatively rooted in their metacommunicative framing. This is most evident, therefore, at the extremes of the four-part cline presented; namely, in Yuto's initial 'breach' of norms (Excerpt 5.1.), and in the final example of topical metacomment, whereby the students proactively assume a teacher's

voice themselves, with: 'Today we we are going to talk about so sports' (Excerpt 5.4., lines 13-14). The pre-allocation of topic introduction to the students suggests that the attempt to pre-emptively equalize interactional procedures itself operates from a base of institutional asymmetry. One could therefore question whether topic selection by the students presents a right that is institutionally granted, or a responsibility which is interactionally enforced.

5.6. Conclusions: The teacher as arbiter of parity

The pre-selection of topic may be intended to invert the assumed dominance of the teacher. However, it could merely encourage the student to slip into the role of questioner, with the teacher complementarily cast as respondent, in first time encounters in which little is known of one's interlocutor. The attempted status inversion is itself based on the assumption that the unfolding 'conversation' is 'essentially' institutional. It presupposes, in short, that the teacher is in a dominant position and implicitly aims to counterbalance such disparity by means of pre-allocation of topic nomination. Thus the 'default' mode of talk is taken to be asymmetrical, i.e. institutional, and intervention is pre-emptively sought to 'conversationalize' teacher-student discourse. Somewhat paradoxically, the construction of relational parity is attempted by instrumental means. Staging conversation for the general purpose of conversation practice might therefore be considered a construction of conversation which is itself a construction of relative parity (see Wilson 1989), or a meta-construction, i.e. an institutionalized performance. This suggests that conversation-for-learning is not as unreflective a practice as ordinary, non-institutional, engagement in conversation, whereby relationality is conventionally made by the participants to present the overriding concern.

As arbiter of parity, the teacher may therefore be faced with an interactional dilemma: if the students ask him or her a question, they may be likely to ask another, and then another, while potentially neglecting to extend their own contributions, with conversation-for-learning thereby taking on the turn-taking characteristics of an interview. As Sacks states, "as long as one is doing the

questions, then in part one has control of the conversation" (1995 Vol. 1.: 55).

In maintaining control through question asking, whereby they can compel the teacher to speak on the topic of their choice (Goody 1978), the students are empowered to minimize their own contributions, although at the same time they may be less *able* to maximize them given the lack of 'equal' reciprocity by the teacher. Conversely, if the teacher asks the students a question, they may similarly provide minimal responses, with the onus thus falling back to the teacher to ask another, and then another. As such, the assumed dominance of the teacher, and institutional 'default' mode of discourse, becomes interactionally reinstated. Yet the question remains whether the relative parity of conversation making can be institutionally enforced by means of pre-allocation of topic nomination. Moreover, its introduction may appear unnatural when held against the conversational ideal, as suggested in the following focus group excerpt:

FG, Card 9, Q10

S2(f)	I get stuck when I'm told 'what should we talk about'
Ss	*ah* ((agreement))
S2(f)	all of a sudden I don't know what to talk about
S?(f)	*un un un* ((agreement))
S2(f)	I get like that all of a sudden, so – do it naturally, even if the subject is about the weather[
S?(f)	[naturally[
S3(f)	['it's a lovely day today, isn't it?'
S2(f)	yes, yes, naturally
S?(f)	it should be brought up naturally, shouldn't it?
S3(f)	for example, 'London doesn't have such lovely weather, does it?'
S2(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S?(f)	yes, yes
S4(f)	something like that
S1(f)	yes, and at this time of year 'it's Christmas soon'[
S3(f)	[*ah*, that's good, that's good
S1(f)	anyway, I don't have any plans yet actually
Ss	((laughter))
S1(f)	oh well, no plans for me[4]
S3(f)	nobody asked you about that[
Ss	[((laughter))
S1(f)	we can say 'the end of the year is coming soon'
S2(f)	yes, I think so
S1(f)	'what are you doing', for example
	(.)

---

[4] Christmas, usually referring to Christmas Eve, is often considered a romantic occasion, such as Valentine's Day, for unmarried Japanese. S1 seems to be joking that she has no love interest at the moment, but is interested in love.

S2(f)	that's right, yeah[
S3(f)	[that's right, yeah
S4(f)	yes, something like that
S3(f)	yes, something along those lines, if I were to say it
S1(f)	we should speak and act-
S4(f)	-I don't want to be put under pressure
S3(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S1(f)	definitely, I agree
S2(f)	*un* ((agreement))

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

In this extract the students reflect on conversational openings, after S2 intimates that she feels uncomfortable when asked by a teacher what they should talk about. By contrast, she would prefer a more 'natural' opening than the implied unnatural use of metacommunicative framing which places the responsibility for topic selection with her, citing the well-known cliché of the weather as the first example (Coupland and Ylänne-McEwen 2000). The participants in the discussion would appear to suggest a more indeterminate, i.e. not 'set', and innocuous start to interaction, which appears to mirror non-institutional, or ordinary, conversation making practices in drawing on deictic references. Although the weather, as an example, represents a suitably "neutral token" (Laver 1975: 223), it is what Sacks termed a "false first topic" in being quickly exhausted and transitional (Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.: 205), thereby typically preceding deeper and more sustainable topics. In addition to its potential transience, it might be questionable whether approaching an on-duty teacher, who is stationed in the lounge, with a typical conversational opener, such as the weather, might appear natural under the current institutional circumstances.

The students' discussion raises the point that more explicit starts to the interaction may not, however, appear natural to the participants, while the expectation that the students pre-select topic may consequently place them under pressure, and unnaturally so. Although the implication of a topical agenda through the opening framing may be antithetical to the supposedly relational design of conversation, it is, however, concordant with the goal-driven nature of institutional discourse. This again points to an underlying

tension between the institutional staging of conversation-for-learning and its supposedly relational design, as suggested by the participants in their interview and focus group data. The following chapter therefore pursues the current line of enquiry in expounding on the framing of the exchange as an information-seeking exercise, while further exploring its interaction with the relational other-orientation of topic introduction by the students, which predominantly centres on the cultural origins of the teacher.

6. CULTURE AS CATEGORIZATION, DISPLAY AND EXPERTISE

6.0. Introduction: The students' topical wants

The topic of the teacher's place of origin is well-represented in my data corpus and universally initiated by the Japanese students in relational other-orientation to the person of the foreign, 'on duty' teacher. As the students purposively select the topic and introduce it to interaction, it might be thought to hold some degree of interest for them, and for this reason to be founded on their pre-existing knowledge, however minimal that may be. In relating to the person of the teacher, the place of origin and its culture appears to offer scope within its thematic parameters for personalization as a feasible and projectable development, particularly if sustained in the course of interaction by the interest of the students themselves. It might correspondingly be expected to pave the way for relationality in interaction. However, as noted in the previous chapter with regard to topic as a frame for conversation-for-learning, a potential for one-sidedness is rooted in the students' selection and introduction of topic as relationally other-oriented, yet instrumentally framed. Such potentiality would appear to be particularly rife where the students express a desire to learn from the teacher, which represents, to varying degrees of explicitness, the focus of the current analytic chapter.

Three such examples are here explored in relation to initial sequences of interaction which categorize the teachers by place of origin, or nationality, while framing the exchange as a desire to learn about the topic. The first two (Excerpts 6.1. and 6.2.) present relatively short snapshots of the initial stages of interaction, while the final (Excerpt 6.3.) is divided into four parts and examined at greater length, thus enabling the reader, as analyst, to further chart the interactional trajectory. The students' orientation to the topical expertise of the teachers, and the latter's orientation to the topical wants of the students, are shown to (re)produce cultural representations, which are reflective, and reflexive, of the interculturally staged encounter.

6.1. The elicitation and extension of cultural tokens

In the first excerpt, two students initiate topic with reference to the teacher, Carol, and her place of origin, South Africa. They do so in a similar fashion, therefore, to Yuto's misfired attempt in the previous chapter (Excerpt 5.1.).

<u>Excerpt 6.1.</u>

Participants:

        Carol (T13)
        Aya (Sf)
        Kaori (Sf)

```
1.   Aya:     ah hi
2.   Carol:   hi hah hah
3.   Kaori:   nice to meet ⌈you
4.   Aya:                 ⌊nice to meet you
5.   Carol:   and you too
6.   Aya:     uh I'm Aya?
7.   Carol:   Aya °°yeah okay°°
8.   Kaori:   I'm Kaori
9.   Carol:   Kaori >Aya and Kaori< (^) I'm Carol (.) but you
10.           know that already
11.           ((laughter))
12.  Aya:     but I- I heard you are from uh South Africa?
13.  Carol:   hm yeah that's right
14.  Aya:     I- I don't know the (.) your country well.
15.  Carol:   .hhh not many Japanese people know South A(h)frica
16.           ⌈hah hah hah
17.  Aya:     ⌊hah hah hah
18.  Carol:   uh wha-⌐what's your image of South Africa.
19.  Aya:     very h⌈ot
20.  Kaori:        ⌊hot hah hah
21.  Carol:   hm::?
22.  Aya:     and beautiful sea, (.) and (.) I d(h)on't k(h)now
23.           hah
24.  Carol:   anything else? (..) what about you °°Kaori?°°
25.  Kaori:   heh:::? (..) Southu
26.  (..)
27.  Carol:   the south half ⌈of the world?
28.  Kaori:                  ⌊yeah yeah yeah
29.  Carol:   the southern hemisphere
30.  Kaori:   un~un~un
31.  Carol:   >the southern hemisphere< yep? (..) ↑WELL      you
32.           you're more or less right hah hah hah .hhh it's hot
33.           in in summer.(.) i- it's not very ↑it's not hot in
34.           winter but it's not (^) too cold? ⌈(.)And there's=
35.  Kaori?:                                    ⌊hn
```

```
36. Carol:   =lots of beautiful beaches, and animals,
37. Kaori:   ah::  :
38. Aya:           hn: ::
39. Carol:          un and uhm (..) lots of different kinds of
40.          scenery.  (^) so mountains and (.) .hhh deserts,
41. Aya?:    un~un~un
42. Carol:   °°right°° and uhm lots of wild animals.
43. Aya:     h n:::
44. Kaori:     hn:::
45. Carol:   ↑yeah so (.) I recommend it to students.
46. Aya:     ah:::!
47. Kaori:   hn:::?
48. Carol:   But no students ever visit South A(h)frica, it's so
49.          far. (..) they h(h)aven't been (..) °°yeah°°
50. Aya:          hah hah hah
51. Kaori:   is South Africa's (.) national language is (.)
52.          English?
53. Carol:   ↑we have eleven national languages.
54. Aya:     eleven?
55. Carol:   yes (.) eleven.
56. Kaori:   hah hah hah
57. Aya:          English and
58. Carol:   English and Afrikaans (..) and uh .hhh Zulu and
59.          Sotho and Xhosa and Tswana and Tsonga, a(h)nd,
60.          ((laughter))
61. Carol:   probably you haven't (.) heard of them.
62. Aya:     how many do you speak.
63. Carol:   I speak two.
64. Aya:     a h:::!
65. Kaori:     ah:::!
66. Carol:   yeah only two.(..)but most people will speak three
67.          or four
68. Aya:     °ah rea lly!°
69. Kaori:        oh::!
70. Carol:   yeah so
71. Kaori:   oh talenty (.) people.
72.          ((laughter))
```

Following the greetings and student introductions, Carol here introduces herself by name, and humourously adds 'but you know that already' (lines 9-10), thereby making light of the underlying institutional design of interaction which has brought the students to her in order to make conversation. Aya then contributes the pre-topical comment: 'I heard you are from uh South Africa' (line 12) in rising intonation, which further attenuates the 'I heard' prefacing the given information.[1] This prompts confirmation by Carol in the subsequent turn, which therefore serves as a topical 'bid' (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig

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[1] While 'pre-topical sequences' among unacquainted interlocutors appear to be initiated with a question (e.g. Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999), the students' knowledge through hearsay enables them to start with what I have correspondingly termed as a 'pre-topical comment', although their second-hand knowledge may, of course, be wrong, as in Yuto's case (Excerpt 5.1. of Chapter 5).

1999), the acceptance of which results in topic initiation. It is, however, followed by the modest admission by Aya that she knows little about South Africa (line 14). South Africa thus becomes topicalized for further expansion, while speakership is once more transferred to Carol. Although Aya does not overtly express a wish to learn about Carol's home country, she has established a link between the teacher and the topic of South Africa, as the country of her origin, in the prior utterance (line 12). Her acknowledgement of ignorance would therefore appear to suggest that she wishes to increase her knowledge of the topic, whereby Carol is implicitly cast as a resource, in representing the authority of the chosen, and personalized, subject domain.

Carol begins by commenting that many Japanese do not know South Africa (line 15) and prompts Aya to describe her 'image' of the country (line 18). She thereby legitimates Aya's apparent ignorance, as one of many Japanese who know little about the topic. What little Aya does know need not be 'correct', as she is merely asked to project her 'image', which, in being her own, might be assumed to hold inherent validity. Aya consequently mentions 'very hot' and 'beautiful sea' (lines 19 and 22), before faltering in her list of topic-relevant contributions and laughingly admitting her lack of knowledge (lines 22-23). Having elicited these points from Aya, Carol probes further in requesting 'anything else?' (line 24). She specifically directs the question to the other student, Kaori, addressing her by name, who after some initial hesitation volunteers 'south' (line 25).

After upgrading 'south' (line 25) to 'southern hemisphere' (lines 29 and 31), Carol hedges her assessment of the students' contributions with 'well you're more or less right' (line 31-32). Having solicited their 'images', she proceeds to confirm that it is very hot in summer, but not, however, in winter, and mentions the beautiful beaches, before adding some of her own points of geographic beauty and wildlife to the co-constructed list (lines 36, 39-40, 42). While validating the students' contributions, more or less, she at the same time sets about extending the list herself, in orientation therefore to her own topical expertise.

After the elicitation and contribution of tokens of knowledge with regard to South Africa, Carol states that she often recommends it to her students (line 45). The

topic thus becomes contextualized through the provision of a framework of potential relevance for the bricolage of images, namely, as a description of a location which the students might themselves wish to visit. A potential reason for pursuing the topic is thereby brought into being, although as Carol herself admits, her students never go there (lines 48-49). Kaori then asks for additional information in the form of national languages (line 51-52), and Aya later personalizes the question by asking Carol how many of these she herself can speak (line 62). Having been cast as topical expert, Carol accommodatingly provides the relevant information to the students.

6.1.1. Place of origin as a topical resource

The excerpt sees the participants orienting towards Carol as the expert of the selected topic, with the students correspondingly cast as novices, despite the categorically relational underpinnings of the topic's initiation. As has been discussed, such pre-topical sequences commonly take place between unacquainted interlocutors as a means of establishing mutual knowledge of one another in interaction (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999). As Carol points out in her interview, the characteristic of nationality, or place of origin, is an easy resource for the students to draw upon in the current context of interaction:

Interview; T13: Carol
[Position 192]

well it's an easy in, it's an easy way to start, uhm, but then again I could imagine for example, two people from the same country meeting and talking about their hometowns, so I think it's shaped by the fact, I think that the issue is personal information, a lot of our personal information that's easy and accessible is the fact that we're from another country

Place of origin or home residence has been noted as a topic which is typical of interaction among unacquainted interlocutors (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984, Svennevig 1999). Carol's point, however, serves to highlight an observable difference between the teachers, as foreign nationals, to the Japanese students. Although the students' other-oriented topic initiation might be typical, it rests on a clearly differentiated base of knowledge. This is all the more so where the place of origin of the teacher is little known to the students, as is suggested by Aya's own admission in the present case of South Africa (lines 14 and 22). Furthermore,

Carol orients to her comment, which serves to topicalize South Africa, as an implicit request for information, and subsequently provides additional points of reference to the list, having first elicited 'hot' (line 19), 'sea' (line 22), and 'south' (line 25) from the students.

Carol's elicitation of images of South Africa from the students therefore temporarily reverses the apparently sought-after flow of information provision, and minimally redistributes knowledge in interaction. In so doing, it bears similarities with pedagogic discourse, as the questions appear to be designed for the purpose of knowledge display. Although they may differ from display questions of the most prototypical, or constraining type, as Carol might be assumed not to know the answer to the question of what the students themselves know, whatever the students do know is nevertheless subject to ratification. Although the students contribute their images, there seems to be little of substance, however, for Carol to either conversationally build upon or to relationally prompt the students to extend, as the topic appears, at this stage of development, to hold little of personal relevance to either of them. While Carol may be able to ensure participatory opportunities to both of the students, by opening up interactional space for Kaori by selecting her as next speaker, for example (line 24), she does not reciprocate the question with regard to the students' origins, as is commonplace in self-presentational sequences (Svennevig 1999). Aya's initial admission of a lack of knowledge, following her pre-topical comment thus appears to frame the ensuing interaction as an information exchange, with Carol orienting to her own expertise vis-à-vis the students as topical novices.

As touched upon by most of the teachers in their interviews, their home countries feature prominently in conversation lounge interaction with unknown students. This is also mentioned by Carol in her research interview in relation to the perceived typicality of the recorded interaction:

Interview; T13: Carol
[Position 72]

uhm, I think uh sort of opening topics of where are you from, what's your country like, travel, are quite typical, uhm and I think the initial teacher-centredness is also quite typical

Although Carol does not here directly relate the topic of home country to the 'initial teacher-centredness', as they appear in non-causal succession, it might be posited that the two are interlinked, that is, from an analysis of the initial framing of interaction by the students as an apparent request to learn more about the other-oriented topic of South Africa.

6.2. From elicitation to explanation of cultural tokens

The following excerpt featuring an Australian teacher, Ethan, likewise illustrates the students' use of a pre-topical comment; however, it is succeeded by a more explicit request for information. It follows on from some initial greetings and introductions, which have not been included here:

Excerpt 6.2.

Participants:

> Ethan (T3)
> Makiko (Sf)
> Maki (Sf)

```
1.    Makiko:   uh: I heard you: are from (.) Australia.
2.    Maki:                                 Australia.
3.    Ethan:    ↑yes that's (^) true
4.    Makiko:   uh: what the famous (.) famous thing of Australia.
5.    Ethan:    hmm:: (..) what do you think?
6.    Makiko:   uh:: (.) sheep?
7.    Ethan:    s(h)heep?_o(h)h okay, hah hah
8.    Makiko:   no? (.)  ko- koala?
9.    Maki:              kangaroo?
10.   Ethan:    kangaroos? koalas, yeah,
11.   Maki:     Ayers Rock.
12.   Ethan:    Ayers Rock,(..)yeah,
13.   Makiko:   oh:: (.) yeah
14.   Maki:     have you ever been to visit (.) see the Ayers Rock?
15.   Ethan:    no::! I haven't (.) uh::m (.) Ayers Rock is a long
16.             way from (^) my home town, (..) actually:(.)Ayers=
17.   Maki?:                                hn::::
18.   Makiko?:                              hn::::
19.             =Rock is long way from everything. (..)Ayers Rock=
20.   Makiko:                                        hah hah hah
21.   Maki?:                                         hn:::
22.   Ethan:    =is in the middle of a desert ((draws Australia
23.             with his forefinger on the top of table))
24.   Makiko?:  ah yeah
25.   Ethan:    so it is long way from (.) everything
26.   Maki?:    hn:::
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27.  Ethan:    very difficult to get there (..) ah::: so, I've
28.            never been ⌈(..) to Ayers Rock
29.  Maki:             ⌊ah:::
30.  Maki:     ⌈hn:::
31.  Makiko:   ⌊my friend (.) went to Ayers Rock? ⌈(.) and she=
32.  Ethan:                                        ⌈yeah
33.  Maki:                                        ⌊hn:::
34.  Makiko:   =said (.) hn:: there is very shiny?
35.  Ethan:    ↑really!? (.) the rock (^) is very shiny?
36.  Makiko:   no::
37.  Ethan:    no?
38.  Makiko:   the sunshine ⌈(.) is very hard
39.  Ethan:                ⌊ah::: very ↑bright sunshine
40.  Makiko:   bright ⌈yeah
41.  Maki:            ⌊hn:::::
42.  Ethan:    yeah:: (.) I ⌈↑imagine so: (.) °yeah°
43.  Makiko:               ⌊so
44.  Makiko:   she had to: (.) wear the sunglass?
45.  Ethan:    hm
46.  Makiko:   very black sunglass ⌈(.) y(h)eah.
47.  Maki:                        ⌊hah hah hah
48.  (...)
49.  Ethan:    yeah uh: in ↑Australia the sunlight is very strong,
50.  Maki:     strong?
51.  Ethan:    hm (.) in you know (..) everywhere in Australia (.)
52.            I think that's true (.) uh but especially in the:
53.            centre ⌈(.) of Australia (.)because it's a desert,
54.  Maki?:           ⌊hah hah
55.  Maki:     yeah::
56.  Ethan:    so there's a lot of ⌈(.) sunlight,
57.  Maki:                         ⌊un
58.  Makiko:   ⌈wow!
59.  Ethan:    ⌊there's (.) no sha:de, (.) no (^) not many trees,
60.            so (..) I imagine it is very bright and (..) very
61.            strong sunlight
62.  Makiko:   yeah
63.  Maki:     heh:::::
64.  (.....)
65.  Maki:     hah ⌈hah hah
66.  Makiko:        ⌊hah hah hah
67.  Maki:     °hontō ni::°¹
68.  (...)
69.  Makiko:   how long are you (.) staying in Japan.
```

In the above excerpt, the students introduce the topic of nationality through hearsay, similarly to the previous example, with: 'I heard you are from Australia' (line 1). Following confirmation by Ethan, Makiko makes a direct request for information, which topicalizes the country: she asks what Australia is famous for (line 4). Although Ethan is thus cast as expert, he does not readily provide the requested information, initially deflecting the question back to Makiko with: 'what do you think' (line 5). The stressing of 'you' contrasts with his own receipt

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¹ *honto ni* = really

of the request for information, whereby he himself is cast as answerer. Ethan inversely therefore compels Makiko to respond to her own question.

Such elicitation of topic-relevant contributions from the students, however, prompts the isolated and decontextualized items 'sheep' (line 6), 'koalas' (line 8), 'kangaroos' (line 9) and 'Ayers Rock' (line 11). Ethan seems both surprised and amused at the first 'famous' thing, namely 'sheep' (line 6), as he laughingly repeats it in rising intonation and validates it with 'oh okay' (line 7); moreover, it is consequently followed by a self-questioning 'no?' by Makiko (line 8). Ethan's continuing intonation of the confirmation token 'okay' (line 7), and his 'yeah' following his repetition of 'kangaroos' and koalas' (line 10), and 'Ayers Rock' (line 12), prompts the students to supply additional information on their selected topic.

Maki then makes her final contribution of Ayers Rock (line 11) of other-personal relevance to Ethan, asking whether he has been there (line 14). As Ethan has never visited this site of natural beauty, his response is largely explanatory, as he provides a description of its geographical location as remote from his hometown. Despite none of the participants having any direct experience of the topic, Makiko is able to provide an experiential account by proxy, as her friend has been to Ayers Rock. The experience of having to wear protective sunglasses due to the intensity of the sunlight merely prompts further explanation by Ethan (lines 49-61), who continues to orient to his own expertise in interaction with the students. The topic subsequently fizzles out, as manifest in the fillers, pauses and laughter by the students (lines 63-68), during which time Ethan does not himself take the initiative to reinstate the topic or initiate a new one. Makiko, who asks Ethan about his length of stay in Japan (line 69), finally occasions a shift in topic, from one with which the students appear to be largely unfamiliar, to that of their own home turf, while at the same time remaining relationally other-oriented towards Ethan.

6.2.1. Elicitation as both participation and asymmetry

In the current excerpt, the question 'what the the famous thing of Australia' (line 4), appears conversationally mismatched with the typically relational orientation

of pre-topical sequences, which in this case establishes Australia as Ethan's place of origin, as it represents an explicit request for non-personal information. In conversation between unacquainted interlocutors it might, by contrast, be expected to set a self-presentational sequence in motion, which typically involves reciprocation (Svennevig 1999). However, it is here followed up with a request for information, which initially frames the interaction as a topical exchange between expert and novice, namely, Ethan and Makiko (along with classmate Maki), respectively.

Similarly to Carol, Ethan comments that it is common for students to initiate conversation by drawing on his country of origin as a topical resource:

Interview; T3: Ethan
[Position 81]

it's also an easy way to start a conversation, it's an obvious topic of conversation between two people from different countries right, to talk about each other's country, uh, and so they [the students] try to talk about the things that they know about in Australia

Ethan therefore generalizes beyond the confines of the current context of research in claiming that place of origin is an obvious topic 'between two people from different countries'. However, the reciprocity which is inherent in 'talk about each other's country' is not evident in the opening phases of Excerpt 6.2., at the end of which it is Makiko who brings up the topic of Japan. Ethan also mentions that the students 'try to talk' about Australia, and one might expect such attempt to be somewhat hampered by a lack of more substantial and experiential knowledge of the self-selected and other-oriented topic domain.

Scarcity of topical knowledge seems evident in the elicited contributions, following Ethan's redirection of the question to Makiko. Although the knowledge may be minimal, the elicitation of knowledge in interaction opens up participatory opportunities for the students, as intimated by Ethan in the closing stages of his research interview, when asked if there is anything more he would like to add:

Interview; T3: Ethan
[Position 173]

I'm not sure why it's interesting but it is a little interesting that I've turned the conversation around several times, maybe this is a sign of me, this is an attempt by me to get them to contribute more to the discussion, for example, uh, [Makiko] here early on asks 'what the

famous thing in Australia' and I say 'what do <u>you</u> think' okay so trying to get her to play a
more active role I guess, trying to get <u>her</u> to give a bit more

As has also be seen in the excerpt, the attempt on the part of the students to select
a topic of interest, pertaining to the teacher's biographical information and field
of experiential expertise, can result in subsequent description and explanation of
the topic domain by the teacher. This occurs despite the initial counter-attempt
presumed by Ethan to have been designed to encourage participation, and which
therefore presents the floor to the novices. They are thus enabled to contribute to
the construction of topic, which effectively 'belongs' to the expert, other than
merely as questioner, or recipient of information. Yet in so doing the
'conversation' takes on characteristics which bear similarities with classroom
interaction, as epitomized in the teachers' elicitation and subsequent assessment
of student contributions. It thereby temporarily invokes an interactional
asymmetry, while paradoxically reinforcing the topical expertise of the teacher.
While it may safeguard equal contribution among the students, as most evident in
Carol's inclusion of the other, i.e. non-speaking, student by name, it at the same
time constructs asymmetry vis-à-vis the teacher.

6.2.2. Framing, elicitation, and the asymmetry of knowledge

The two examples discussed above (Excerpts 6.1. and 6.2.) illustrate the teachers'
elicitation of contributions following the epistemic framing of topic by the
students. This results in their subsequent validation, whether expressly verbalized,
or signalled by means of backchannelling. In representing firstly the students'
images (Excerpt 6.1.), and secondly the students' thoughts (Excerpt 6.2.), explicit
correction, which might ordinarily be face-threatening in conversation, may be
precluded by design. While such avoidance of overt other-repair may be
relationally oriented, the initial solicitation of information arguably appears 'non-
real' from the perspective of conversationality, as does the students' initial
framing of topic as a desire for information. As touched upon in the analyses, the
questions and elicited responses bear similarities with the display type of question
in classroom interaction (see, for example, Lee 2006, Long and Sato 1983). This
forms part of the scripted norm of classroom discourse, whereby the participants
play their complementary parts in a game of knowledge elicitation which serves

an overarching pedagogic agenda.

On the other hand, the use of elicitation questions in the examples may differ to that of prototypical display questions, as it serves to establish the students' knowledge base of their selected topic, while creating interactional space for them to legitimately put forward their contributions as non-experts in the 'conversational' exchange. The questions themselves are in all probability 'genuine', as the teachers who ask them cannot be expected to know the answer to what the students know (although they may have a general idea of what the general student body typically knows about their home countries). Yet at the same time the assessment turns which follow the students' responses function as both confirmation and 'continuers'; that is, they signal "the understanding that extended talk by another is going on by declining to produce a fuller turn in that position" (Schegloff 1982: 81). The teachers therefore compel the students to put their knowledge forward, while retaining the authoritative expertise to determine the appropriacy of the student responses in a follow-up move.

Although the students have set the agenda themselves by means of topic selection and framing, its relational other-orientation falls within the teacher's apparent field of expertise. This prompts the teachers to invert the sought-after flow of topical information, which paradoxically invokes a classroom mode of discourse. While elicitation questions may therefore be intended to ensure the contribution of the non-experts, and can at the same time serve to establish mutual knowledge upon which to collaboratively construct and extend the selected topic, they can result in minimal referential responses on the part of the students. This might be expected to hold in particular where knowledge of topic is largely lacking. While asymmetries of knowledge are arguably intrinsic to discourse of any kind (Linell and Luckmann 1991), the questioning by the expert of the novices, might, if anything, accentuate such disparity, and thereby undermine the very project of engaging in talk on more equal, conversational footing.

Although the teachers may interactionally propel the students to contribute to their 'own' topic, they do not, however, themselves assume topical responsibility for the conversational undertaking. In both Excerpts 6.1. and 6.2. the students are able to reinstate their own role as seeker of information by asking additional questions. However, their questions, unlike the teachers', are not designed to

display knowledge, and they are not in a position, moreover, as topical novices, to be able to evaluate it. As we have seen, the students in Excerpt 6.1. proceed to ask Carol about the national languages of South Africa, while the students in Excerpt 6.2. ask whether Ethan has ever been to Ayers Rock, before changing the topic to his length of stay in Japan.

Despite the potential difficulty of eliciting contributions from the students on a subject with which they may be largely unfamiliar, teachers might be reluctant to change the topic which has been selected by the students themselves. In such cases they may surrender to the interactional role of information provider. While the students are empowered to ask questions, having selected topic and framed the interaction as the pursuit of knowledge, asymmetry is evident in terms of elicitation questions and assessments by the teachers, as well as an ongoing orientation by the participants to their topical expertise, as they 'quantitatively dominate' the exchange with topic-relevant contributions. Moreover, as the teachers' home countries feature prominently among the selected topics, the orientation by the students towards their expertise by means of epistemic framing effectively casts them in the role of interactional tourist guide, as shall be seen in the following example.

6.3. An interactional tour of England: the ongoing pursuit of cultural knowledge

The following conversation involving a teacher from England, John, illustrates the most explicit framing of the exchange by the students as the transfer of knowledge with regard to his home country. It charts the progress of interaction in four separate excerpts, which see John persistently eliciting topic-relevant contributions from the students. (The full transcript, including the intervening segments, is provided in Appendix A-4.)

6.3.1. Tea and scones: talking 'loud' about England

The first excerpt starts at the beginning of the recording, as it illustrates both the participatory expectations of the teacher, John, and the topical wants of the students:

Excerpt 6.3.1.

Participants:

        John (T21)
        Mitsuko (Sf)
        Yoko (Sf)

```
1.   John:      so yeah we're all talking ↑right?
2.   Mitsuko:   ↓u⌈n:
3.   Yoko:         ⌊yes LOUD.
4.   John:      OKAY (^) LET'S TALK LOUD!
5.   (...)
6.   John:      °hah°
7.   Yoko:      le(h)t's t(h)alk loud? hah⌈hah .hhh...  ⌈ENGLAND!=
8.   Mitsuko:                              ⌊okay         ⌊uh
9.   John:      =↑okay!
10.  Mitsuko:   my name is Mitsuko
11.  Yoko:      ⌈uh! my name is ↑Yoko
12.  John:      ⌊hi Mitsuko
13.  John:      hi Yo⌈ko
14.  Yoko:           ⌊nice to meet you=
15.  Mitsuko:   =⌈nice to meet you
16.  John:       ⌊nice to meet you I'm- I'm John °f⌈or the tape°
17.  Yoko:                                         ⌊ah:::
18.  John:      hah⌈hah
19.  Yoko:         ⌊hah hah hah .hhh °for tape° hah ⌈hah .hhh=
20.  John:                                          ⌊hah hah
21.  Mitsuko:   =s(h)o (.) you are from Englan:d
22.  John:      that's ↑right
23.  Mitsuko:   so:: we would like to know: (^) about ↑England=
24.  Yoko:      =yeah:⌈::
25.  John:            ⌊yeah yeah (.) have you::, (.) did you ha~hm=
26.  Yoko:      =no::: but I want I w(h)ant t⌈o go England=
27.  John:                                   ⌊yeah
28.  John:      =good ↑>what do you< ↑>what do you< know about
29.             England.
30.  (..)
31.  Mitsuko:   ⌈ah::
32.  Yoko:      ⌊ah::
33.  Mitsuko:   beautiful ↑city,
34.  John:      yeah ↓okay
35.  Mitsuko:   ⌈and
36.  Yoko:      ⌊and ↑tea
37.  John:      ↑tea ⌈↓yeah=
38.  Mitsuko:        ⌊oh::
39.  Yoko:      =and scone,
40.  John:      uh~huh
41.  Mitsuko:   h⌈n::
42.  John:       ⌊yeah the uh:m (^) ↑tea and scones yeah they're
43.             very very famous in ↑England, (^) there's also ah::m
44.             ((clicks tongue)) (^) some famous English ↑sports,
45.  S?:        °°yes°°
46.  John:      have you heard ⌈of (^) Wimbledon?
47.  Mitsuko:                  ⌊ah:::
48.  Yoko:                     ⌊ah:::
```

```
49.  John:       Wimbledon is a very famous ┌tennis competition=
50.  Mitsuko:                                └tennis? yeah::
51.  Yoko:       =↑tennis oh:::
52.  John:       and every year that's on TV in ↑Japan,
53.  Mitsuko:    u┌n:
54.  Yoko:        └oh:::
55.  John:       and uh::: in England we also ha:::ve (..) .hhh we
56.              have a lot of beautiful buildings
57.  Mitsuko:    hn: ┌::
58.  Yoko:           └heh:::
59.  John:       has Marion told you about big ↑CASTLES in England
60.              >there's a lot of very big< castles
61.  Mitsuko:    heh:: ┌:
62.  John:              └yeah
63.  Yoko:       and Big Ben?
64.  John:       ↑yeah Big Ben yea┌h that's very famous as well.
65.  Yoko:                         └hah hah
```

As has been seen in Chapter 5, the interaction here once again begins with humourous metacomment by the participants. Firstly, John emphasizes parity in interactional participation by inquiring 'we're all talking right?' (line 1), whereby he stresses the 'all'. He therefore indicates from the outset that all of the participants are responsible for sustaining the 'conversation'. The participatory agreement is confirmed with a 'un' (line 2) by Makiko and a 'yes' by Yoko to which she adds loudly 'loud' (line 3). The volume of speaking would appear to relate to the recording of the event, whereby Yoko's 'loud' somewhat comically follows on from John's apparent concern with participatory equality of speaking rights (or obligations). John correspondingly raises his voice and playfully aligns with Yoko in issuing the command, 'let's talk loud!' (line 4). The first attempt at topic initiation then becomes adjoined to this metacomment as it is laughingly repeated by Yoko, who adds 'England' in exclamatory intonation (line 7). Although John appears to okay the topic (line 9), similarly in exclamatory intonation, its initiation is delayed until after the introductions, however, which are instigated by Mitsuko (line 10). Following John's introduction as 'John for the tape' (line 16), to the amusement of the students, Mitsuko re-introduces the topic with the connective 'so', followed by the pre-topical comment 'you are from England' (line 21). Having received confirmation from John, she expresses their desire to learn about England with: 'so we would like to know about England' (line 23), whereby the exchange becomes framed as the interactional pursuit of topic-relevant information, with the teacher correspondingly cast as expert.

John, in turn, seeks to find out whether the students have ever been to the country (line 25), and Yoko responds in the negative, but explains that she wants to go there (line 26). Similarly to Carol (6.1.) and Ethan (6.2.), John first attempts to garner what they know about England (lines 28-29). He elicits 'beautiful city' (line 33), 'tea' (line 36), and 'scone' (line 39) from the students, both confirming their contributions and prompting continuation with the minimal responses 'yeah okay' (line 34), 'tea yeah' (line 37) and 'uh huh' (line 40), respectively. He then reiterates that tea and scones are 'very very famous' (line 43), emphatically validating both Yoko's and Mitsuko's contributions, before extending the list himself with sports (line 44). He relates the example of Wimbledon to Japan, in mentioning that it is aired there every year, which prompts some backchannelling of interest by the students, yet the topic is not extended by either party in interaction. John then moves on to mention 'beautiful buildings' (line 56) and finally adds 'castles' (line 59) to the list, at which point Yoko steps in with 'Big Ben' (line 63).

6.3.1.1. The association and disconnection of elicited tokens

The excerpt once again illustrates the elicitation of disconnected contributions, similar to a brainstorming session in the classroom, whereby John appears to be seeking to establish the pre-existing knowledge of the students with regard to their chosen topic of 'conversation'. Although the topic-relevant contributions are connected by association with England, they are not what might be considered conversationally coherent: they do not relate to each other by means of stepwise progression (Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.), nor are they otherwise demarcated from one another by means of a disjunction or misplacement marker, such as 'by the way' (Schegloff and Sacks 1974, Strodt-Lopez 1991), which signals a jump to a new topic. In other words, the elicited tokens are associated by means of the topical agenda, yet lack conversational *inter*connection.

However, the teacher may often feel a need to establish the students' background knowledge on their selected topic, since not knowing what the students know may present a constraint on interaction, as commented on by John in his research interview:

<u>Interview; T21: John</u>
[Position 28~]

Researcher: do you feel that within this conversation, that you felt any constraints at all on what you could say or what you could do?

John: I think yeah I think so, I think I was trying to work out what they knew about England, because I figured that I couldn't tell them about, unless they knew a lot about Britain, and I didn't want to go into too much detail, so I, I think perhaps earlier on I was looking for common ground, you know, I figured maybe they know about Wimbledon or (.) and then here I think yeah I probably, I was talking about beautiful buildings towards the bottom of the first page, and I think that's perhaps something else which, and the castles and then later which I think they probably associate with Britain, I was thinking what do they know about Britain and thinking, trying to imagine what they would know, if they knew a little bit and then talking about that and seeing what their reaction was (.) and I seemed to draw a bit of a bl-, well they <u>did</u> talk about Big Ben ((laughing))

Here John expresses an attempt to unearth some common ground by vicariously seeking to adopt the perspective of the student in 'trying to imagine what they would know'. Yet his use of 'tell them about' suggests that he may not, as the expert, expect them to collaboratively construct the topic with him. Despite failing to elicit much from the students, his contributions appear to be a means of gauging their reactions in order to establish recognition of what they know. Although, as John appears to be saying, he draws 'a bit of a bl[ank]', knowledge gauging through elicitation might present a useful tool in pitching the topic at an appropriate level, as he elsewhere suggests:

<u>Interview; T21: John</u>
[Position 8]

I think I remember I was wanting them to talk and uh then yeah and because I think I wanted to learn about what they <u>knew</u> about England, if they knew <u>nothing</u> then I would start talking about the basics, but I think I didn't, trying to feel out what they knew

Despite John's initial preoccupation with 'conversation' as a joint endeavour, whereby the interactional onus is distributed among all of the participants, the other-orientation of the student-selected topic suggests that it is heavily weighted in John's 'favour'. This is subsequently borne out in the surface elicitations from the students, who appear to be lacking any in-depth or experiential expertise. Moreover, John might, by default, be granted ownership of the topic, in his authentic garb of native speaking national of the topicalized 'foreign' country.

Notwithstanding both Mitsuko's and Yoko's agreement to participate at the outset of the conversation, the topic selection and its framing casts the teacher both as expert and purveyor of knowledge, while his consequent elicitation (and display) of knowledge further makes its mark on the trajectory of interaction.

6.3.2. The mechanics of Big Ben: the student as expert by hearsay

However, as touched on by John in his interview, Yoko does talk about Big Ben, having added it to the expanding list (line 63, Excerpt 6.3.1.), from which the subsequent excerpt follows on:

Excerpt 6.3.2.

```
1.   Yoko:     .hhh I- I heard it's (..) not mechanical?
2.   John:     ah:::(..) I'm not ↑SURE actually uh::m I th- I
3.             thought it was kind of mech↑anical but wh- what did
4.             you hear
5.   (..)
6.   Yoko :    uh::m (...) HAND
7.   John :    °°uh huh°°
8.   Yoko:     u(h)se hand and (.....)↑weight (( moves hands))
9.   John:     oh::: ↑really
10.  Yoko :    yeah
11.  John:     ↑oh:::
12.  Yoko:     putu ↑weight
13.  John :    wow (..) that's ↑amazing yeah⌈I didn't know that
14.  Yoko:                                    ⌊hah hah hah .hhh I'm
15.            s(h)orry to::⌈(..) uh:: explain,=
16.  John:               ⌊°°hm~hm°°
17.  John:     =↑uh~huh
18.  Yoko:     specific(^)ally in English so:⌈:
19.  John:                                   ⌊°°yeah°° no problem
20.            no problem (..) yeah and uh::m ((clicks tongue))
21.            so:: (.) ↑WHERE do you want to GO in England?
22.  (.....)
23.  Yoko :    London.
24.  John :    Lon⌈don?,
25.  Mitsuko:    ⌊ah::⌈:
26.  Yoko:           ⌊yea⌈h::
27.  Mitsuko :          ⌊Paris?
28.  John :    wow:: PARIS that's yeah:: ↑that's (^) you know
29.            ↑Paris (^) that's kind of t(h)ow(h)ards France a
30.            little bit
31.  Mitsuko : heh::⌈:
32.  John :         ⌊so ah ↑yeah wh- but what do you know about
33.            ↑London (^) °why do you want to visit London.°
34.  Yoko :    ah::: (...) there's a lot of museum
```

After John has validated the contribution of Big Ben as 'very famous' (line 64, Excerpt 6.3.1.), Yoko here mentions that she has heard it is not mechanical, at the same time seeking confirmation of the hearsay in rising intonation (line 1). John appears unsure of the mechanics of Big Ben and asks Yoko in response to elaborate on what she has heard (lines 2-4), and she consequently provides an explanation with the aid of gesture. John then moves on to ask the students where they want to visit in England (line 21), and having elicited London (line 23) and Paris (line 27), further asks them why they want to visit London (line 33), to which Yoko responds 'there is a lot of museum' (line 34).

6.3.2.1. The relevance of student contributions to topical agenda

The excerpt sees John orienting to Yoko's expertise, after she has volunteered Big Ben and touched on its mechanics. Although Yoko is able to expand on her contribution by means of explanation, and John displays some enthusiasm with regard to the seemingly new information: 'wow that's amazing yeah I didn't know that' (line 13), the topic does not prompt any further extensions by means of speaker transfer. It appears to be based on second-hand information and does not arguably represent the type of experiential account which might easily prompt an interrelational exchange of views or narrative, for example.

In both Excerpts, 6.3.1. and 6.3.2., John appears to resolutely pursue the topic selected by the students, while seeking to draw forth further contribution in asking for specifics, such as where they want to go. While his questions compel the students to contribute, they at the same time provide a reason for the information exchange, and hence for the interactional event to take place. From Yoko's response, it would appear that London represents a potential site of tourism. John fails to develop the topic of Paris, however, which is not relevant to the students' initial topic selection, chuckling as he relocates it 'kind of towards France a little bit' (lines 29-30). While Mitsuko's contribution is not overtly other-repaired, it is not here pursued as material for topical development, presumably as it does not fall within the specified agenda, namely, England.[1]

---

[1] Please note that further on in the conversation, as John perseveres in his attempt to elicit contributions from the students, he asks them when they want to go to England, adding 'or visit Paris', although this is not taken up by the students themselves. (See Appendix A-4 for the full transcript.)

In this case, the topical purpose of interaction would appear to override the conversational design of the task. Moreover, it would suggest that the topic has become 'set' to some degree through the students' initial framing of interaction, while the elicited points remain to a large extent undeveloped, in the lack of interrelational comments and extensions. Thus the overall stabilization of topic through the contribution of ancillary points, which Jefferson (1984) describes as characteristic of topic flow, might be perceived as lacking in the excerpts of 6.3. In other words, although the elicited points are topic-relevant, they might nonetheless appear conversationally disjointed, as is further apparent in the following excerpt.

6.3.3. A picture postcard effect: the interactional display of culture

As has been seen, the solicitation of information related to the place of origin of the foreign English teacher can give rise to an interactional cataloguing of features which are 'known' to the students, and hence representative of the countries in question. The participants thereby present snapshots of images, or a bricolage of cultural tokens in their knowledge display, which are interactionally thrown together to picture postcard effect. Their value may, however, remain somewhat illusive to the conversational endeavour. That is, the participants might ordinarily further topical progression through the *inter*relation of contributions, as opposed to the *super*relation of England to all of them. The interactional value of cultural symbolism is discussed further in relation to the following excerpt, which is presented at considerable length, due to its symbolic richness:

Excerpt 6.3.3.

```
1.   John:       what ↑else do you know about London
2.   (....)
3.   Yoko:       red bus
4.   John:       ah::⎡°red bus°
5.   Yoko:       ⎣big
6.   (...)
7.   Mitsuko:    wha- wha- what is (^) red bus.
8.   John:       °°it's a good question°°
9.   (...)
10.  Yoko:       ONE AH:: (..) ↑TWO STAIRS
11.  John:       uh:⎡:
12.  S?:         ⎣un
```

```
13.  John:       it's called a double decker
14.  Yoko:      ⌈double decker
15.  John:      ⌊double decker bus
16.  (..)
17.  Mitsuko:   ↑ah:::
18.  Yoko:      °double decker°
19.  Mitsuko:   bus?
20.  John:      yeah
21.  Mitsuko:   ah:::
22.  John:      double decker bus.
23.  Yoko:      and the ↑MAN who (.) wear ↑SKIRTS
24.  John:      ⌈ah:(h):: r(h)ight
25.  Mitsuko:   ⌊ah it's in Scotland?
26.  John:      y(h)eah ⌈that's right yeah hah hah
27.  Mitsuko:          ⌊hah hah hah
28.  John:      ↓yeah if they, if you said to him you are wear⌈ing=
29.  S?:                                                      ⌊un
30.  John:      =a skirt,
31.  S?:        un
32.  John:      he would get really really angry
33.  Yoko:      hah hah s(h)orr(h)y
34.             ((laughter))
35.  John:      yeah they uh (..) yeah they're called KILTS
36.  Mitsuko:   ⌈hah hah hah
37.  Yoko:      ⌊hah hah hah
38.  John:      .hhh °°huh::°°((clicks tongue)) but ↑yeah yeah
39.             °double decker buses° YEAH and they also have (.)
40.             do you know what color uhm British (.) °°wait°°
41.             PHONE boxes are (.) in: in ↑London
42.  (..)
43.  Mitsuko:   ⌈red?
44.  Yoko:      ⌊red color?=
45.  John:      =they're often red ↓yeah in the in the ↑very (.)
46.             in the most ah:: popular pas- parts of London,
47.  S?:        yes
48.  John:      where there are lots of tourists,
49.  Mitsuko:   un
50.  John:      there are ↑red (^) lots of ↑red phone boxes (.)
51.             ↑NOW (^)in many places they've cha:nged the phone
52.             boxes (.) to make them more modern (.) but⌈in=
53.  Yoko?:                                               ⌊heh::
54.  John:      =↑London⌈they- (^)the red phone boxes=
55.  Mitsuko:          ⌊un::
56.  John:      =were very uh:m very ↑famous
57.  Mitsuko?:  heh:⌈:
58.  John:          ⌊°so they uh they kept the colour.°
59.  (..)
60.  Yoko:      uh:: do ↑you know why:: England like °red°?
61.  John:      hah ⌈hah
62.  Mitsuko:       ⌊hah hah=
63.  John:      =that's a good ↑question ⌈(^) I ↑don't know, I=
64.  Mitsuko:                             ⌊.hhh
65.  John:      =↑don't know
66.  Mitsuko:   hah hah .hhh hah hah .hhh
67.  John:      uh:: maybe the ↑flag per- perhaps the ↑flag the-
68.             ⌈the English flag(^) ⌈do you know what colors the=
69.  Yoko:      ⌊hn::                ⌊
70.  Mitsuko:                        ⌊.hhh hah hah .hhh
71.  John:      =English flag is?
```

```
72.  Yoko:       ye::s (..) red and blue and ↑white?
73.  John:       ah~yea- (^) ↑almost the uhm ↓the British flag is
74.              red and blue and white
75.  Yoko:       un.
76.  (.)
77.  John:       but the English flag,
78.  Yoko:       °yes°
79.  John:       is red and white.
80.  Mitsuko:    [he:::[:h
81.  Yoko:       [he:::[:h
82.  John:            [so it's kind of >it's kind of like a< (^)
83.              ↓yeah there's a kind of cross,
84.  Yoko:       ah:::
85.  John:       in the middle? which is red (..) °°so°° and that's
86.              (.)perha- perhaps that's (h)w(h)hy (..) °yeah°
87.  Mitsuko:    I think Japanese flag (.) is ah:: (...) rice and
88.              umeboshi¹
89.  Yoko:       [hah hah hah hah hah
90.  John:       [yeah yeah (.) is ↑that uh that's the reason isn't
91.              it.
92.  Mitsuko:    no no I(h) [do(h)n't know
93.  John:                  [or (h)is th(h)at n(h)ot r(h)ight hah
94.              hah
95.              ((laughter))
```

The excerpt begins with John's repeated attempt to establish what the students know about England (line 1). When Yoko contributes 'red bus' (line 3), Mitsuko questions what it is (line 7), to which John quietly adds 'it's a good question' (line 8). His evaluation is noteworthy, as the question appears to be directed at Yoko, who consequently explains that it has two 'stairs', i.e. levels (line 10). Having contributed 'red bus' (line 3), she might be assumed to hold sufficient knowledge to be able to answer Yoko's request for clarification. However, John's comment at the same time suggests an ongoing orientation to his own expertise as he positively evaluates the question. Following the explanation by Yoko, he displays his local knowledge and linguistic expertise in providing the name for the red bus, as 'double decker' (line 13), while he similarly amends the 'skirts' worn by men in Scotland to 'kilts' (line 35).

The use of skirt, however, appears comical, as the subject wearing it is a 'man', an association which might not ordinarily be made with a highly female-gendered garment, other than in a gender-bending context, such as drag. The humour arises from a cultural symbol which metonymically represents the national pride of those who wear it, i.e. Scottish males, clashing with the associated femininity of skirt. In interactionally portraying a man in a skirt as emblematic of 'England',

¹ *umeboshi* = small red pickled plum often placed in the centre of the rice section of a lunch box

the item becomes catalogued as something which the students purport to know about the country. However, as a cultural symbol it has a deeper emotive significance, or at least to 'insiders' of the place whose national pride it represents. Yoko may be able to intuit such value from its very contribution as a 'known' item of cultural clothing. When John explains that its classification as a skirt might make a Scot wearing it really angry, the students are able to appreciate the element of humour, as their hearty bursts of laughter suggest (lines 34, and 36-37).

John subsequently repeats the double decker buses (line 39). As he moves a step backwards in reference, the kilt, however, appears to be scratched from the developing list, perhaps as it is not the right 'fit' for the specified topic (although the regional/national distinctions might be largely lost to the Japanese students, and more generally, beyond their own borders). Such contributions may be less likely to prompt overt correction where they are topically mismatched, as student contribution is *per se* valid, and commendable, as 'active' participation. Anything might therefore be acceptable, although not necessarily reiterated, or topically extended.

Although the images associated with England at first appear to lack any *inter*connection, they become conceptually linked by means of the colour red as the interaction continues. Having added phone boxes to the list (line 41), John asks a highly constraining display question, namely, what colour they are (lines 40-41). That is to say, the appropriate answer must be a colour, and in representing one (or more) over other potential contenders, either right or wrong. Having received and confirmed the correct response of 'red' from the students (lines 43-44), John alludes to the traditional value of red phone boxes, having been preserved as such in the popular tourist spots of London, and not modernized, as in other places (lines 50-58). This is where Yoko asks John whether he knows why England likes red (line 60), prompting the laughter of her co-participants in interaction. Having surmised that the fondness for red might be related to the English flag, John proceeds once more to elicit a response from the students to a further display question: 'do you know what colours the English flag is?' (lines 68 and 71). It is the talk of the British and English flag which prompts a comical comparison by Mitsuko, who introduces the Japanese flag, asserting that it represents rice and '*umeboshi*', a pickled plum (lines 87-88).

Although John questions whether that is the reason (lines 90-91), it seems

unlikely that the participants are unaware of the significance of the Japanese flag,

and their apparent ignorance could possibly be feigned in order to strengthen

interrelational bonds through humourous misunderstanding of cultural symbolism.

A full understanding of Mitsuko's joke, in fact, rests on an inversion of symbolic

representation, as the Japanese flag represents the circle of the sun, and is named

as such in the Japanese: *hi no maru* (literally, *hi* = sun, *no* = possessive particle,

maru = circle). The rectangular rice section of a lunch box with a pickled plum in

the centre is consequently referred to as a *hi no maru bento* (bento = lunchbox),

as it is evocative of the Japanese flag. In other words, the lunchbox derives its

name from the flag, rather than vice versa, as Mitsuko here jokingly maintains.

6.3.3.1. Symbolic humour as a relational surrogate for conversational symmetry

As John continues in his attempt to elicit tokens of topical knowledge from the

students, the picture postcard effect becomes magnified, or multiplied into a

myriad of icons, which do not, at this stage, invoke personalization of subject

matter. The elicited emblems in themselves prompt humour which relationally

aligns the participants through their reflection of cultural symbolism; however,

they do not appear to serve as stimuli for the interrelational sharing of

experiences, or the co-construction of topic as personally relevant to the

participants in interaction. As the interaction progresses, it becomes increasingly

pedagogically driven, as is maximally evident in John's use of display questions

(lines 40-41, and 68 and 71), through which he assumes an overtly didactic

footing. The reflection of the participants with regard to the significance of the

symbols appears to become heightened when expounding on the points elicited,

which lends an air of comedy to the exchange, as Yoko's question, 'do you know

why England like red?' (line 60) illustrates. John himself appears to be unsure of

the answer, despite having elicited 'red' by means of a display question (lines 40-

41). While the colour appears to be of symbolic importance, its import is

ironically unknown, although John subsequently forges a link with the English

flag. Yoko's question highlights the symbolic value of red phone boxes, yet its

meaning appears to be normatively ungraspable, and John responds with 'that's a

good question' (line 63). It really does seem to be a good question, as it raises the further question of whether conversation can, in fact, be crafted from patchwork symbolism, whose 'real' meaning and interpersonal value may be somewhat elusive.

Although the current excerpt displays a relational touch vis-à-vis the monolithic tokens of national pride, the participants nevertheless jump from one cultural emblem to another in the manner of classroom elicitation, with concomitant effects on the trajectory of interaction. Once the students' knowledge of topic domain has been exhausted, the teacher could feel compelled to take over, in ready compliance with the explicitly stated, and tenaciously pursued, topical agenda. While the participants do progress beyond minimal referential tokens to some degree of topic stabilization, it is largely by means of humourous reflection of their own elicitation and display of cultural knowledge. It is the men in skirts and the meaning of the colour red which appear to set the tone for Mitsuko's joke, which similarly appears innocently, or mischievously, irreverent towards a symbol of national pride.

6.3.4. Roses and footballs: personalization through narrative

As the exchange of information does not appear to lead to the conversational interrelation of personal views or experience, delving for deeper meaning or drawing humourous parallels in its absence may represent an attempt to invest in the interpersonal significance not provided for by the interactional cataloguing of knowledge tokens. The last section of the recorded interaction, however, presents the eventual personalization of cultural symbolism, although it involves the person of the teacher, in continued other-orientation by the students towards the specified topical criterion, namely, 'England'.

Excerpt 6.3.4.

```
1.   Yoko:    is there many ↑ roses in England?
2.   John:    uh:⌈:
3.   Yoko:       ⌊and people like to:: (^) grow grow ↑up (^) the
4.            rose?
5.   John:    ye- (^) yeah people t- people grow roses ↑uhm
6.            there are a lot ↑it's the English (.) flower (^)
```

```
 7.                so uh:::(.) so:: (..)on ↑for example the rugby
 8.                team they wear a a rose,┌on their shirt
 9.    S?:                                └hn:::
10.    John:       like the Japanese kind of have saku- you know
11.                sakura¹ it's(^) it's the flower for (^) for England
12.                .hhh uh::m ((clicks tongue))↑yeah they are very
13.                ↓popula:r but I hated roses┌°>↑when I was a=
14.    S?:                                     └heh:::
15.    John:       =kid< I hated roses° because .hhh my mother
16.                loved roses (^)┌↑so in our garden we always=
17.    S?:                        └°ye:s°
18.    John:       =had lots and lots of rose bushes ┌(.)and all the=
19.    S?:                                            └yeah
20.    John:       =way along the wall there were roses, (.) kind of
21.                uh::: (^) and (^)I ↑used to like playing┐
22.                ↑football┌(.) so I would with my friends┌(^)=
23.    S?:                  └un                            └un
24.    John:       =↑I would play football, (.) uh: in the
25.                garden in my::(.)┌next to my ↑parents' house
26.    S?:                          └hah hah
27.    John:       an:d >we only had a< small garden ↑but it was you
28.                know it was big ↑enough, (.) and (.) but
29.                (^)↑every time I- I got a new football?
30.    S?:         y(h)es hah
31.    John:       i- it often after ┌about a week ┌(^)  I kicked the
32.    S?:                           └hah hah hah  └un
33.    John:       ball against the roses,a- and bang ((mimes a
34.                football exploding)) i- it (^) and it stopped (^)
35.                it stopped so::
36.    Yoko:       ┌hah hah hah
37.    Mitsuko:    └hah hah hah
38.    Yoko:       hah .hhh b(h)ut ↑maybe, your m(h)other┌annoyed at=
39.    John:                                             └hah hah
40.    Yoko:       =you::
41.    Mitsuko:    ┌un
42.    John:       └yeah my mother was ┌uh hah hah .hhh yeah, .hhh
43.    Mitsuko:                         └hah hah hah
44.    John:       ↑I hated roses, my mother hated footballs
45.    Yoko:       hah ┌hah hah
46.    John:           │s(h)o:: .hhh
47.    Mitsuko:        └hah hah hah .hhh=
48.    Yoko:       =heh:::
```

In this excerpt Yoko introduces English roses in a way which makes interpersonal extension of the symbol more feasible, as she asks whether people like to grow them (lines 3-4). As such, the cultural token becomes related to the activity of the people of that country, and is not merely emblematic of the country itself. Although the topic need not necessarily become personalized through topical agency, as it may not bear directly on the interlocutors themselves, it nevertheless affords John the opportunity to comment on something that people do, namely, growing roses. While he starts with an explanation of emblematicity, comparing it

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¹ *sakura* = cherry blossom

to the Japanese cherry blossom, he is further able to relate the topic of roses to his childhood days, as he provides a comical account of his football interests conflicting with his mother's rose bushes. As such his personal anecdote is "locally occasioned" (Jefferson 1978: 220) by Yoko's contribution, who thus plays a part in the construction of topic. That is to say, she both initiates it and concludes that his mother must have been annoyed with him, which enables John, in turn, to pithily sum up with 'I hated roses, my mother hated footballs' (line 44).

6.3.4.1. Relationality as not quite to the point

Having initially framed the conversation as a topically driven exchange, by means of the metacomment: 'so we would like to know about England' (Excerpt 6.3.1., line 23), the students do not, on the whole, play a dominant role in topically managing the interaction. Despite attempting to gauge their background knowledge of the topical domain, and thereby to provide them with participatory opportunities, John compliantly takes the floor and furnishes the interactional space with topic-relevant information himself. The teacher thus becomes a presenter of information despite his attempt to re-distribute knowledge in interaction by eliciting information from the students themselves, which represents a movement in discourse which has been noted in the other excerpts analyzed in the present chapter.

The closing anecdote, however, provides a way for John to relationally engage with his interlocutors within the framework of topical asymmetry which has been established by the participants in interaction. It functions similarly to the humourous extension of the elicited cultural symbols discussed in the previous section. The construction of narrative itself is largely one-sided, as may be common in conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997). However, John's anecdotal voice arises from an orientation of the student-participants to his experiential expertise of English roses and the people who grow them. In the lack of interrelational negotiation of topic, and despite all parties providing snippets of referential content throughout the full exchange, it is primarily the humour of the participants which appears to lend whatever air of conversationality there might be to the exchange. The elicited emblems are thus exploited, not as a means of furthering topical progression in a 'smooth or stepwise' fashion (Eggins and

Slade 1997: 30), but as resources which enable the participants to make further comment and humorously relate to one another in pursuit of the chosen topic, despite being unable to interpersonally sustain any one emblematic point for conversational development.

Similarly, Yoko's personalization of topic in touching on the people who grow the roses enables John to enrich his description by means of personal narrative. When John chooses to focus on the anecdote in his interview, which he refers to as such, he sees it as something which deviates to some degree from the topical business of talk, however:

> Interview; T21: John
> [Position 61]
>
> I was looking for interesting points to talk to them about, I think the last little anecdote about my mother and roses, I don't think that was really very close to the point about England I think that was probably more of a kind of uhm fun story to try and entertain them rather than but [...] you know but what you call interactional you know maybe some of this was more transactional, more kind of you know they needed to know stuff so I kind of gave them the facts, whereas perhaps this was more uh, you know, just to kind of be, you know, have a nice feeling in the conversation that was kind of a nice bit to finish on that you know it was kind of an entertainment type thing, rather than a strictly practical thing

John here himself draws a distinction between 'interactional' and 'transactional' (cf. Brown and Yule 1983a, 1983b, Cheepen 1988), with the search for knowledge in conversation being equated with transactionality, while the anecdote is seen to serve a more relational purpose, as it infuses the conversation with a 'nice feeling'. At the same time, however, he describes it in performative terms as 'entertainment', whereby he is the one doing the entertaining. As such, there is a clear distinction between performer and audience, which in the case of ordinary conversation making practices might become conflated due to a more equal distribution of knowledge, or a change in expert and novice statuses in accordance with topic shift. However, in contrasting the 'entertainment type thing' with the 'strictly practical thing' it becomes clear that despite the largely one-sidedness of personal narrative, its relational orientation differs from the practical business of conveying topic-relevant information. John's remark, 'I don't think that was really very close to the point', suggests that he sees the topic of England as the purpose of the exchange, and it would for this reason appear to override conversationality.

6.3.4.2. The comfort factor: the teacher as expert, and student as learner

From John's point of view, the rest of the interaction would appear to lack conversationality in being information-driven, yet more to the point. While the attempt to elicit information from the students could result from a certain initial reluctance to supply the information himself, John appears to readily accommodate to the students' topical wants throughout the exchange. Moreover, in seeking to establish their pre-existing knowledge, apparently in the attempt to prompt participation and open up subsequent topical opportunities, John perseveres in his quest to find out what they know, repeatedly asking for information to the point where the questions become prototypical of the classroom display type.

The effects of the expert-novice relationship on the trajectory of interaction are intimated by John in his interview:

Interview; T21: John
[Position 21]

no, yeah I think at first I was determined to learn about them to let them speak, and I didn't want to kind of, uhm, to try and, I give quite short answers and I'm wanting them to tell me about stuff and I didn't want it to be a one-sided conversation, at the end it was a one-sided conversation ((laughs))

[...]

partly I thought oh they just want to learn from me and partly I thought well it makes things go much more smoothly if I assume I'm the kind of expert and they're the ...people wanting to learn about Britain

[...]

I think as we went on it I think it did seem to turn into a more comfortable conversation for us all, although yeah perhaps from a perspective, from a naturalness perspective, it's getting wor-, more and more kind of unusual

As the talk is here of expert and novice, John does not specifically relate the unusualness from a 'naturalness perspective' to the pedagogic footing. However, he seems to connect the role of expert, or 'provider', with that of teacher within the more general context of conversation lounge interaction, when asked what he feels the students believe he is there to do:

Interview; T21: John
[Position 113]

uhm, to do what? I'm not sure, I think it might vary, (.) I'd be interested to know, I'm not uhm, I'll stick a few uhms and ahs on the tape, I don't know, I don't know, I think some of

them might think I'm there to have a chat to but I think there's still this kind of relationship where they're a student and I'm a teacher and they can't adjust out of that so easily, nor can teachers do that much, so still they expect a provider of inf-, more a provider than equal kind of conversationalist yeah

The quote further suggests that John feels that the teachers may have difficulty adjusting out of their institutional roles, which are related to 'providing', by implicit contrast with having a 'chat'. The issue of how this may conflict with the supposed conversationality of conversation-lounge discourse, will therefore be returned to in the Conclusions.

While the excerpts discussed in Chapter 5 suggest that enforcing parity through topic pre-selection by the students may compel them to take on the role of interviewer in asking questions, yet not to contribute substantially, or quantitatively, to interaction, here John himself continues to ask questions in ongoing pursuit of the students' knowledge. As John mentions elsewhere in his interview, comparing this example with conversation lounge interaction more generally: 'as I did here, I'm desperate to try and put the onus on them at first'. Despite an attempt to elicit contribution from the students, or partly because of it, the onus falls back to John himself to sustain the topic, and the students' questions are further oriented to his own expertise of their selected topic.

Given that the students themselves are only able to provide a minimum of referential content to the exchange, in the lack of any substantial or personal experience of the topic domain, John's repeated questioning appears to invoke an IRF/E framework of discourse. Moreover, having extensively solicited information himself, it might be more difficult in such circumstances to then playfully withhold contribution, as has been seen in Chapter 5 (Excerpts 5.1. and 5.2.). Taking an active role in interactional management while seeking to invert the largely unidirectional stream of information, may relationally inhibit the teacher from later reneging such topical compliance, that is, without partially undoing the rapport which has been established.

6.4. Forging links to Japan: topic and cultural ownership

The attempted elicitation of knowledge by the teacher in orientation to the topic selected by the students can therefore prompt the participants to supply items to

interaction which are interrelationally disconnected, despite being of topical relevance. While the display of information results in a mutuality of knowledge established *in situ*, it may, paradoxically, undermine the attempt to forge more relationally significant common ground. In the excerpts of 6.3., the display of cultural symbols appears particularly pronounced due to John's continued efforts at elicitation. The participants may make up for this, however, in their reflective humour with regard to the elicited cultural symbols, which provides a means by which to extend the topical contributions. Moreover, it prompts some cross-cultural linkage of ancillary topics, with Mitsuko mentioning the Japanese flag, following John's description of the English one. Teachers can, then, comply with the students' other-oriented topic, while at the same time making other-oriented connections to Japan, e.g. such as Wimbledon being aired in Japan, or the rose being to England what the *sakura* is to Japan. Such an attempt to connect the topic to the home territory of the student can be understood from the following teacher's quote:

Interview; T16: Lewis
[Position 119]

I think often, they might be speaking about, I guess I'm talking about <u>lifestyle</u> in these places, what it's like, location, what it's like and what we <u>do</u> there, and often instead of that it's sports in my country and then comparing that to Japan, so we always try to make a connection with Japan, or I do, I try to make a connection so that the students find they can jump in there and take the conversation on their <u>own</u> (.) I think I'm always trying to give it away ((laughing)) like okay this is what I've been talking about, but here maybe if I say this, maybe then that will get me {?}, you can have a go at conversation

'Lifestyle' and what people 'do' would appear to imply agency, as opposed to the more abstracted value of symbolism; it represents, for example, the difference between people growing roses, and the rose itself as a national emblem. If culture is taken as "symbolic behavior, patterned organizations of, perceptions of, and beliefs about the world in symbolic terms" (Sherzer 1987: 295), then 'lifestyle' and doing things, as touched on by Lewis, might be closer to the conversational mark, in being of deeper personal or interpersonal value than surface symbolism. In other words, it might be considered more relevant to the values and beliefs held by the interactants, which are often placed at the heart of culture (Segall 1986). At their most basic, such assumptions are implicit, and might not easily become the object of reflection in intercultural discourse (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997). Artifacts and products, such as kilts and Big Ben, on the

other hand, are to be found at the outer, most explicit layer of the cultural onion (Spencer-Oatey 2000, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997). Nevertheless, they are symbolic of deeper-level culture and core assumptions. For this reason, they might not be knowingly understood in a way that would enable the participants to engage with them as conversational material.

Further interrelation with Japan may be topically engineered by the teacher to facilitate student contribution, so that, as Lewis says, they can 'jump in there and take the conversation on their own'. Drawing comparisons with Japan could therefore represent a means of enabling the current non-expert, i.e. the student, to claim joint-, or part-ownership of the other-oriented topic. In her study of first-time encounters between Japanese exchange students and their American peers, Mori (2003) similarly notes that:

> "[t]he nomination of a topic concerning the other participants' culture may trigger a participation structure which divides the participants into a questioner's side and a respondent's side; in other words, those who treat the cultural item as "their own" and those who treat it as "the others' property" " (Mori 2003: 177-179).

The initial student-selected topic might conform to what Labov ([1970] 1972) classed as an 'A-event' - it falls within the knowledge domain of A (the teacher), while in conversation with B (the student[s]). In drawing a comparison with Japan, it becomes an 'AB-event', however, as both A and B have a shared knowledge, although it might not be "shared equally", in the more literal sense of Labov's definition (Labov [1970] 1972: 301). That is, both A and B may share a knowledge of the topic within their own cultural frames of reference. For the AB-event to become a B-event might require the students to 'jump in there', as Lewis puts it. Although this might not actually happen, it may nevertheless provide a suitable interactional condition for them to do so. As Svennevig notes,

> "There seems to be a constraint in first conversations that the participants should not introduce self-oriented topics unless they can be presented as occasioned by the ongoing talk. The occasioning may be formulated explicitly ("speaking of...") but is in most cases implicit, relying on the co-participant's ability to establish cohesive links." (Svennevig 1999: 229)

However, in the case where a teacher touches on a comparison to Japan, it may occasion a topic of an 'encyclopedic' kind (Svennevig 1999), that is, not explicitly related to the participants themselves, as it effectively represents a

reversal of the initial and impersonal focus on the teacher's country, following its epistemic framing. Drawing parallels with Japan could nevertheless provide a means for the student to collaborate to a greater extent on the construction of topic, or to incorporate it into a proposition containing additional information (see Ochs Keenan and Schieffelin 1983). Their contribution is thus made relevant to the ongoing discourse (Grice 1975, Tracy 1984), while they are topically enabled to speak from a position of personal expertise. In other words, Japan represents the students' 'territory of information', as it is closer to them than to their native English-speaking interlocutor (Kamio 1997), who may stake a lesser claim through residence, or affiliation by means of Japanese in-laws and children, for example. Whether such 'territory of information' (Kamio 1997) enables the participants to map "common territories of self" (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984) is open to question. It could, of course, serve on the path to the discovery and relational sharing of common interests, founded on a common base of expertise. As Svennevig points out, encyclopedic topics have "relational potential" (Svennevig 1999: 244). However, the realization of such potential rests on the students' willingness and capability to grasp the opportunity in the flux of interaction, that is, 'to jump in there' and to disclose more of self in the process.

6.5. On standardized questions and set answers

While it is possible for the teachers to attempt to change the topic, in the case where the interaction has been framed from the outset as the transfer of knowledge, it may appear 'set', to varying degrees, unless the students themselves introduce another topic of interaction. This has been seen in Excerpt 6.2., for example, at the end of which Ethan is asked about his length of stay in Japan. In other words, although frames can be readjusted in the course of interaction (Tannen 1993, Tannen and Wallat 1987), such information-driven and task-based orientation may to some degree lessen the probability of re-framing and re-interpretation by the participants in interaction, especially if the topic is assumed to be of "special importance" (Schegloff and Sacks 1974: 243) to its initiators from the outset by the teacher.

As the subject of the teachers' countries of origin is considered to be commonplace in the conversation lounge, their own contributions can feel both superficial and rehearsed, as mentioned in many of the interviews, and similarly alluded to by Carol:

Interview; T13: Carol
[Position 19]

often I think when I'm asked about South Africa, it's very, I know how hard it is to explain, and I don't know how much the students know already, so it's easy to slip into like set answers in a way, which doesn't necessarily encourage real communication

Although Carol mentions that she does not know the extent of the students' knowledge about South Africa, her reference to set answers suggests that she tends to respond in the same way to what are likely to be the same types of questions, based on a similar level of pre-existing knowledge. 'How hard it is to explain' may furthermore relate to the students' lack of more extensive knowledge. In fact, the avoidance of more difficult subjects in the initial phases of interaction is brought up elsewhere in her interview, with regard to student interest and language ability:

Interview; T13: Carol
[Position 43]

I think I wouldn't start with, because I was talking about the weather and animals and sightseeing and, I wouldn't start talking about Apartheid and racism ((laughing)) and poverty and crime, because I don't know if the students know those words, I don't know, I feel like I need to gauge their interest level and their language level, I'm sure cognitively they could handle it, but it's whether they want to and whether they like to do it in English

The typicality of safe topics and standardized responses might, as Carol implies, feel unreal to the participants, in particular to the teachers, who are well-versed in such first-time encounters with Japanese students, as they routinely make 'conversation' when on duty in the lounge. This is further apparent in the following quote by an American teacher, Kevin, in which he lists what the students typically know about his hometown of Seattle, starting with the well-known Japanese baseball player, Ichiro Suzuki, who plays for the Seattle Mariners:

Interview; T14: Kevin
[Position 160~]

Researcher: right, so you mentioned before that this example is that the topic is similar to other conversations you've had in the [conversation lounge] with people you don't know, and you said that the other conversations where it feels more natural with people you do know feel more real, you said?

Kevin: yeah, I would say they're more like conversations I have with native speaker friends, although you know with native speaker friends there's a lot more common knowledge and there's a lot more, you know, at least with guys we have these little jokes that go back and forth, and we depend on some kind of common knowledge you have, movies or whatever, and uh, but that's almost more of a language thing than a topic thing, but like for example this Ichiro thing, I can't tell you how many times I've talked about Ichiro, and actually I don't particularly care to talk about Ichiro, I mean I like baseball, and I like Ichiro, but uh (.) you know how often do I have conversations about Ichiro with native speakers, never, so ((laughing)) it almost always starts with 'where are you from?' 'oh I'm from Seattle', what do they know about Seattle, only the Mariners, and then if we get off that topic and we're still on Seattle we get to Starbucks or Microsoft, which is the next one

[...]

Researcher: right, right, so you feel this conversation is kind of shaped by where you are from, and in terms of they see you as an American and they're trying to find a topic which applies to

Kevin: yes, so they see me as a foreign person and you know I'm kind of my own show and tell thing, hm, so then they learn something about me, whereas I think they uh, again like with the students in my class, after we've got to know each other we tend to talk about people we know or things we already know about each other

According to Kevin, the interaction 'almost always' starts with a pre-topical question based on place of origin, from which he is able to anticipate its progression from his response of Seattle to the Mariners, Starbucks and/or Microsoft. In other words, Kevin is able to generalize, through first-hand experience of such interaction, that in first-time encounters with the students, their second-hand, or mediated, knowledge is likely to comprise these cultural tokens. Moreover, the interculturality of the encounter is further underscored by his initial comparison with native speakers, and in particular with fellow menfolk, which suggests that the less one has in common, or is aware of having in common, in terms of cultural, or sub-cultural, groupings with one's interlocutor, the less common base of knowledge there is to draw on in a first-time encounter. This appears to be in juxtaposition to people with whom he is already familiar, and with whom he has priorly established, or experienced, common points of

reference (cf. Clark 1996b, Clark and Marshall 1981), that is, points about themselves, or other people who are mutually known to them (in a real-life circle of acquaintances, as opposed to somebody of celebrity status, such as Ichiro). In short, as acquainted interlocutors they have a "prior history of interaction" upon which to build (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984: 313).

6.6. The cross-cultural reduction of 'show and tell'

The teachers might feel, as Kevin does, that they represent their own 'show and tell' due to the topical other-orientation by the students to their foreignness in first-time encounters, as frequently commented upon in their interviews. The topic of the teacher's place of origin is primarily based on difference: the one culture, Japan, is absent for the most part, yet the participants' orientation to the other springs from its very difference to the first, and consequently shapes the topical design of talk. In the case of the conversation-for-learning excerpts analyzed in the present chapter, it is clear that the participants not only contribute cultural images to the exchange which are predominantly one-sided, as they mainly represent the teachers' home countries, but they do so by means of surface symbolism. In the case that students have not visited the teachers' home countries, their knowledge of certain landmark features or artifacts might be considered to represent a *mediated* 'tourist gaze', which is "normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured" (Urry 2002: 3), as it is in interaction between the teachers and students.

While topicalizing the teacher's foreign place of origin beyond the interactional phase of self-presentation also implicates its culture, what exactly that might selectively be taken to comprise depends on the student-recipients of information, i.e. their knowledge base, and their own culture. Despite the lesser focus on the students' home turf of Japan, the interaction is inherently comparative, or 'essentially' cross-cultural, as it arguably presents an implicit "comparison of phenomena" (Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff 1987:7).[1] Where commonality is, by

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[1] Although reference is here made to cross-culturality due to inherent comparison, the current research does not involve the cross-comparison of separate bodies of data from diverse cultural groups, as the term 'cross-cultural' is often taken to imply (Gudykunst 2003, Sarangi 1997).

contrast, emphasized, a unifying notion of culture springs to work to downplay differences among the individuals of a group (Scollon and Scollon 1995). As has been seen in the excerpts analyzed in the current chapter, however, 'categorization sequences' (Maynard and Zimmerman 1984) employed with reference to the teacher's place of origin establish a difference of group membership, rather than co-membership of a sub-cultural group.

While place of origin may be an "inference-rich" category (Sacks 1995 Vol. 1.: 40), which functions as both the "store house and the filing system for the common-sense knowledge that ordinary people [...] have" (Schegloff 2007b: 469), topic-relevant knowledge may itself be rather meagre in the case of intercultural communication, i.e. interaction among people belonging to diverse cultural groups (Gudykunst 2003, Scollon and Scollon 1995, Spencer-Oatey 2000). While Kevin might be expected to know a lot about his own hometown of Seattle, his expectations of the students' knowledge are likely to remain modest (as schematically illustrated by the Seattle Mariners, followed by Starbucks and Microsoft). 'Inside information' thus differs from 'outside information', as insiders mutually assume that *specific* information is held by other insiders, while outsiders assume that certain *kinds* of information are held by insiders (Clark 1996b). Hence, the common ground between an insider and outsider is defined by 'outside information', as it can be mutually assumed that the insider knows certain types of information, yet the information itself cannot be mutually assumed (Clark 1996b). Without some degree of insider knowledge, it is doubtful whether the interaction might assume the overall symmetry characteristic of a conversational 'AB' event, particularly as the insider may be granted 'ownership' of the topic.

The common ground which results from shared experience or interest, e.g. in the same sport, could potentially be inhibited or overridden in ongoing orientation to the initial epistemic framing by the students. For example, baseball might become the subject of talk between a Japanese student and teacher from Seattle, thanks to Ichiro, yet not really hold much interest for either; moreover, both could, unbeknownst to each other, share an interest in badminton, or have the same taste in rock music. This relates to the 'lifestyle' factor, as mentioned by Lewis (6.4.), which allows the interlocutors to draw on "shared patterns of leisure time

activities", often spanning the globe (Van Leeuwen 2005: 144). Their common interest and knowledge may present a "source for inferring community co-membership and thus a contribution to the establishment of solidarity" (Svennevig 1999: 315). In short, one of the conversational means of establishing common ground, namely, by claiming in-group membership (Brown and Levinson 1978), may be hampered by a persistent orientation to the initial topic selected by the students, thereby engendering a largely "monotopic encounter" (Bergmann 1990: 201).

6.7. Framing, elicitation and cultural reduction

Where the teachers themselves engage in cultural description, whether through the provision of information, explanation or personal anecdotes, the referential content is conceptually reduced in accommodation both towards the students' perceived topical wants and relative paucity of background knowledge. In moving from a relational opening which takes the teacher's biographical information, namely, place of origin, as the topical starting point, to the overt request for information on that subject, the topic becomes framed as the purpose of interaction, i.e. the seeking of topical information from the teacher, which effectively sustains the 'conversation'. As such, it underscores the instrumentality of topic, despite appearing to be relationally founded on other-oriented information.

While the overarching topic may become 'set', to varying degrees, the tokens of information solicited from the students by the teacher could fail to become conversationally stabilized in an elicitation framework of interaction, whereby the interactants jump from one cultural point of reference to the next. As has been discussed, the students' initial framing of interaction, following their pre-topical comment, casts the teacher in the role of expert, who then proceeds, however, to invert the projected flow of information and bridge the epistemic gap by first eliciting knowledge tokens from the students themselves. The participants thereby orient to the interaction primarily as one of topic-relevant information transmission. The elicitation stage itself invokes a classroom mode of discourse, as most obviously manifest in the use of display questions and feedback

following the students' responses.

Although mutual identification of knowledge is intrinsic to communication (Krauss et al. 1995), it might not usually be made explicit to the extent of 'display', or at least not in conversation among adults. In orienting to the cultural expertise of the teacher and invoking a classroom mode of discourse, the participants are both interactionally reinforcing and non-conversationally reducing the cultural otherness of the 'native' English teacher by means of didactic footing. Excerpt 6.3. serves most obviously to illustrate the potential effects of topical adherence and the continued use of elicitation questions in seeking to mutually establish knowledge, as the topicalized country and its culture become simplified in the course of the interactional trajectory. In representing 'outsider knowledge' the topic is furthermore 'recipient-designed' for the students, or what they are "supposed by the speaker to know or be familiar with" (Schegloff 1980: 115). The selected topics of the students, on the other hand, are 'recipient-oriented' to the teachers (Schegloff 2007a), who are cast as the authoritative speakers in the exchange. Despite the ready deployment of humour by the participants, their differential institutional status and topical expertise is manifest in the asymmetry of pedagogic footing. In fact, the underlying instrumentality of conversation-for-learning is apparent from the outset in the students' framing of interaction as the pursuit of topical knowledge. While pre-topical sequences which are other-oriented to the 'circumstantial' (Clark 1996b) details of one's interlocutor may be characteristic of conversation among unacquainted participants, the explicit goal of information exchange is not. Cultural representation can therefore be seen to arise from within the dialectic of institutionality and relationality in conversation-for-learning. The implications of this to the conversational self of the teacher, and the conversational enterprise of learning, are discussed in the concluding chapter which follows, as we review the main points of analysis and return to the wider institutional context of English language teaching in Japan.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.0. Introduction

The current chapter revisits the main foci of analysis and themes emergent in the empirical chapters, as it continues to explore the dialectic between institutionality and relationality in conversation-for-learning, drawing on participant data to reiterate, illuminate and extend the thesis of research. I therefore begin by re-considering some of the difficulties faced by teachers and students in the first-time 'conversational' encounters, before moving on to review the problematics of the students' other-oriented topic framing, whereby conversational norms are unhappily married with concerns of institutionality. The interactional characteristics of a commonly differentiated distribution of knowledge are then discussed and further particularized within the popular topic domain of the teacher's country of origin. This leads me to reflect on the potential pitfalls of cross-cultural essentializing in conversation-for-learning, as this is discussed in relation to the wider context of institutionality and English language teaching in Japan. After presenting the limitations and contributions of the research, I once again return to the central concern of 'self'-definition of the teacher, as the supposed embodiment of authenticity in the institutionally conversationalized event.

7.1. Establishing interpersonal relations with an unknown interlocutor

One of the primary difficulties of making conversation with an unacquainted interlocutor is knowing what to talk about. As no 'personal common ground' (Clark 1996a, 1996b) has been established in prior encounters, the interaction presents uncharted terrain. A sense of affinity may, furthermore, be 'simply' lacking, i.e. unaccountably absent. The teacher Marie touches on this interpersonal dimension in her interview, having been asked whether she felt there was any way she should be speaking or acting in the conversation lounge, before moving on to consider the more particular challenges faced by the students

themselves:

it's a labour to speak to some students, even in their own native language they're they're just people you do get along with or you don't get along with, and people that you know you wouldn't want to speak to on the best of days, you know, so it's just a matter of personality and that kind of thing

[...]

just imagine you're an 18 year old kid, you're a 19 year old kid and here you are in this school environment and you go to the [conversation lounge] and you want to have a natural conversation but it's not natural, because it's a [conversation lounge], and it's not natural because these people aren't your friends, they're the teachers and they're also anywhere between 7 and 10 and 15 years older than you are, uhm it's intimidating, and you don't share the same interests and, you know, but you want to go there and talk English, it's an intimidating unnatural situation [...] I mean some people are just too shy to go there, so you need like social skills, you need the language skills, you need the the guts or the balls to go there you know so, yeah

Many of the teachers commented on the age gap in their interviews, often thought to be more pronounced in Japanese society due to the seniority of status of the elder interlocutor(s), which potentially inhibits friendship between people of different ages. The institutional standing of the teachers was also presented as a hindrance to the making of more 'natural' conversation, although they were commonly considered by the students in their focus groups to be more friendly and approachable than the tenured faculty staff, and in particular than the Japanese lecturers, to whom they mentioned displaying deference in use of Japanese. Such social distinctions between interlocutors may also imply a degree of dissimilarity of interests and areas of expertise, which partly define the relevant groupings to which the participants belong. These may be keenly perceived in the case of unknown interlocutors in search of common ground on a supposedly level interactional playing field.

While the interpersonal facets touched upon by Marie may be of pragmatic or strategic concern to the accomplishment of transactional goals in institutional discourse, they are pivotal to seemingly conversational talk, which places relationality at the core of the exchange. In the lack of apparent commonality, the confines of institutionality to the 'conversation', or its unconstrainedness as institutional talk, may cause the interaction to feel even less natural as a first-time

encounter than might otherwise be the case. As discussed by students in their focus group, conversations with unacquainted interlocutors may, notwithstanding the incumbencies of the present research context, appear less typically conversational than later encounters, in which the participants are consequently acquainted with one another (see Chapter 3, FG, Card 7, Q7). In a similar vein, the teacher Graham mentioned 'trying to generate an atmosphere [...] as if we'd spoken a lot' in pursuit of conversational informality (see Chapter 5, T6: Graham, Position 48~).

The difficulties of institutionalizing conversation between teacher and student may therefore be compounded by non-acquaintanceship. This becomes apparent in the following focus group excerpt, in which a student relates his experience of a first-time encounter with an on-duty teacher. Conversely to Marie, the group then considers the difficulties faced by teachers when making conversation with unknown students:

FG, Card 8, Q8

S1(m)	we need to prepare to some degree, don't we?[
S2(m)	[yes, yes
S3(f)	[*un* ((agreement))
S1(m)	a while ago, Kirsty[1] complained about it
S3(f)	what did she say?
S2(m)	eh? ((surprise))
S1(m)	she said, 'you come up to talk to me all of a sudden like this, but I can't talk to you, because I don't know anything about you'
S4(f)	that makes me feel down
S1(m)	don't feel down, she's got a point
S3(f)	that's right[
S2(m)	[yes, that's right
S1(m)	some level of preparation is needed (.) for instance, something you want to ask about
S3(f)	someone else said the same thing
S1(m)	it may be bad to go there without thinking about it
S2(m)	*un* ((agreement)) whether talking or writing, actually I think it's better to focus on one point as much as possible
S3(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S1(m)	without thinking it through, it ends up a trashy essay
S2(m)	yes
S4(f)	did Kirsty say anything? about what kind of topics?
S1(m)	unless your conversation partner has some interest in it, it's just talking
S3(f)	however, it must be a pain in the neck to be asked about things like your home country, mustn't it?
S4(f)	yes

---

[1] Kirsty = pseudonym for a teacher who did not take part in the research

S1(m)	they talk about it time and time again
S2(m)	*un* ((understanding))
	but
S3(f)	yes, I see, but it's new as far as freshmen are concerned
S4(f)	that's right, yeah
S2(m)	*un* ((sympathy))
	their home countries must be typical topics, mustn't they?
S4(f)	*un* ((agreement))
S1(m)	for them, yeah
S2(m)	yes, I think they would like to be asked about fresher topics

(Please see Appendix C-4 for Japanese original.)

In the student's account, the teacher, Kirsty, makes clear that she does not feel it is possible for her to talk to a student with whom she is unfamiliar, and who does not appear to have a reason to talk to her. This underscores the institutionality of the event, in which a clearly defined task might appear more 'natural' or feasible when approaching a teacher, somewhat paradoxically, given the supposed use of the lounge as a conversational space. In the case that a relationship between teacher and student has already been established, on the other hand, the teacher may find lesser difficulty 'making' conversation. One of the students in the focus group in fact pondered whether the conversation lounge itself was a good place for the first-time encounter to have taken place, questioning whether 'it may have been the wrong setting to talk to each other for the very first time'.[1]

The excerpt provides some insight into student perception of how such difficulties might be ameliorated. Firstly, preparation is thought necessary, although this may take the form of a topic the students want to 'ask about'. By such design, the teacher would be positioned as the expert in the exchange, despite the students' intention to prepare the topic in advance, seemingly by thinking it through. The discussion further suggests that the focus and development of a singular topic is anticipated to be conversationally fruitful, in the same way that it might, in writing, engender a higher quality essay. If interactionally borne out, this would represent a "monotopic encounter" (Bergmann 1990: 201), somewhat uncharacteristic, however, of the commonplace stepwise progression of conversation (Foppa 1990, Jefferson 1984, Maynard 1980, Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.), or sudden change of topic through the use of

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[1] "ま、一番始めてあって、話したって設定がまずかったのかな？" [FG, Card 7, Q7, S2 (f)]

disjunction or misplacement markers, such as 'by the way', which signal a break with the preceding talk (Schegloff and Sacks 1974, Strodt-Lopez 1991).

The need to talk *about* something, namely, to employ a topic in pursuit of conversation, becomes apparent as the students pose the question of what subject the teacher, Kirsty, might find agreeable. While this makes explicit an other-orientation of topic which may be typical of the initial phases of conversation among unacquainted interlocutors (Svennevig 1999), its institutional pre-selection and 'preparation' prior to the encounter appears to be at odds with conversational norms.

Finally, the students discuss the common topic of the teachers' home countries, whereby it appears that what may be hackneyed for the one, i.e. the teacher, may be of interest to the other, i.e. the student. As a first-time encounter, the negotiation of topic may be crucial to the supposedly conversational endeavour, as participants reach a 'working consensus' (Goffman 1959) of what it is they are doing in interaction. In the context of a poorly defined task which seemingly allows for 'free' conversation, and yet does so within the non-volitional confines of the institutional event, the participants may not from the outset be sure what they are 'supposed' to be doing, or what they are 'supposed' to be being when they are doing it, despite, or because of, its designation as 'conversation'. These problematics of the institutional staging of conversation will be further discussed in relation to the students' topic selection and framing of interaction as a learning endeavour, and more particularly, one in which the country of the teacher represents the focal point of interaction.

7.2. 'Conversation' as topic-driven

The institutionalization of conversation may create a sense of engaging in interaction for a purpose of some kind, even if this is, in the event, ill-defined. Moreover, the official recommendation that students select a topic prior to approaching a teacher, presents topicality as central to the conversational concern. As the staged encounter is non-volitional, the overriding relationality of conversation is superseded by the topic itself, which serves, pseudo-

instrumentally, as both the motive and motif of interaction, as discussed in Chapter 5. The students' metacommunicative framing of topic may furthermore appear to 'set' the agenda, over and above the special significance of 'first topic' as the reason for engaging in talk (Schegloff and Sacks 1974). This is further reinforced in the case that the students express a wish to learn something from the teacher, e.g. about their home country and culture, as seen in Chapter 6. As there may be no apparent reason for them to do so, this potentially creates a mismatch with both conversational and institutional expectations, as might be inferred from the following interview excerpt with the Canadian teacher, Colin:

Interview; T17: Colin
[Position 28]

the sort of purpose of their, of the conversation or what they were asking about, well it doesn't really fit: 'we'd like to know about' or you know 'tell us about', you know, can mean anything, and I just had this feeling it was for some kind of, you know, knowledge getting exercise, rather than any for any sort of, you know, we want to go over there, or we have some sort of genuine interest in this

In the case that the students themselves are making plans to visit the country, their quest for information may be functional and present a workable interactional goal, which provides a purpose for the teachers and students to engage in talk. Topic progression may therefore be fuelled by a genuine interest, stemming from its immediate relevance to their lives outside the institutional setting. On the other hand, the framing of interaction as a 'knowledge getting exercise', with the teacher as expert, may be transactionally vague. As Colin points out, it 'can mean anything'. The students may have no real personal investment in the exchange. Mere interest or an abstracted intention to visit the place does not provide them with any 'real' foundation upon which to build in interaction with the teacher. This may create the impression that the students do not contribute much of substance themselves to conversation, as the teacher Phil points out in his interview:

Interview; T15: Phil
[Position 361]

but they [the students] don't see their role as, you know, as the teacher I suppose, but they'd say 'ah you're the teacher and you're the foreigner so (.) tell us (.) tell us something that we don't know about', whereas we assume that we don't have to tell you about, you know, things in Japan (.) so that's a bit disappointing

Despite the institutional attempt to invert asymmetry, or mitigate its effects, by recommending that students nominate the topic of interaction, this would not appear to compel them to assume the role of teacher themselves, as Phil here laments. Several of the students in the focus group discussions did, however, mention that they would like to talk about Japan, or indeed to be asked about Japan. Ironically, however, the lack of reciprocity of questions by the teachers in the initial self-presentational phases and ongoing interaction may be partly due to the students' pre-selection of topic and its framing. It could also point to a reticence to engage in question asking, if this is seen to typify teacher-student discourse (Chapter 5, T6: Graham, Position 48~), somewhat paradoxically, given the typicality of reciprocity in conversation among unknown interlocutors (Svennevig 1999).

Several of the teachers mentioned in their interviews that they would like to aim for lower teacher talking time (TTT), thereby compelling the students to take up greater interactional space and be more 'actively' productive. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, topic nomination and framing by the students could, in the lack of conversational reciprocity, easily result in an interview-like patterning of question-answer sequences, as the students are 'active' in the making of strong interactional moves, i.e. initiatives (Linell and Luckmann 1991), yet remain 'quantitatively' non-dominant (Linell 1990). This is compounded by the potential difficulty, in their L2, of providing extended comments, having asked the teacher a question and consequently received an answer (cf. Mori 2002). They could also know relatively little about their selected topic domain, which potentially affects their participatory 'activeness', i.e. in terms of amount of talk (see Zuengler 1993, Zuengler and Bent 1991). Having asked a question, the students may further be impelled forwards by an interactional tendency for the questioner to assume the right to speak again, potentially resulting in a concatenation of questions (Sacks 1995 Vol. 1.).

Both the teachers and the students widely commented on the frequency with which the topic of the teacher's home country cropped up in the transcripts, as well as in first-time encounters more generally in the lounge. The foreignness of the teachers might present the most obvious 'circumstantial evidence' (Clark

1996b) for the students to topically draw on. In the case that the students have already acquired information about the national origins of the teacher, they may consequently frame the 'conversation' as an information seeking exercise about their interlocutor's home country. The topic can thereby seem somewhat 'fixed', in appearing to serve as an agenda for interaction. Although the students may actively assume responsibility for topic selection, the teachers may correspondingly feel 'duty'-bound to accommodate to their topical wants. In the most extreme case, the students' framing of topic may therefore result in a largely monotopic encounter, as seen in Chapter 6 (Excerpts 6.3.). Otherwise, it is likely to delay the initiation of more fertile topics, or else seem like a false start altogether - like a firework that merely goes 'pyuuuuu' in the night (cf. FG, Card 4, Q2 in Chapter 5).

While many of the teachers commented in their interviews that it was understandable for the students to show curiosity about their foreign background, they also seemed to find the topic wearisome. This is commented on by the teacher John, having mentioned the typicality of the topic of conversation:

Interview; T21: John
[Position 57]

but yeah this requires quite a lot of effort for me if I'm doing the talking, giving them story after story or information after information, it's quite a lot of hard work, if I feel as though, if they are going to go to England next week, then I don't know, but this better be cool or, but I don't really know quite what the purpose of the-, apart from the entertainment, then I get kind of bored

The lack of an apparent motive for engaging with the topic may affect the way in which the interactional event is perceived and subsequently appraised. The other-orientation by the students to the person of the interlocutor is typically conversational; however, a 'wanting to know' framing may be atypical in its seeming instrumentality, further characterized by a highly differentiated distribution of knowledge among participants. The excerpts in Chapter 6 saw the teachers stemming the intended flow of information by firstly seeking to elicit contributions from the students, potentially enabling them to gauge their existing knowledge base, while concurrently opening up opportunities for participation. The solicitation of knowledge by the teachers was thus shown to bear similarities with classroom elicitation, display and 'third'-turn assessments. Paradoxically,

however, it reinforces the topical expertise of the teachers, who might, as the 'natives', be thought to hold the interactional rights of topical ownership.

At the same time, the minimal contributions by the students serve to accentuate the existing disparity of knowledge. Although they may meet the topical agenda, they may also appear disconnected. Moreover, topic-relevant contributions may remain largely unelaborated by either party. The interaction thus lacks much of the stepwise progression (Foppa 1990, Jefferson 1984, Maynard 1980, Sacks 1995 Vol. 2.) and chaining of topic (Bergmann 1990, Tracy 1984), characteristic of conversational discourse. Although it might hold both learning potential and entertainment value, not least as the element of humour may provide a relational surrogate for conversational symmetry, the ongoing pursuit of the student-nominated topic can result in a conversationally and culturally reductive dialogue, as the participants throw together a bricolage of cultural tokens to fit their topical agenda. The interaction, however, represents an 'A Event' (Labov [1970] 1972), falling within the knowledge domain of the teacher, and whose topicality is shaped by 'outside information' (Clark 1996b), recipient-designed by the teacher for the student. This has concomitant effects on both the representation of culture, and the teacher as cultural representative.

7.3. The teacher as foreign 'native'

The continuing pursuit of the student-selected topic of the teacher's home country, i.e. beyond the opening self-presentational phase, may rest on an exploitation of difference through cross-culturality. This could inhibit the uncovering of common ground as different membership classifications are foregrounded in the lack of any prior history of interaction and self-'disclosure' upon which to build. It is a difference, moreover, which finds widespread resonance within the field of English language teaching in Japan, where the teachers are commonly employed and marketed as native English speakers. As such, the language effectively becomes synonymous with its supposedly 'authentic' representation (Seargeant 2005a). This may be evident, for example, in institutional hiring practices which prohibit the employment of long-term foreign residents in Japan who are considered to have lost their authenticity, or

the correspondingly active recruitment of teachers from overseas. Foreign nationals are further exoticized vis-à-vis the "auto-exotism" of Japan (Coulmas 2005: 300), i.e. the expression of uniqueness of its own language and culture, as famously epitomized in the discourse of *nihonjinron,* or theory of Japaneseness (Coulmas 2005, Kubota 2002, Sugimoto 1999). It is a difference which may be discursively constructed in the overt comparison of seeming banalities between Japan and abroad, and an expectation of a foreigner's inability to effectively cope with such assumed Japanese distinctiveness, which might concern itself with the simple use of chopsticks, for example (Iino 1996, as cited in Kasper and Rose 2002: 200-201). This was similarly noted by the teachers in their interviews as particularly prevalent in first-time encounters with students. As an American teacher, Terence, remarks:

Interview; T10: Terence
[Position 195]

when they first meet you they usually do it, and I try my best to be patient with questions and let them know that in America, like, we use chopsticks all the time, especially if you go to a Chinese restaurant

The concept of exoticization might often be taken to imply inferiority, as in Said's (1978) binary distinction between superior self and inferior others, in relation to the Western 'us' and non-Western 'them' of Orientalism. Such 'othering' is, for example, explored within the context of ESL by Talmy (2004), whereby the second language student is discursively positioned as the exoticized Other by the teacher and peer group: namely, in the case of the most recently arrived students who are termed "FOB", for "fresh off the boat" (Talmy 2004: 149; see also Talmy 2008). In the present context of research, the teachers, by contrast, hold an institutionally inscribed superiority of status, yet the assumed difference from the 'native' Japanese might nonetheless appear culturally reductive. The teachers, who are relatively 'fresh off the plane', having been recruited from abroad on short-term contracts, to some extent serve as institutional representatives of foreignness, thereby simultaneously reinforcing a Japanese sense of uniqueness.

The personal interest of the students in the teachers' foreignness is partly manifest in their other-orientation to their place of origin in interaction. As has been seen in Chapter 6, the pursuit of topic beyond the self-presentational phase can result

in a highly differentiated distribution of knowledge, with the teachers interactionally cast as expert. Such topical focus is further congruent with the institutionally sanctioned role of the English teacher as a foreign representative. That is to say, the teachers are not employed as mere experts in their 'native' tongue, but as exoticized natives of foreign lands and cultures. The relationship between language, culture and 'duty', in the particular context of the conversation lounge, is touched on by a Canadian teacher, Colin, when asked whether he feels that the students have any expectations of him as a foreign teacher:

Interview; T17: Colin
[Position 109]

oh, well, I think uhm the reason, I don't know, but probably the reason that we're here as foreign teachers is uh yeah because of, I guess we've got some kind of inside knowledge on cultural and linguistic kind of aspects of our language and everything that comes with it and so, so I guess we're expected to be experts in that area, and when it's required by our job, I guess that's you know like it is in [conversation lounge] duty

On the one hand, the quote highlights the assumed 'insider knowledge' of native speakerhood, an ideal which has been widely challenged in the field of Applied Linguistics (e.g. Auerbach 1993, Mey 1981, Phillipson 1992, Rampton 1990); on the other, it draws a parallel between language and culture, as representing an expected field of expertise of the teacher while on the job, and more specifically on duty in the lounge. However, such expectations may be rooted within the wider context of language teaching and learning in Japan, in which English would appear to gain value through its supposedly 'authentic' use by and with native speakers, as suggested by the British teacher, Alan, in his interview:

Interview; T11: Alan
[Position 137]

Researcher: okay, uhm, and how about, you mentioned our role as native speakers of English, do you think that affects students' perceptions of us, our function?

Alan: yeah, I think it does because I think it's marketed to them, uhm before they even come and also within the culture as a whole, there's this idea that learning language is one of the functions if not the function of language is to communicate with native speakers, that kind of thinking is quite strong in Japan I think, so it's an opportunity to communicate with native speakers and I think they value that very highly, and probably mistakenly, but I think that's the way they tend to view things, and I imagine their parents who are paying their fees probably view things in a similar way

To some extent, then, the foreignness of the teachers might itself be considered part of their role-based institutional persona. As a 'transportable identity' (Richards 2006), the teacher's nationality is nevertheless situated within the institutionality of the L2 context of language teaching, and might not therefore in the current context serve to conversationalize discourse by this type of 'self'-revelation. Such topical orientation in interaction may furthermore transcend conversational norms of categorization in presentational sequences, particularly if the interaction is framed as an apparent information-seeking exercise, and pursued to the point of a monotopic encounter.

In the current context of research, the idealization of foreigner as native speaker is reinforced by the English-only policy of the lounge. It was seen in Chapter 4 that a complete adherence to institutional policy can impact the 'selves' of conversation, most deeply in terms of knowledge states and experience. That is to say, it can create a conflict between the institutional persona of the on-duty teacher, who may feel the need to negate cultural and linguistic knowledge, and his or her 'self' as foreign resident with at least some understanding of Japan and Japanese. This became evident in Marie's (Excerpt 4.1.2.) metacommunicative framing of pretence, in which she overtly cast herself in the role of linguistic and cultural ignoramus, somewhat counterproductively, as her expertise became increasingly more apparent in the ensuing scaffolded interaction. Paradoxically, Marie's overt game of pretence therefore manifested an interactional asymmetry evocative of the language classroom. By observing the English-only policy in interaction, she positioned herself as teacher in the given sequence.

In the same chapter, Alison was, by contrast, able to draw on her seemingly real ignorance as a resource in a marginal breach of institutional policy involving the restricted use of Japanese, which effectively cast the students as the experts and herself as linguistic and cultural novice. Her institutional role as teacher did not therefore appear relevant to interaction, as linguistic expertise 'naturally' fell within the remit of the students, despite English representing the primary medium of the exchange, as well as the teacher's native tongue and institutionally sanctioned field of expertise. Her real circumstance of ignorance, it would seem, happily positioned her as novice, where Marie might have found herself an

expert. Alison seemed to feel comfortable with expressing and capitalizing on her vulnerability as a novice as far as the language and culture of Japan is concerned. However, at the same time this appeared to entail typecasting herself as foreigner, and she mentions in her interview that she would not necessarily wish to be 'pigeon-holed' as such in her free time, outside the institutional setting.

The degree to which the teachers adhere to the policy, and the degree to which an institutionally monolingual persona might deviate from their 'true' self, i.e. in terms of knowledge and experience of Japan and Japanese, is likely to vary from person to person. English only therefore highlights the potential difficulty of defining an appropriate persona in the institutional staging of conversation between teacher and student. The teachers are recruited as ethnolinguistic representatives of various national and socio-cultural backgrounds, thereby serving to bring to life and diversify the monolithic concept of the native speaker, and allowing for regional variations. At the same time, conformity to institutional policy would appear to reduce such conversational 'selves' to monolingual 'personae', often of a largely indeterminate linguistic variety, in the case that teachers modify their language for ease of comprehension, perhaps leaning towards an Americanization of sorts. This is touched on by an Australian teacher, Charlie, having been asked whether she feels she adapts the way she interacts with students depending on the setting within the university, and having responded that she tries to remain the same throughout:

Interview; T18: Charlie
[Position 148~]

Charlie: just if I've been hired as a representative of Australian English, then I know when I first came here, I fell into the trap of Americanizing a lot of words, which I notice a lot of people do, because Japanese people can hear the pronunciation better and they can understand it better, but if I say 'car' and then they can't understand me, well then I'll just keep saying it until they do, so I've stopped you know working in American English so, and yeah, I mean sometimes I slip back into it, but I try not to, I consciously make the effort to keep my Australian English accent

Researcher: so you feel like when you're working your role is kind of representative, that you're representing Australia and the English of Australia?

Charlie: well, in a way yeah, because I mean the university obviously hires people from different countries for the purpose of exposing the students to different Englishes, and if we all just took on American English, it will make it easier for the students, then that sort of defeats the purpose, they can just hire Americans

There may, then, be a tendency for institutionalization as policy and practice to reduce the person of the L2 teacher to a native-speaking abstraction, while at the same time essentializing his or her culture, if the topic is selected *by* and recipient-designed *for* the student. The predominantly uni-directional flow of cultural information could appear 'a bit textbookish', as one of the teachers mentioned in his interview, thereby similarly to an intercultural textbook "reifying what is fluid, changing and conflictual" (Kramsch 2002: 277). In other words, it may essentialize the person and culture of the teacher, whose role may be seen, at least in part, as cultural representative or ambassador, as frequently alluded to in the interviews.

While a discourse analysis of the interactional data cannot provide any insight into the way in which playing the foreigner may influence style of interaction, many of the teachers mentioned that they felt under pressure to act as entertainers. Other terms used to describe their role as foreigners in a Japanese context of L2 teaching include *genki,*[1] zany, happy-go-lucky, and 'showcase' teachers and foreigners. The Australian teacher, Martin, reflects on this in his interview:

Interview; T19: Martin
[Position 93~]

Researcher: So uhm when you're talking to students in general uhm do you feel that there's any way you should be behaving or you should be acting or speaking?

Martin: uhm yeah yeah I, hm, I think there's a very fuzzy line between being a teacher and being an entertainer in Japan uhm sometimes you feel that there's a deal of expectation from different students at different times [...] to be, you know, to be an entertainer or a dancing bear uhm it's just something too that I noticed in the content of Japanese entertainment programmes, that the person who's the focus [...] who might be in a similar audience situation as a teacher, you know, teacher fronting a group of people, an entertainer or comedian, fronting a group of people and being the centre of attention

Several teachers drew on the wider context of Japan and the media in their discussion of images of foreigners and foreignness. In more particular reference to the current setting of research, they suggested that the lounge itself places the teachers on display. (In fact, it serves as a central stop on PR tours of the university.) Furthermore, some of the teachers commented in their interviews that

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[1] genki = lively, cheerful

they were keenly aware of the amount of noise and cheerfulness emanating from the other on-duty teachers and students. Duty-time might therefore represent a surreptitious popularity contest among the teachers. If taken to the extreme, and in the case that the culture of the teacher represents the topic of interaction, this may result in somewhat of a high-octane conversational performance, in which both the culture and person of the teacher become cross-culturally stereotyped and reduced.

Nevertheless, interaction in the lounge represents less of an obvious performance, as the enactment of an institutional persona, than the scripted norms of classroom discourse, since it aims to reproduce the casualness of conversation - the interactional locus in which we feel "most ourselves" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 16). In conversation-for-learning between teacher and student the distinction between 'on' and 'off' stage and 'on' and 'off' task can therefore become blurred, as the person and persona of the teacher may appear to converge in the 'act'. This creates a potential conflict of 'self'-definition, as the dialectic between relationality and institutionality becomes embodied in the teacher as conversational persona. While the teacher can obviously take the stage as 'teacher' in a "platform performance" in the classroom (Rampton 2006: 2; cf. Goffman 1983), the staged normativity of conversation-for-learning at the same time implies that the teachers are 'playing' themselves. For this reason, conversation-for-learning might be seen as a masked form of pedagogy, which aims to conceal the teacher persona from view in the performance of a seemingly conversational self. In short, the teachers may be employed for their authenticity, yet their conversational selves are played out, rather than normatively constructed as such. This heightened degree of reflexivity of 'self', as defined within an institutional framework of interaction, is manifest in Marie's metacommunicative framing of pretence (Chapter 4, Excerpt 4.1.2.), the participants' negotiation of topic as a student-nominated frame for interaction (Chapter 5), and their orientation to the students' pre-selected topic of the teacher's place of origin, framed as the pursuit of knowledge (Chapter 6).

7.4. Limitations and contributions of the present research

The present research might to some extent represent a negative commitment: it problematizes the staging of conversation between teachers and students as it sets out to explore the tensions of relationality and institutionality in the given interactional event. The point should, of course, be made that some teachers and students may feel that they are able to engage in conversation with relative ease while on duty. At the same time, however, they may also be unable to identify why that is the case, or conversely to shed light on why it might not otherwise be the case (while it is probably not invariably the case). Similarly, it would be difficult from the point of view of the current research to analyze the characteristics of seemingly smooth conversation, and understand the makings of such 'smoothness'. As touched on by Marie, conversation may be eased by an indefinable sense of affinity or an attraction of the personalities involved. Moreover, some teachers could appear to have a natural gift for conversation-making, which others may feel they lack. This is expressed by the teacher Graham, after being asked how he feels he presents himself on duty, at which time he draws a comparison with another teacher, Jason:[1]

Interview; T6: Graham
[Position 171~]

Graham: I've seen Jason on duty and I've never listened to his conversation, so maybe he is making all the conversation, but it seems to me he's got, me and my friends would describe Jason as a bundle of warmth, he's like a little furnace, and he somehow gives out rays of relaxation and I think students pick up on that, so I think if you watch Jason with students, students are talking to each other and it's not just a one-way conversation, it's going all over, because just his personality I think he can just do that, I don't know how exactly though, I think it's personality, either you have it {?}

Researcher: so you think it's more of a kind of socializing skill or?

Graham: I guess so

Researcher: or them being a teacher, well you say it's personality more than role as a teacher or something

Graham: yeah, because I think we're all probably aiming for the same thing, I mean I'd love to do exactly what Jason, you know, you want to do, but I'm not able to do it, no matter how hard I try really, so I think it's kind of, some people are, have got that attribute and it probably works with native speakers as well as students

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[1]Jason = pseudonym for teacher who did not take part in the research

Such ease of conversation may also stem from familiarity, in the case that the participants have made prior acquaintanceship with each other, whether in the classroom, or elsewhere. As they have a common interactional history, it is possible for them to make inter-personal references and inferences. These might transcend the constraining categoriality of presentational sequences, which potentially place the interlocutors in different membership classifications, as has been seen in relation to nationality. It could thus prove an insightful follow-up line of research to undertake a longitudinal study of the way in which such staged conversations progress over time, in tandem with the developing relationship of the interlocutors, if this were compatible with curricular schedules and institutional arrangements. The present research has, however, restricted itself to interaction among unacquainted interlocutors, which would appear to represent the most conversationally challenging. As many of the teachers pointed out, the students who regularly attend their duty times are relatively few; and as the students mentioned in their focus groups, others may feel discouraged from joining in with the regulars, given their apparent rapport with the teachers. A first impression in a first encounter may therefore be pivotal in shaping the students' intention to make future use of the lounge, or not.

However, in the present context of research, the students were assigned to go to the conversation lounge as a task which was integrated within their Oral Communication syllabus. Such a particularized context of interaction may present a further limitation to the research. As discussed in Chapter 3 on methodology, the conversation task and recorded interaction served a dual purpose, both as learning material for use in a semester project, and as data for my own research. It is necessary, then, to reiterate at this point that the empirical data cannot be taken to represent conversation lounge interaction itself, but might better be seen as a form of conversation-for-learning, specific to the present design. On the other hand, it might be difficult to define the particularities of conversation lounge interaction *per se*, as the space is variously put to use by teachers and students alike. Moreover, the logistics of obtaining so-called 'naturalistically' occurring interaction among unacquainted interlocutors might be unworkable, given its haphazardness, the flexible seating arrangements of the lounge, the longer-term

use of equipment, and the ethics of participant consent. The recording of interaction might itself repel prospective first-time students. As Marie points out, they need to have 'the guts' and 'the balls' to go to the lounge on their own initiative, even in the absence of potentially inhibiting recording equipment. Such design would also require the greater involvement of the institution itself, as a prime stakeholder in the research, as well as the willingness of the teachers to be ongoingly 'monitored'.

Despite the particularities of the current research context, however, the institutional backdrop may remain the same, while conversation might always arguably be staged, to varying degrees, within the confines of the lounge, as long as the teachers are on duty at the time of interaction with the students. Regardless of task design, the English-only policy and official recommendation that students pre-select topics prior to approaching the teacher are potentially of wider institutional relevance. Furthermore, the implications of the research may also bear relevance to other HE institutions as well as language schools, particularly in Japan (and possibly elsewhere), in which conversation-for-learning is practised in its various shapes and forms. Teachers may find that the discourse excerpts analyzed and the voices of the participants resonate with their own experience, and be able to relate the issues to their particular circumstances. In light of such possible relevance, and while bearing the given limitations in mind, some suggestions might be made to facilitate the 'making' of conversation as institutional practice between student and teacher.

7.4.1. Helping students to nominate and extend topic

It might be possible to review the recommendation to students to pre-select topic, as articulated, for example, in their freshmen orientation materials, in consideration of other means of engaging the teacher in interaction, as will later be discussed. If, however, the pre-selection of topic stands as the official recommendation, students might be advised by the teachers not to select a topic which falls within the teacher's domain of expertise, such as their home country, unless they anticipate being able to draw on personal experience themselves in its development. Despite the students' curiosity of foreign culture, the topic might

otherwise best be left to the classroom, where cultural reduction need not impact on the more conversational 'self' of the teacher. In a learner-centred approach to pedagogy, teachers may seek to incorporate the students' topical wants in their syllabus design, potentially involving additional teachers of other nationalities in classroom swaps, for example, while existing courses on Intercultural Communication and Cultural Studies may fulfill that need elsewhere in the curriculum. The difficulty of defining culture and what it is taken to comprise can thus be dealt with at the level of curriculum development (see, for example, Byram 1989, Byram and Grundy 2003, Byram et al. 1991).

There are various topics that the students could draw on in conversational other-orientation to the person of the teacher, for example, their hobbies and interests, and such information can be found in the self-introduction posters displayed at the entrance of the lounge. Whatever they decide to talk about, the students might also be warned not to frame the interaction itself by nominated topic, that is, as information-driven. Examples of student framing could illustrate the way in which corresponding interactional expectations might hamper the seemingly natural flow of conversation, for example, by over-adhering to topic beyond the participants' actual scope of interest, by failing to inter-relate the topic to one another, or by falling into question-answer patterning, with the student in the role of questioner.

As the focus group excerpt in Section 7.1. illustrates, students may prepare the conversation by thinking about what to 'ask about'. This correspondingly positions the students as questioners with regard to their nominated topic, and the teacher as respondent. It represents an obvious way for the students to make an interactional plan of action in preparation of the event, as "what they can plan in advance is a list of sequence-initiating actions, but what they cannot fully anticipate is the contingent development of talk" (Mori 2002: 338). Although the students may intend the questions to serve as a potential means of keeping the 'conversation' going, the difficulty of extending comments in the third position, following a question-answer adjacency pair, at the same time inhibits stepwise progression through topic-chaining.

It might therefore be useful to integrate some kind of 'third position practice' into the students' classwork, such as in the Oral Communication programme. Very simply, this could take the form of a task in which student pairs are instructed to compile a list of topics representing common interests and experience, which they write down on a set of cards, shuffling and placing them face down. To start the core activity, Student A turns the first card around and asks Student B an other-oriented question relevant to the given topic. Having received a response, Student A is then 'required' to provide a comment and self-oriented extension in the third position, whereupon Student B, conversely, asks Student A an other-oriented question related to their extended comment. After receiving an answer, Student B likewise extends the topic with a personalized comment, and so on, and so (back and) forth. The responsibility for question (and third position) can be signalled by 'passing the buck' in the form of a ball, for example, to keep track of initiating moves in the ongoing interaction.

DIAGRAM of THIRD POSITION PRACTICE

Key

---> Question

.... Answer

===> Extension
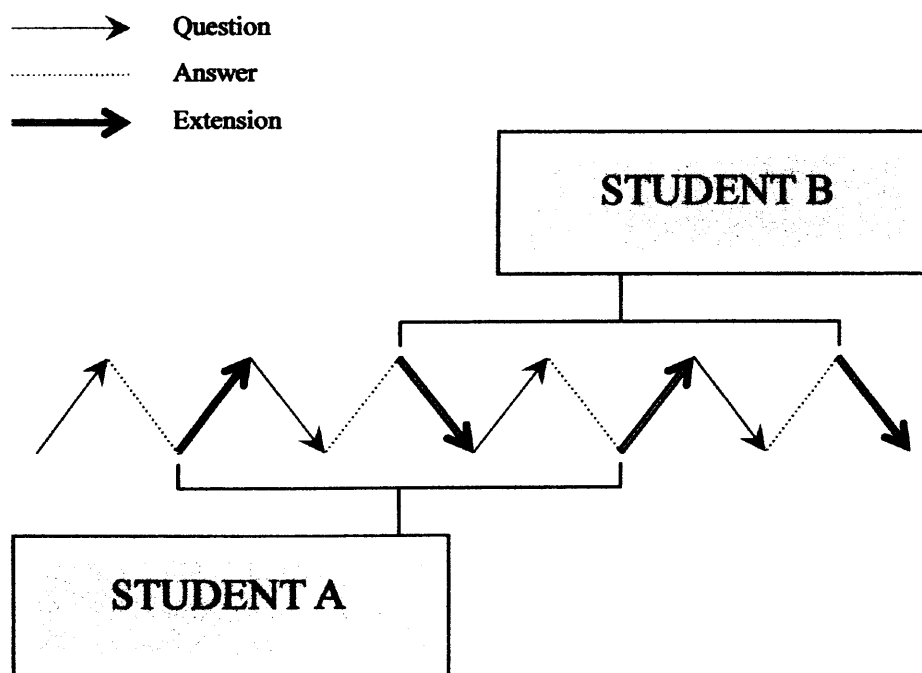
The students might playfully keep the conversation going until a designated 'bell' by the teacher, at which point the next speaker is prompted to use a disjunction marker to signal topic change, such as 'by the way', and consequently turns the next card around to start a new topic, the rule of play being not to break off any adjacency pairs. In this way students practise various interactional skills: establishing initial common ground, being both questioner and respondent, interrelating and extending topic in the third position, and thereby attending to the contingent nature of talk and its topical development.

This merely provides a simple illustration of a possible task design which might aid in the development of skills deployable in conversation. In its apparent simplicity, however, it includes several points for instruction and practice, which would be likely to inform the relevant syllabus beyond the particular focus on personalized extensions in the third position. Depending on the level of the students, these might include the following: question-answer adjacency pairs, the type of comments which might precede personalized extensions, such as conversational 'assessments' of the people, situations and events featured in the response, and the use of conversationally disjunctive markers to signal topic change. Although the activity might require step-by-step demonstration and repeated practice, it is likely to take on a new interpersonal dimension when the students exchange partners, as relationality is instrumentally foregrounded by the interrelation of topic and experience, of both self and other.

There are a myriad of ways in which such skills could be practised and corresponding materials designed and developed, and the present research can do little more than touch upon the relevant issues and how they might be pedagogically addressed. It remains to be said, however, that students might further benefit from a more academic understanding of the workings of conversation, in relation to its framing, topicality, and interactional trajectory, were this to feature in their lectures on discourse analysis; and were it to be further related to their experience of conversation-for-learning, for example, in a subject-related analysis of their own discourse transcripts, which therefore serves to bridge theory and practice.

7.4.2. Advice to teachers who need and want it

The current section presents a number of pointers for those teachers who feel they are unable to emanate 'rays of relaxation' while on duty and have difficulty stoking the fire. Firstly, or provisionally, the teachers might also be made aware of the potential pitfalls of interactional framing by the students. If the assigned task is supposedly conversational, or the unassigned conversation supposedly 'free', it might be of relational use to take the student-nominated topic with a pinch of salt. That is to say, the initial other-orientation of the students could represent an opportunity for conversational reciprocity, even if instrumentally framed as the pursuit of knowledge to which the teacher apparently holds the key. Such reciprocity in first-time encounters may itself serve to construct a degree of conversational symmetry. As such, it need not be necessary to 'enforce' parity by compelling the students to make initiating moves, which might further, and paradoxically, undermine one's apparent freedom to invoke more equitable relations in talk. Moreover, a markedly non-conversational adherence to institutional direction and policy might interactionally index the institutional identity, or role-based persona, of the teacher, as has been seen in relation to the English-only policy in Chapter 4, creating a potential conflict with one's seemingly conversational 'self'.

In redirecting the other-oriented topic back to the students, reciprocity might also allow for a more even distribution of knowledge. What could, in the extreme, pan out as a monotopic 'A event', falling within the knowledge domain of the teacher, may become a conversationally conducive 'AB event', if the 'A' is counterbalanced by the 'B', despite the students' initial 'A' framing of interaction. That is not to say that inverting the topic to that of the students' hometowns, for example, will necessarily conversationalize interaction, as the participants might similarly appear to be lacking any common ground, founded on that particular 'self'-revelation. Furthermore, the teachers conversely run the risk of their own questions falling back to them, with the students potentially keeping their contributions to a quantitative and referential bare minimum. If the participants are, however, able to establish an area of shared expertise through commonality

of interest, this may allow them to group one another in the same cultural community, to the implicit, yet abstracted exclusion of other potential categories of relevance to either the one or the other, but not to both. As Svennevig notes, "[c]ommon expertise is a source for inferring community co-membership and thus a contribution to the establishment of solidarity" (Svennevig 1999: 315).

In the case of setting deixis, whose meaning is contingent on the time and place in which the interlocutors find themselves and locate one another, the distribution of knowledge might be considered 'inherently' 'AB'. Although comments on the weather could, for example, appear unnatural in the institutionally staged context of conversation-for-learning, and may furthermore be quickly exhausted, an extended setting deixis may be better suited to the particularities, and peculiarities, of the interactional event. In other words, the participants may be able to draw on extended locality and temporality as a topic of interaction, which similarly plants them on common turf. While the students in the focus group excerpt of Section 5.6. (Chapter 5) mentioned the weather as a natural start to interaction, its possible expansion involved the type of cross-cultural comparison, between Britain and Japan (and with the focus on the former), which may counterproductively reinforce distinction, as opposed to commonality, while further essentializing the relevant cultures to which the interlocutors respectively belong. The same students, however, also considered the conversational potential of extended temporality in the form of the topic of upcoming plans for Christmas and New Year. Such temporality was likewise implicit in the discourse excerpts of Section 5.2., as the students nominated the summer vacation which had recently drawn to an end as their selected topic. Extended locality, on the other hand, became the focus of talk in Alison's excerpts of Chapter 4 (Section 4.2.), as she discussed Japan and its food with the students in light of her own experience as a foreign resident. Although the students were thereby transiently cast as the topical experts, the focus on Japan enabled the participants to engage in personalized interaction founded on a commonality of experience.

While such perceived commonality holds relational potential, more encyclopedic topics have affiliative potential, which becomes realized when a joint sub-cultural membership is uncovered by the participants in interaction, as they draw on a

common base of knowledge, allowing for "affective bonding" (Svennevig 1999: 327). Similarly to self-oriented comments, such encyclopedic topics are occasioned by prior utterances. For this reason, the teacher's reciprocity may be crucial to conversation 'making' in first-time encounters, as it contingently enables the students to both talk about themselves and about the things they themselves know about. This raises the question of whether topic pre-selection by the students is a conversationally useful institutional practice, given their common other-orientation to the person of the teacher, along with his or her encyclopedic knowledge of country of origin, for example.

Unless there is some sense of genuineness and immediacy to the provision of information by the teacher, as in the case that a student is actually planning a trip or making enquiries about exchange programmes, the topic may feel quasi-instrumental. (This comes to the fore in two of the interview excerpts discussed here: T21: John, Position 57; T17: Colin, Position 28.) It further represents a poor substitute for relationality, which should at least appear to be the unstated goal of the interactional event in order for this to seem conversational. It may therefore be worth reviewing the recommendation to students to pre-select a topic prior to approaching a teacher, while 'pilotting' a different approach to initiating conversational relations. Since establishing common ground potentially allows for greater conversational symmetry, this could itself represent an instrumental task designed to promote 'interactional' negotiation, in keeping with the institutionality of the supposedly conversational event. In the case of role-play scenarios among the learners themselves, Aston (1988) similarly suggests the creation of a 'rapport gap' which needs to be bridged as a means of stimulating conversational dialogue in the classroom. In the current context of interaction, both students and teachers alike might, then, as 'real' unacquainted interlocutors, be prompted to 'find' and build on common ground in a conversational task, in which they might further practise a reciprocity of question-asking, third position extensions and the chaining of topic as a shared knowledge domain. This could provide a relational framework for interaction, which might be lacking in the case of so-called 'free' conversation, set up by institutional design. Such is the paradox of staged conversation that it appears instrumentally constrained by its freedom, while relationally constricted by institutionality. It is this paradox which brings us

back to the thorny issue of authenticity, as either perceived to 'be' or played out 'as' such, by the participants in interaction.

7.5. Authenticity of 'self': A thorny crown for the uncrowned king

In the institutional act of conversationality, the flesh-and-blood native speaker may, like 'his' linguistic abstraction, the "uncrowned King" (Mey 1981: 73), be "without roots in reality" (ibid.: 69). That is to say, he or she may lack the sense of 'being' implicit in the very normativity of casual conversation as a "vehicle for reality-maintenance" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 172), in which we feel "most ourselves" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 16). In the absence of a clearly defined instrumental goal, institutionally staged conversation may engender some uncertainty in the teachers with regard to what they are 'supposed' to be doing or being in the doing of it. In other words, it may create a state of ontological insecurity, compounded by a heightened reflexivity of self, which may seem unnatural to conversation as a normatively relational pursuit. This may be lacking in the scripted familiarity of the classroom, in which the teacher can happily play the teacher, or else voluntarily engage in seeming 'self'-revelation. As the role-based persona of teacher may furthermore impregnate one's sense of self through personal identification with the profession, one might ironically feel more oneself 'being' the teacher in the classroom, than 'playing' one's self in conversation-for-learning with a student. In the latter case, 'self'-revelation may further be non-volitional, as it is institutionally 'made' to conform with conversational norms. As such, the encounter may divest the teachers of a sense of authenticity of self, which could itself represent the crucial, yet ineffable, ingredient of smoothness in 'easy' conversation.

As Goffman observed, "[o]ne can never expect complete freedom between individual and role and never complete restraint" (1974: 269). One might nevertheless expect to feel authentic, and to have a sense of self, regardless of what that might 'in truth' be, and notwithstanding the fact that it may not be fathomable. Such sense of authenticity may remain intact behind the teacher's mask, while playing his or her part in the scripted norms of classroom interaction, or in choosing to disclose the assumed underlying self. Conversation-for-

learning, on the other hand, unmasks the teacher to reveal a painted face. The 'native' self may further find itself crippled by institutionality, as the disrobed king is forced into an ill-fitting suit of professionalism. As once told in a Hungarian tale:

> "A man came to a szabó, tailor, and tried on a suit. As he stood before the mirror, he noticed the vest was a little uneven at the bottom. 'Oh,' said the tailor, 'don't worry about that. Just hold the shorter end down with your left hand and no one will ever notice.' While the customer proceeded to do this, he noticed that the lapel of the jacket curled up instead of lying flat. 'Oh that?' said the tailor. 'That's nothing. Just turn your head a little and hold it down with your chin.' The customer complied, and as he did, he noticed that the inseam of the pants was a little short and he felt that the rise was a bit too tight. 'Oh, don't worry about that,' said the tailor. 'Just pull the inseam down with your right hand, and everything will be perfect.' The customer agreed and purchased the suit. The next day he wore his new suit with all the accompanying hand and chin 'alterations.' As he limped through the park with his chin holding down his lapel, one hand tugging at the vest, the other hand grasping his crotch, two old men stopped playing checkers to watch him stagger by. 'M'Isten, oh, my God!' said the first man. 'Look at that poor crippled man!' The second man reflected for a moment, then murmured, 'Igen, yes, the crippling is too bad, but you know I wonder...where did he get such a nice suit?'"

(Pinkola Estés 2008: 274)

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

A - 1

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

over⌐lap
ov|erlap
⌊overlap

A left bracket indicates the onset of overlap

In the case of the English translations of Japanese focus group data, these are placed after the top-level utterance, and before the overlapping lower-level utterance, to signal that at some point they overlap with one another, e.g.:

S4(m)	overlap[
S2(f)	[overlap[
S3(f)	[overlap

latch=

=latch

Latched speech between speakers, adjacent in time; or continuing turn of the same speaker from a prior line, i.e. one interpolated by an overlapping utterance by another speaker

italics

Japanese words or other referents which may be unknown to the reader; explanations provided in footnotes

Italics are also used to mark *katakana* pronunciation of English

"voicing"

Quotation marks contain a "voiced" utterance, i.e. direct reported speech marked by stylization

Stre::::tching

A colon represents the extension of the preceding sound; the more colons, the longer the stretch

Emphasis

Underlining represents emphatic stress

LOUD SPEECH

Capitals denote emphasis through loudness, whereby the capitalized words are noticeably louder than the neighbouring speech

°quiet speech°

Words enclosed by degree signs are noticeably quieter than the neighbouring speech; double degree signs are used for barely audible speech

↑ rise in pitch

An upward arrow represents a marked rise in pitch of the subsequent word or syllable, or higher than average pitch of speaker

↓ fall in pitch

A downwards arrow represents a marked fall in pitch of the subsequent word or syllable, or lower than average pitch of speaker

Question mark?

A question mark is used to denote a rising inflection, as in questions

Full stop.

A full stop is used to denote a falling intonation

Comma,

A comma signifies continuing intonation

Exclamation !

An exclamation mark indicates an animated tone

Trunc-

A dash denotes an abrupt cut-off, as in a false start, or clipped sound

< slow >

Speech enclosed by angular brackets is noticeably slower than the surrounding speech

> fast <	Speech enclosed by 'less than' signs is noticeably faster than the surrounding speech
Run~together	A swung dash between words indicates that the speech is run together
(^)	Indicates a short pause of less than 0.5 seconds within a speaker's turn; also used to signal a pause within a word, e.g. home^work
(.)	Each bracketed dot represents a pause of circa 0.5 seconds
	In the case of interview and focus group data it is used to represent a pause of indeterminate length
[...]	Indicates that a segment of data has been removed
{wavy brackets}	Indicates transcriber doubt with regard to content
{ ? }	Indicates speech which is unintelligible and has not been transcribed
.hhh	Indicates an audible inbreath
hhh.	Indicates an audible outbreath
(h)	Represents aspiration through laughter
hah	Indicates a laughter particle
	Laughter which cannot be distinguished according to participant is described in double brackets, i.e. ((laughter))
heh	A backchannelling token commonly used in Japanese, which can signal interest or surprise; otherwise represented as *he* (Iwasaki 1997), or *hee* (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006)
un	Japanese affirmative, e.g. 'uh-huh' (Hosoda 2006); or a commonly used backchannelling token, which can signal attentiveness, understanding, or agreement; otherwise represented as *nn* or *hn* (Iwasaki 1997), *huun* (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006), *uun* (Ishida 2006, Mori 2006), *(u)n* (Cutrone 2005)
((double brackets))	Contains additional paralinguistic or extralinguistic information
[square brackets]	Square brackets contain information substitution in order to maintain anonymity of person or institution, or the addition of information in the interview and focus group excerpts
N.E.C.	Capital letters followed by full stops indicate that letters are pronounced separately, e.g. as in acronyms, or when spelling out a word

Marie's Excerpts

Excerpt 4.1.1.

Participants:

Marie (T2)
Rieko (Sf)
Sayaka (Sf)


```
1.   Rieko:    yeah ↑I know how it i:s (^) cos uh:m (^)
2.             ↑I lived in the United States for a year?
3.            ┌as an exchange student
4.   Marie:   └oh ↑really where.
5.   (.)
6.   Rieko:    ah:: (^) Minnesota?=
7.   Sayaka:   =°°which city.°°
8.   Marie:    it's just down Canada.
9.   Sayaka:  ┌°°heh::°°
10.  Rieko    └but when I got ↑back to Japa:n, (..) I
11.            was (.)I was ↑really nervous every single
12.            day because(...)uh:: °°I don't know°°
13.            maybe I've changed a little? >I mean a
14.            ↑lot<
15.  Marie:    yep
16.  Rieko:    so:┌::
17.  Marie:      └not maybe:
18.  Rieko:    hah (.) °y(h)eah°=
19.  Marie:    =for su:re=
20.  Rieko:    =yea:h (..) so it was hard to (..) uh::(^)
21.            to get ↑used to:: (..) uh::: living in
22.            ↑Japan
23.  Marie:    yeah
24.  Sayaka:   °°hn:┌::°°
25.  Rieko:        └so::
26.  Marie:    °yeah°
27.  Rieko:    hm::
28.  Marie:    so (.) after a ↑year living abroad (.)
29.            maybe (.) the(..) the experience coming
30.            back (.)↑ will be (^)still quite
31.            different (^) °but-° I had lived in
32.            Japan for (..) about (.) ↑nine years (.)
33.           ┌at that point
34.  Sayaka:  │nine!
35.  Rieko:   └nine years!
36.  Marie:    nine or >nine and a half< (.) ↑YEAH (.)
37.            right now I've lived in Japan for almost
38.            ten years
39.  Sayaka:   °°hn::°°
40.  Rieko:    °°really°°
41.  Marie:    °yea:h°
42.  Sayaka:   do you speak Japanese?
43.  Marie:    uh: NO-! not in the [conversation lounge].
44.            ((laughter))
45.  (..)
```

```
46.  Rieko:    heh::?
47.  Marie:    yeah (..) I forget everything in this room
48.  Rieko:    hah
49.  Marie:    hah ⌈hah hah
50.  Sayaka:       ⌊hah hah hah
51.  Rieko:    heh:::?
52.  Marie:    hm. so:: (^) ↑yeah (^) ↑I- that's that's
53.            what I thought ↑BUT anyways we'll get back
54.            to our travel (^) talk.
```

```
55.            So yeah a little over a year in Australia and
56.            uh::m (^) I've been to (^) a lot of different
57.            places in ↑Canada as you know it's a HUGE country,
58.            it's (.) do you know how many times bigger it is
59.          , (^) than Japan?
60.  Tomoko:   twenty ja nai?¹
61.  Marie:    you're very close, you're very close, (..)more
62.            though (.) bigger.
63.  Tomoko:   °twenty five?°
64.  Marie:    yeah, °26 times° (.) °°yeah°° but like ↑Japan, a
65.            lot of the land is uninhabitable (..) you can't
66.            live there because it's too cold or or forest or
67.            >you know< ↑Japan there are many mountains, or (.)
68.            you can't live there so (..) a lot of the (.)
69.            parts of Canada are (^) uninhabitable (.) hm:::
70.            ((clicks tongue))yeah (.) ah ↑I've travelled most
71.            of Canada (.) not all of it but (^) except for the
72.            very (^) most ↑Eastern provinces the {?} provinces
73.            (^)so the ↑ISLANDS like (^) you know "Akage no
74.           ⌈Anne"? The Anne of the Green Gables story?
75.  Ss:       ⌊ah::::::: ((laughter))
76.  Marie:    Prince Edward Island? yeah I have never (^)been
77.            ↑there (.) but I I really want to ↑go there (^)
78.            when I go back to Canada I want to spend a couple
79.            of months in .hhh °yeah and just visit there° uh
80.            so I've been (^) to many parts of America,United
81.            Sta::tes, I've been to Mexico, I spent six .hhh
82.            weeks ↑there one summer? when I was a a student?
83.            uh::m (.) I've been to a few countries in (^)
84.            Europe (^) I went backpacking? about ⌈(^) six or=
85.  Ss:                                             ⌊ah:::::
86.  Marie:    =seven years ago (.) I went backpacking for a
87.            couple of months and (..) I (.) just travelled (^)
88.            I started down in ↑Greece and I travelled ↑north
89.            and I (.) finally,
90.  Rieko:    Greece?
91.  Marie:    yeah that's (^) where I started (^) ↑yeah it's
92.            really nice there (..) how about you guys? (^)
93.            have you ever been to any European countries?
94.  Sayaka:   °°not yet°° no::: I have never been,
95.  Marie:    abroad? have you been abroad at all?
96.  Sayaka:   y(h)es.
97.  Marie:    where have you been?
98.  Sayaka:   I (^) I never been to abroad
99.  Marie:    oh: rea:lly? o- only in Japan. where- whereabouts
```

---

¹ *ja nai* = isn't it?

```
100.            in Japan have you visited like (.) Okinawa or
101.            somewhere,
102. Sayaka:    I went to:: Kyushu?
103. Ss:        ⌈heh:::::
104. Marie:     ⌊OH!((claps hands)) I'd love to go there. I've I
105.            haven't been there yet.
106. Tomoko:    why?
107. Marie:     yeah I've just I've never had the oppor↑tunity (.)
108.            yeah (^) tell me a little bit about Kyushu (^)
109.            what should I ↑do:: if I go there,
110. Sayaka:    I went to:: (..) Nagasaki prefecture.
111. S?:        ah! Nagasaki
112. S?:        ah:::
113. Sayaka:    do you know Haus Tenbosu?
114. Marie:     AH! >I've heard of it< (^) didn't it go bankrupt?
115. Rieko:     y(h)eah
116. Marie:     yeah (.) it's (^)is it closed down now or did
117.            someone buy it (^) out?
118. Rieko:     I heard Disney would buy it but (^) they changed
119.            their plan °°right?°°
120. Marie:     OH::: really? so what happened is it just
121.            bankrupted and it's (..) is it closed down? is
122.            it,
123. (...)
124. Tomoko:    °°some US company?°°
125. (..)
126. Marie:     oh really? yeah (.) maybe, we should look into
127.            that hah hah hah
128. Tomoko:    is it (.) school trip?
129. Sayaka:    uh no,°no° (^) family trip.
130. Marie:     oh! okay great did you ↑fly there or >how did you
131.            get to< Kyushu
132. Sayaka:    uh (.) I fly there (..) it's first time to:: (^)
133.            ride on (^) plane hah hah
134. Marie:     °°oh really°°
135. Sayaka:    °°yeah°°
136. Marie:     °oh wow hah hah hah°
137. Tomoko:    I hate plane.
138. Marie:     oh really why?
139. Tomoko:    ↑why it shake.
140. Sayaka:    heh:⌈::
141. Rieko:        ⌊hay shake?! hah hah
142. Tomoko:    I always worried (^) when when the plane fall down
143.            or crash (.) ↑but I like travel to abroad but so
144.            what should I do (..)take some ship?
145. Marie:     a ship yeah
146. Rieko:     heh I love the moment of (..) taking off?
147. Marie:     oh really?
148. Rieko:     y(h)eah it's really exciting! and every time I go
149.            to the ↑airport (..) I get really thrilled?
150. Marie:     really!?
151. Rieko:     yeah (.) °it's very fun I think°
152. Marie:     yeah! (..) I- (.) I don't like the the (.) because
153.            when you're ↑sitting the (.) you feel that jet
154.            gravitational force. the g-force it's kind of like (.)
155.            you're⌈hm:: in your seat, you know pushing you back,
156. Ss:             ⌊((laughter))
157. Rieko:     yeah but after a few ↑seconds you're (^) in the
```

```
158.            air, so hah hah hah
159. Marie:     that's true? (.) yeah, (.) I always try well just
160.            before take off,(.) I get a little nervous (^)
161.            ↑too .hhh but I try to rela:::x, and I try to .HHH
162.            HHH.take a ↑deep brea::th,(.) and I try to relax
163.            all of my muscles but (..) no no matter ↑HOW much
164.            I try to relax, I always notice that >MY HANDS ARE
165.            GRIPPING< [(..) the armrests,"uh:::" like that and=
166. Ss:                [((laughter))
167. Marie:     =then I see my hands like this and hhh. ((grips the
168.            chair)) I try to rela:x my arms again, and (^)
169.            yeah but it's (...)
170. Ss:        °heh::::°
171. Marie:     hm.(...) so when you flew (.) to:: Kyushu, did you
172.            feel nervous? and were you tense?
173. Sayaka:    hn:: when I (^) take off (^) the (^) ↑take off I
174.            feel nervous but after a while?
175. Marie:     so in the air?
176. Sayaka:    un~un yes I like (..) the feeling of flying?
177. Marie:     ↑o::kay,
178. Sayaka:    the view is very beautiful.
179. Marie:     yeah (^) yeah it's a nice view °that's for sure°
```

Excerpt 4.1.2.

```
180. Tomoko:    how about ↑food (^) in Kyushu²?
181. Sayaka:    ah::
182. Tomoko:    mentaiko³ (.) I(h) I only know ment(h)aiko.
183. Sayaka:    ah:: (...) I: (^) I: ate (^) Hakata-ramen⁴
184. Rieko:     [ah::!
185. Marie:     [ah: okay::!=
186. Rieko:     =heh? tonkotsu?⁵
187. Sayaka:    yes
188. Rieko:     un~un~un~un~un
189. Marie:     so (..) ↑let's ↑let's imagine. (.)okay:
190.            that I:(.) don't know anything about Japan
191.            (.) and I don't know Japanese so what's
192.            what's mentaiko and what's (.) what's
193.            tonkotsu (.) how can you °explain that
194.            in English°
195. Rieko:     uh:::
196. Sayaka:    hn:::?
197. Rieko?:    °°mentaiko?°°
198. (..)
199. Marie:     s- so what is- what is (^) the BASIC
200.            ingredient of(.)mentaiko?
201. Rieko:     [i(h)ngredient?
202. Sayaka:    [m(h)entaiko? hah hah
```

---

² *Kyushu* = the southernmost main island of the Japanese archipelago
³ *mentaiko* = spicy cod roe
⁴ *Hakata-ramen* = Japanese noodles in broth (*ramen*) from *Hakata* (a ward in *Fukuoka* city on the island of *Kyushu*)
⁵ *tonkotsu* = a soup made of pork bone stock

203. Rieko: *heh*:: *mentaiko wa*::[6]
204. (..)
205. Sayaka: *heh*?
206. Marie: well what does it <u>come</u> from? does it- it's
207.   <u>E:GG</u> (^)does it come from a CHICKEN?
208. Rieko: ⌜no it's
209. Sayaka: ⌊no::!
210. Marie: <u>n</u>o!
211. Sayaka: ⌜°°hah hah hah°°
212. Rieko: ⌊uh:: (..) what kind of fish is it (^)
213.   *tara*?[7]
214. Sayaka: °°maybe°°
215. Marie: ⌜cod (..)
216. Rieko: ⌊*tara* (.) *tara*
217. Marie: I think <u>cod</u>
218. Rieko: cod?
219. (.)
220. Marie: I think *tara* is ↑cod (.) <u>C.O.D.</u> (^) cod
221. Rieko: cod
222. Marie: cod <u>roe</u> (.) <u>R.O.E.</u>
223. Rieko: °*heh*:::?°
224. Marie: cod °roe:° (^) ↑ROE means the <u>fish</u> (^)of
225.   an egg.[8](..) hm: *mentaiko* (.) ↑yeah so it's
226.   <u>spicy</u>.
227. Sayaka: yeah ⌜::
228. Marie: ⌊what- what <u>spice</u> is it- is
229.   (^)included? it's uh (..) *togarashi*.[9]
230. Rieko: ⌜yeah
231. Sayaka: ⌊°°oh:::°°
232. Marie: ⌊so a- (.) <u>red</u> pepper spice >a kind of<
233.   chili spice
234. Sayaka: °°ah::°°
235. Marie: °°hm:: (.) yeah°° (..) how about *tonkotsu*
236.   what's that?
237. Sayaka: chicken soup
238. Marie: ⌜ch(h)icken soup!?
239. Rieko: ⌊hah hah hah
240. Marie: chicken? (..) ⌜CHICKEN!?
241. Rieko: ⌊hah hah hah
242. Sayaka: n(h)o! n(h)o!
243. Rieko: pig! pig!
244. Sayaka: hah hah (.) what is it?
245. Rieko: °I don't k(h)now° I don't know about the-
246. Marie: yeah it's a (.) it's (^) comes from a ↑<u>pig</u>
247.   but when we talk about food we'll say pork.
248. Sayaka: pork
249. Marie: yeah (.) pork-based (..) pork-based soup
250.   or pork consommé or °something°

---

[6] *wa* = Japanese particle, which serves as a topic marker
[7] *tara* = cod
[8] Presumably Marie intends to say 'egg of a fish' and has inverted the possessive order by mistake. (This order is the same as Japanese, whereby the possessive particle *no* qualifies the preceding noun, although it might not necessarily represent a case of 'L2 transfer'.)
[9] *togarashi* = red Japanese spice blend, including chili

Alison's Excerpts

Excerpt 4.2.1.

Participants:

Alison (T5)
Miho (Sf)
Yuto (Sm)

```
1.   Miho:      °°hn:°°  (...)heh? are you from Tokyo?
2.   Yuto:      ah: I'm from Toky- ah: I live in: (...)uh I live in
3.              To(^)kyo? (..) do you know: (^)uh like uh
4.              (..)shitamachi?¹ °downtown?°
5.   Miho:      ah::
6.   (.)
7.   Yuto:      °°(like)°°
8.   Miho:      do you know?
9.   Yuto:      °do you know°
10.  (..)
11.  Alison:    I think so
12.  (.)
13.  Miho:      °°un°°
14.  Yuto:      °Futen no°  (^)  °°Tora-san°°²
15.  Miho:      °T(h)ora-s(h)⌈an° hah hah hah .hhh
16.  Yuto:               ⌊like hah hah
17.  Miho:      heh Asaku- near Asakusa?
18.  Yuto:      ⌈↑not near (.) Asakusa li- uh near the Ueno
19.  Alison:    ⌊↑°oh okay° oh
20.  Miho:      °°un::°°
21.  (..)
22.  Alison:    hn:: (.) do you have a neighbourhood ↑feel in your
23.             °°town?°°
24.  Yuto:      I thinku (^) maybe people are kindu (^)and-uh:
25.             (^) ↑uh (^)is famous fo:r (.)monjayaki³ do you know
26.             monjayaki? (^)⌈like okonomiyaki⁴
27.  Miho:                 ⌊yeah (.) okonomiyaki
28.  (.)
29.  Alison:    what's the monja mean
30.  Yuto:      monja!=
31.  Miho:      =monj(h)a?!=
32.  Yuto:      =mon⌈ja! wh(h)at d(h)oes mean monja?
33.  Miho:         ⌊hah hah hah I(h) d(h)on't kn(h)ow
```

---

¹ *shitamachi* = literally downtown; the term is used to describe a number of old local towns situated by the rivers on the east side of Tokyo, belonging to the 23 wards constituting central Tokyo, but not within the prestigious central Yamanote ring

² *Futen no Tora-san* = 'The vagabond Mr Tora'; refers to a series of comedy films set in the same type of location, famous in Japan; *Futen* = vagabond, *no* = possessive particle, *Tora-san* = Mr Tora, the character's name

³ *monjayaki* = fried dish made of a runny dough mixture with various finely chopped ingredients, originating from the Tokyo area.

⁴ *okonomiyaki* = perhaps better-known equivalent, of thicker consistency (hence more like a pancake) and chunkier ingredients, from the Kansai region, with a local variation from Hiroshima also well-known throughout Japan

```
34.  Alison:   Is it kind of meat? (.) mon- (^) you said
35.            monjayaki?
36.  Yuto:     mo⌈n↑ja^yaki
37.  Miho:       ⌊monja^yaki
38.  Alison:   <monjayaki>
39.  Miho:     so do you know okonomiyaki?
40.  Alison:   hn: so the yaki⁵ means fried °noodles° ⌈(^)right? so:
41.  Miho:                                            │yes
42.  Yuto:                                            ⌊ah::
43.  Miho:     °°ah (.) ⌈not-°°
44.  Yuto:              ⌊maybe:: no meaning heh monja (^) buto
45.  (..)
```

```
46.  Miho:     monjayaki is⌈(.) mix? hah hah hah .hhh
47.  Yuto:                 │isu
48.  (..)                 ⌊
49.  Miho:     uh: how can I say: uh::
50.  (..)
51.  Yuto:     °°bechabecha (h) d(h)e y(h)aitt(h)eiru°°⁶ hah hah
52.  Miho:     yeah::
53.  Alison:   °°bechabecha°° (^) separate?
54.  Miho:     hah hah
55.  Alison:   ⌈I don't know
56.  Yuto:     ⌊like-u ⌈(^) so: wet⌈to!
57.  Miho:             │hah hah  ⌊ah
58.  Alison:   ⌈°wetto° ⌊(.) ah::
59.  Yuto:     ⌊hah hah ⌈hah .hhh
60.  Miho:              ⌊hah hah hah
61.  Yuto:     wet
62.  Alison:   °hn°
63.  Miho:     ah:: (^) in (^) uh when we make monjayaki? (^)
64.            ⌈ah:: ↑first
65.  Alison:   ⌊hn
66.  Miho:     we: (.) ↑put °some° vegetable or:: (^) meat?(.)like
67.            doughnut
68.  Alison:   ↑oh okay=
69.  Miho:     =and next (.) soupu
70.  Yuto:     soupu (.)soup soup hah hah
71.  Miho:     hah hah .hhh °how can I say°(.) ah::
72.  (..)
73.  Miho:     hah hah hah ⌈.hhh
74.  Yuto:                 ⌊h(h)ow c(h)an I s(h)ay hah
75.  Alison:   hn:⌈::
76.  Miho:        ⌊it's difficult to explai:n
77.  (........)
78.  Miho:     eh ↑you have never (^) seen monjayaki?
79.  (....)
80.  Alison:   ah::(.) °may^be::::° ↑uh:(..)
81.  Miho:     hah hah
82.  Alison:   hn:: (.) so it's
83.  (..)
```

---

⁵ yaki = fried or grilled; here Alison may be thinking of yakisoba which are fried noodles
⁶ bechabecha = gooey, de yaitteiru = the way in which you cook it

```
84. Yuto:     hn like okonomiya⌈ki:: (^) butto (..) the monja isu
85. Miho:                      ⌊hn:
86. Alison:   more wet?
87. Miho:     ye⌈s
88. Yuto:       ⌊yeah
89. Alison:   okay (.) it's not like Hiroshima style, (.)I know
90.           (^) like Hiroshima ⌈style
91. Yuto:                        ⌊ah:⌈: >no~no~no~no~no<
92. Miho:                            ⌊ah:: (.) no
93. (......)
94. Miho:     °go° ↑we ⌈mix (.) the all of food
95. Yuto:               ⌊hah hah hah
96. Alison:   and ↑then pour, (..)like in- ↑I used to live in
97.           Sapporo: and (..) we: (^) we'd get all the
98.           ingredients at our table, and  ↑we'd put it in
99.           the bowl and mix it (.) and we: (^) almost you
100.          make like a kind of pancake
101. Yuto:   ↑ah: (^) so: (.) ↑monja (.) doesn't like pancake,
102.         it's °a::°
103. Alison: m(h)ore l(h)ike a d(h)oughnut?
104. (..)
```

Excerpt 4.2.2.

```
105. Miho:    hah .hhh uh::m (.) we ↑divide the food and (^)
106.          like ↑soup⌈(^) liquid and solid and (.⌈.)ah:: kind of=
107. Alison:         ⌊°°yeah°°            ⌊okay
108. Miho:    =hard to (?) first we make (..) like a doughnut
109.          shape?
110. Alison:  okay:
111. Miho:    and (.) ↑then pour: (..) pour: °°nani°°⁷⌈(^) pour
112. Yuto:                                          ⌊like s-
113.          sou- sou soup°°
114. Miho:    soup inside
115. Alison:  okay
116. Miho:    and mix
117. (...)
118. Alison:  okay: (...) so the soup is that like (^) egg? or:
119. Yuto:    ah⌈:: to- (^) a (^) ↑little (^) flour and too many=
120. Miho:      ⌊ah::
121. Yuto:    =too much uh water
122. Alison:  okay
123. Miho:    °yeah°
124. (..)
125. Alison:  almost like (.) pancake mix
126. Yuto:    yeah
127. Miho:    yes pancake mix
128. Yuto:    almost like (.) but (.⌈.) kokei ja nai⁸ hah hah
129. Miho:                           ⌊hah hah hah
130. Alison:  it's not thick?
131. Miho:    ⌈yeah
132. Yuto:    ⌊yeah
```

---

⁷ *nani* = what
⁸ *kokei ja nai* = it's not thick

```
133. Alison:    kind of thin
134. Miho:      °yeah°
```

Excerpt 4.2.3.

```
135. Alison:    ↑oh-okay (.).hhh yeah I've never had it (^) so::
136. Yuto:      it's very- delicious I love- (^)⌈I love it!
137. Miho:                                    ⌊yeah!
138. Alison:    hn: ↑sounds good⌈(.)I think I don't like=
139. Miho:                     ⌊°°un::°°
140. Alison:    =Hiroshima: (.) style okonomiyaki so ↑much it's too
141.            fried?
142. Miho:      ⌈ah:::
143. Yuto:      ⌊ah:::
144. Alison:    so sometimes afterwards I have a °stomachache°
145. Miho:      hah ⌈hah hah really?
146. Yuto:          ⌊hah hah hah .hhh
147. Alison:    yeah!
148. Miho:      .hhh hah
149. Alison:    I had it on Saturday and I realized ((clicks
150.            fingers)) you know what? like hah hah⌈(..) ↑last
151. Miho:                                          ⌊hah hah
152. Alison:    time I had okonomiyaki I- this also happened (^)
153.            little bit of a stomachache
154. Miho:      ⌈°oh:::°
155. Yuto:      ⌊hah hah .hhh
156. Alison:    just ↑hard to digest because it's so:: fried,
157. Yuto:      ah:::=
158. Miho:      =°ah°
159. Alison:    there's no:: (^) no moisture: like maybe .hhh with
160.            (^) mo- mo:: (.) what is it called?
161. Yuto:      monja^⌈yaki
162. Miho:            ⌊monjayaki
163. Alison:    maybe (^) <monjayaki>? (^)there's more:: (..)
164.            liquid? >it's a little more< wet so⌈: maybe it's=
165. Miho:                                          ⌊yeah
166. Alison:    =(^) easier to eat
167. Miho:      yeah maybe I(h) th(h)ink ⌈hah hah
168. Yuto:                               ⌊may⌈be
169. Alison:                                 ⌊kamoshirenai⁹
170.            ⌈I don't know maybe
171. Yuto:      ⌊hah hah ⌈hah hah hah hah
172. Miho:               ⌊hah hah hah hah .hhh
173. Miho:      yeah:: (^) ⌈but I want- (^) I want you to try?
174. Alison:               ⌊maybe
175. S?         un::
176. Miho:      to eat
177. Alison:    monja::
178. Yuto:      ⌈yaki
179. Alison:    ⌊yaki
180. Miho:      yaki
181. Alison:    okay (.) °>I'll write ⌈it down<°
182. Miho:                            ⌊hah .hhh
```

---

⁹ *kamoshirenai* = maybe

```
183. Alison:   monjaya ⌈ki
184. Miho:            ⌊monjayaki
185. Alison:   ((writes the word down on a piece of paper in
186.           Japanese))
187. Miho:     °oh!° can you write Japanese?
188. (.)
189. Alison:   just barel(h)y hah monjayaki? (^) like this?
190. Yuto:    ⌈yeah! (^) excellent
191. Miho:    ⌊yeah! (^) very beautiful letter hah hah
```

John's Excerpts

Excerpt 6.3.1.

Participants:

John (T21)
Mitsuko (Sf)
Yoko (Sf)

```
1.   John:      so yeah we're all talking ↑right?
2.   Mitsuko:   ↓u⌈n:
3.   Yoko:       ⌊yes LOUD.
4.   John:      OKAY (^) LET'S TALK LOUD!
5.   (...)
6.   John:      °hah°                         ⌈            ⌈
7.   Yoko:      le(h)t's t(h)alk loud? hah⌈hah .hhh...⌈ENGLAND!=
8.   Mitsuko:                              ⌊okay       ⌊uh
9.   John:      =↑okay!                      ⌊            ⌊
10.  Mitsuko:   my name is Mitsuko
11.  Yoko:      ⌈uh! my name is ↑Yoko
12.  John:      ⌊hi Mitsuko
13.  John:      hi Yo⌈ko
14.  Yoko:           ⌊nice to meet you=
15.  Mitsuko:   =⌈nice to meet you
16.  John:       ⌊nice to meet you I'm- I'm John °f⌈or the tape°
17.  Yoko:                                         ⌊ah:::
18.  John:      hah⌈hah
19.  Yoko:          ⌊hah hah hah .hhh °for tape° hah ⌈hah .hhh=
20.  John:                                           ⌊hah hah
21.  Mitsuko:   =s(h)o (.) you are from Englan:d
22.  John:      that's ↑right
23.  Mitsuko:   so:: we would like to know: (^) about ↑England=
24.  Yoko:      =yeah:⌈::
25.  John:            ⌊yeah yeah (.) have you::, (.) did you ha~hm=
26.  Yoko:      =no::: but I want I w(h)ant t⌈o go England=
27.  John:                                   ⌊yeah
28.  John:      =good ↑>what do you< ↑>what do you< know about
29.             England.
30.  (..)
31.  Mitsuko:   ⌈ah::
32.  Yoko:      ⌊ah::
33.  Mitsuko:   beautiful ↑city,
34.  John:      yeah ↓okay
35.  Mitsuko:   ⌈and
36.  Yoko:      ⌊and ↑tea
37.  John:      ↑tea ⌈↓yeah=
38.  Mitsuko:       ⌊oh::
39.  Yoko:      =and scone,
40.  John:      uh~huh
41.  Mitsuko:   h⌈n::
42.  John:       ⌊yeah the uh:m (^)↑tea and scones yeah they're
43.             very very famous in ↑England,(^) there's also ah::m
44.             ((clicks tongue))(^) some famous English ↑sports,
```

```
45. S?:         °°yes°°
46. John:       have you heard ⌈of (^) Wimbledon?
47. Mitsuko:                    │ah:::
48. Yoko:                       ⌊ah:::
49. John:          Wimbledon is a very famous ⌈tennis competition=
50. Mitsuko:                                   ⌊tennis? yeah::
51. Yoko:       = ↑tennis oh:::
52. John:       and every year that's on TV in ↑Japan,
53. Mitsuko:    h⌈n:
54. Yoko:        ⌊oh:::
55. John:       and uh::: in England we also ha:::ve (..) .hhh we
56.             have a lot of beautiful buildings
57. Mitsuko:    hn:⌈::
58. Yoko:          ⌊heh:::
59. John:       has Marion told you about big ↑CASTLES in England
60.             >there's a lot of very big< castles
61. Mitsuko:    heh::⌈:
62. John:            ⌊yeah
63. Yoko:       and Big Ben?
64. John:       ↑yeah Big Ben yeah⌈that's very famous as well.
65. Yoko:                          ⌊hah hah
```

Excerpt 6.3.2.

```
66. Yoko:       .hhh I- I heard it's (..) not mechanical?
67. John:       ah:::(..) I'm not ↑SURE actually uh::m I th- I
68.             thought it was kind of mech↑anical but wh- what did
69.             you hear
70. (..)
71. Yoko :      uh::m (...) HAND
72. John :      °°uh huh°°
73. Yoko:       u(h)se hand and (.....) ↑weight (( moves hands))
74. John:       oh::: ↑really
75. Yoko :      yeah
76. John:       ↑oh:::
77. Yoko:       putu ↑weight
78. John :      wow (..) that's ↑amazing yeah⌈I didn't know that
79. Yoko:                                     ⌊hah hah hah .hhh I'm
80.             s(h)orry to::⌈(..) uh:: explain,=
81. John:                    ⌊°°hm~hm°°
82. John:       =↑uh~huh
83. Yoko:       specific(^)ally in English so:⌈:
84. John:                                      ⌊°°yeah°° no problem
85.             no problem (..) yeah and uh::m ((clicks tongue))
86.             so:: (.) ↑WHERE do you want to GO in England?
87. (.....)
88. Yoko :      London.
89. John :      Lon⌈don?,
90. Mitsuko:       ⌊ah::⌈:
91. Yoko:              ⌊yea⌈h::
92. Mitsuko :              ⌊Paris?
93. John :      wow:: PARIS that's yeah:: ↑that's (^) you know
94.             ↑Paris (^) that's kind of t(h)ow(h)ards France a
95.             little bit
96. Mitsuko :   heh::⌈:
97. John :           ⌊so ah ↑yeah wh- but what do you know about
```

```
98.              ↑London (^) °why do you want to visit London.°
99. Yoko:        ah::: (...) there's a lot of museum
```

```
100. John:     aha=
101. Yoko:     =and ↑big museum uh::(^) what does it call
102. John :    ah:: there's the British Museum?
103. Yoko :    yes! (maybe)
104. Mitsuko:  oh:⎡::
105. John :       ⎣wow::(.) >that's really cool< uh I
106.           visited there uh:m (..) >a couple of< YEARS ago
107.           ⎡(.) and there's a very big uhm  DINOSAUR!
108. S?:       ⎣°°yes°°
109. Ss:       ⎡heh:::
110. John:     ⎣in the main:: in the main hall this ↑huge
111.           dinosaur jus⎡t just the bones
112. S?:                   ⎣hn
113. John:     ((looks up and raises his hands))
114. Yoko :    but it's real bones?
115. John :    yeah real bones yeah
116. Ss:       heh::⎡:
117. John:         ⎣it's uh:: (....) ↑yeah I think >I think
118.           maybe< a T-Rex it's a ↑huge great you know
119.           Tyra- Tyrannosaurus Rex a huge (^)uh::m (^)
120.           this huge dinosaur and uh:m (.) the ↑good
121.           thing about the British Museum (^) the good
122.           thing is that it's free
123. Ss :      heh::⎡:
124. John :        ⎣so you can go there any TIME, an:d you
125.           don't have to pay °anything.°
126. (.)
127. Yoko?:    wo:⎡w
128. Mitsuko:     ⎣heh:⎡:
129. John:             ⎣they- they ↑LIKE you to pay a little
130.           bit of money (^) they- they try to (.)
131.           ↑encourage you to pay a little bit of money,
132. Mitsuko: °heh:⎡:°
133. John:          ⎣but you don't have to. if you want to,
134.           and you're poor you can (^) walk around for
135.           free (^) no problem=
136. Yoko :    =oh (^)that's because of the collection from
137.           around the world?
138. John :    I don't ↑know I don't know I think the
139.           government pays a little bit of money (^)
140.           ⎡uh to the museum, and the uh:: the::: (.)
141. Ss:       ⎣ah::::
142. John:     ((clicks tongue)) in ↑Britain (.) they: try
143.           to encourage people (^) >they try to::< (^) get
```

```
144.            people to go to museums ⌈>they want people to=
145. Yoko:                               ⌊ah:::
146. John:      =go to ↑museums< so uh:::m they try to make
147.            them very cheap or free
148. Ss:        heh::⌈:
149. John:           ⌊so it's it's very good for that ⌈(.) yea::h
150. Yoko:                                             ⌊hn:::
151. Mitsuko : it's good for students.
152. Yoko:      ⌈↑ heh hn::
153. John :     ⌊yeah:: it is good for students .hhh often on a
154.            (^) uh::m I have many friends in London and
155.            when I (^) when I I sometimes go down to
156.            ↑London, and I have a free afternoon (^)before
157.            I meet the⌈m and uh:m can walk around the=
158. Mitsuko:             ⌊hn::
159. John:      =British Museum it's really nice ⌈(^) yeah
160. Mitsuko:                                     ⌊heh:::
```

Excerpt 6.3.3.

```
161. John:      what ↑else do you know about London
162. (....)
163. Yoko :     red bus
164. John :     ah::⌈°red bus°
165. Yoko :         ⌊big
166. (...)
167. Mitsuko : wha- wha- what is (^) red bus.
168. John :     °°it's a good question°°
169. (...)
170. Yoko :     ONE AH:: (..) ↑TWO STAIRS
171. John :     uh:⌈:
172. S?:           ⌊un
173. John:             it's called a double decker
174. Yoko:      ⌈double decker
175. John:      ⌊double decker bus
176. (..)
177. Mitsuko : ↑ah:::
178. Yoko :     °double decker°
179. Mitsuko: bus?
180. John :     yeah
181. Mitsuko: ah:::
182. John:      double decker bus.
183. Yoko :     and the ↑MAN who (.) wear ↑SKIRTS
184. John:      ⌈ah:(h):: r(h)ight
185. Mitsuko :⌊ah it's in Scotland?
186. John:      y(h)eah ⌈that's right yeah hah hah
187. Mitsuko:          ⌊hah hah hah
188. John:      ↓yeah if they, if you said to him you are wear⌈ing=
189. S?:                                                      ⌊un
190. John:      =a skirt,
```

```
191. S?:        un
192. John:      he would get really really angry
193. Yoko:      hah hah s(h)orr(h)y
194.            (laughter))
195. John:      yeah they uh (..) yeah they're called KILTS
196. Mitsuko:  ⌈hah hah hah
197. Yoko:     ⌊hah hah hah
198. John:      .hhh °°huh::°°((clicks tongue)) but ↑yeah yeah
199.            °double decker buses° YEAH and they also have (.)
200.            do you know what color uhm British (.) °°wait°°
201.            PHONE boxes are (.) in: in ↑London
202. (..)
203. Mitsuko:  ⌈red?
204. Yoko:     ⌊red color?=
205. John:      =they're often red ↓yeah in the in the ↑very (.)
206.            in the most ah:: popular pas- parts of London,
207. S?:        yes
208. John:      where there are lots of tourists,
209. Mitsuko:  un
210. John:      there are ↑red (^) lots of ↑red phone boxes (.)
211.            ↑NOW (^)in many places they've cha:nged the phone
212.            boxes (.) to make them more modern (.) but⌈in=
213. Yoko?:                                              ⌊heh::
214. John:      =↑London⌈they- (^)the red phone boxes=
215. Mitsuko:         ⌊un::
216. John:      =were very uh:m very ↑famous
217. Mitsuko?:heh:⌈:
218. John:          ⌊°so they uh they kept the colour.°
219. (..)
220. Yoko:      uh:: do ↑you know why:: England like °red°?
221. John:      hah⌈hah
222. Mitsuko:      ⌊hah hah=
223. John:      =that's a good ↑question⌈(^) I ↑don't know, I=
224. Mitsuko:                            ⌊.hhh
225. John:      =↑don't know
226. Mitsuko:  hah hah .hhh hah hah .hhh
227. John:      uh:: maybe the ↑flag per- perhaps the ↑flag the-
228.           ⌈the English=
229. Yoko:     ⌊hn::
230. John:      =flag(^)⌈do you know what colors the English flag=
231. Mitsuko:          ⌊.hhh hah hah .hhh
232. John:      =is?
233. Yoko:      ye::s (..) red and blue and ↑white?
234. John:      ah~yea- (^) ↑almost the uhm ↓the British flag is
235.            red and blue and white
236. Yoko:      un.
237. (.)
238. John:      but the English flag,
239. Yoko:      °yes°
240. John:      is red and white.
241. Mitsuko:  ⌈he:::⌈:h
242. Yoko:     ⌊he:::⌊:h
243. John:          ⌊so it's kind of >it's kind of like a< (^)
244.            ↓yeah there's a kind of cross,
245. Yoko:      ah:::
246. John:      in the middle? which is red (..) °°so°° and that's
247.            (.)perha- perhaps that's (h)w(h)hy (..) °yeah°
248. Mitsuko:  I think Japanese flag (.) is ah:: (...) rice and
```

```
249.              umeboshi¹
250. Yoko:     ⌈hah hah hah hah hah
251. John:     ⌊yeah yeah (.) is ↑that uh that's the reason isn't
252.           it.
253. Mitsuko:  no no I(h) ⌈do(h)n't know
254. John:                ⌊or (h)is th(h)at n(h)ot r(h)ight hah
255.           hah
256.           ((laughter))
```

```
257. John:     °oh uh°
258. Mitsuko?:°heh:::°
259. John:     ((clicks tongue)) so when do you want to visit
260.           England (..) °when do you want to visit I mean°
261.           or visit or visit Paris
262. (.)
263. Mitsuko:  fo::r graduation trip?
264. John:     oh really?
265. Mitsuko:  ↓hn
266. John:     wow:: (..) sounds good ↑when do you graduate
267. (.)
268. Mitsuko:  now ↑we are second yea:r ⌈(.) °°so°° next next ↑year
269. John:                               ⌊hm- ↑hm
270. (..)
271. John:     ((clicks tongue)) ↓°sounds good (^) sounds good°
272. Yoko:     .hhh ah do you recomm↑end uh hn (.) ↑which season
273.           is the most beautiful ⌈in England ?
274. John:                            ⌊((clicks tongue)) ah:::
275.           (..) ↑well like (^) like Japan
276. Yoko:     hn:⌈:
277. John       ⌊Britain has fou:r seasons,
278. Mitsuko?:heh::⌈:
279. John:           ⌊so we have uh:: we have a clea::r (^)
280.           ↑spring, clear summer, a clear autumn, and a
281.           clear winter↓(.)I think the best time to go::?
282.           (.) is probably:: .hhh (.) ↑summer's very nice in
283.           England
284. Yoko:     summer?
285. John:     yeah
286. Ss:       ⌈heh:::
287. John:     ⌊it's a ↑little different to the Japanese summer
288.           (^) because there's (^) it's much less ↑humid
289.           (..) ⌈so you can walk ↑arou:nd, and it's (.)
290. S?:            ⌊ah~I see
291. John:     ↑it can get hot (^) it can get hot ↓but⌈(^)it's=
292. S?:                                              ⌊hn:
293. John:     =not humid (^) so it's quite °comfortable° (^)
294.           and in the ↑evening it becomes much °cooler°
```

---

¹ *umeboshi* = small red pickled plum often placed in the centre of the rice section of a lunch box

```
295.S?:        hn::⌈:
296.John:         ⌊so yeah that's ↑nice,  °an:⌈:d°
297.Yoko:                                   ⌊long night?
298.(.)
299.John:      ah::: (.).hhh (^) oh ↑god uh::m °it ↑depends° the
300.           time of year ↑in summer⌈(.) the uh it gets dark at=
301.S?:                              ⌊hn
302.John:      =about::(....) ((clicks tongue)) phhh. ei:ght
303.           ↑thirty maybe::, that kind of time,uh (^) .hhh
304.           but then in winter it gets dark much much earlier
305.           ⌈(^) °of course°(..) but ↑yeah  it is °nice°
306.S?:        ⌊hn
307.John:      and uh:m (^) you can (.) ↑a lot of people they
308.           uh:::(^) they have like ↑in summer they (^) they
309.           have (^) strawberries and °cream° (.) °they have
310.           the° it's quite a popular English eh::m dessert
311.Ss:        heh::⌈::
312.John:          ⌊yeah:: lots of uh:: lots of cream on your
313.           ↑strawberrie::s, and that's really (^) >°that's
314.           really really°< nice
315.Ss:        he⌈h::
316.John:        ⌊they often do that at Wimbledon (.) ((clicks
317.           tongue)) the tennis competition, ⌈they often do that
318.S?:                                          ⌊oh::: yeah
319.(.)
320.John:      and uh:: (..) °yeah° (.) there's (..) ↑there are
321.           ↑lots of other places in England that are good to
322.           visit
323.S?:        °hm-hm°
324.John:      you have ↑London of course that's very cool, (.)
325.           then there's uh::m (.) a place called Bath?
326.S?:        °hm-hm:°
327.John:      have you heard of Bath?
328.Yoko:      hm?
329.John:      it's a it's~it's a very old city (.) where they
330.           have like ↑hot springs⌈(.)kind of ho- like a hot=
331.S?:                              ⌊hn~hn
332.John:      =spring like a-
333.Yoko:      there's hot springs now? (.) °even now?°
334.John:      ah ye:ah:: but (^) nobody uses them (^) they're
335.           ⌈uh ↑it's kind of i- it's like a ↓spring=
336.Ss :       ⌊ah:::
337.John:      =it's got special water that's very uh (^)
338.           healthy for you
339.S?:        heh:⌈::
340.John:         ⌊kind of mineral water
341.Mitsuko:   hn:::
342.Yoko:      it's just sightseeing?
343.John:      ((clicks tongue)) ah::: it's good for
```

```
344.              ↑sightseeing ye:ah:: and uh::: (...) °yeah° it's
345.              ↑nice round there >it's kind of< in the ↑south
346.              (..) ↓west (^) southwest corner
347. S?:          hn:⌈::
348. John:           ⌊°°of Britain°° (.) ((clicks tongue)) and
349.              then (^) in ↑other places you have the (^) the
350.              Lake District (.) that's near Manchester? (.)
351.              ((clicks tongue)) and it's got lots and lots of
352.              beautiful lakes
353. Ss :         he⌈h:::
354. John:          ⌊I guess that's I guess that's why it's called
355.              the Lake District yeah it's got- ↑but there's
356.              lots of LAKES, lots of beautiful mountain::s,.hhh
357. Mitsuko:     oh:
358. Yoko:        flowers?
359. John:        ↑yeah lots of flowers ⌈hah hah .hhh
360. Mitsuko:                            │oh::::
361. Yoko:                               ⌊hah hah .hhh and (.)
362.              England is famous for roses?
363. John:        ((smacks lips)) yeah.
364. (.)
```

Excerpt 6.3.4.

```
365. Yoko:        is there many ↑roses in England?
366. John:        uh:⌈:
367. Yoko:           ⌊and people like to:: (^) grow grow ↑up (^) the
368.              rose?
369. John:        ye- (^) yeah people t- people grow roses ↑uhm
370.              there are a lot ↑it's the English (.) flower (^)
371.              so uh:::(.) so:: (..)on ↑for example the rugby
372.              team they wear a a rose,⌈on their shirt
373. S?:                                  ⌊hn:::
374. John:        like the Japanese kind of have saku- you know
375.              sakura² it's(^) it's the flower for (^) for England
376.              .hhh uh::m ((clicks tongue))↑yeah they are very
377.              ↓popula:r but I hated roses ⌈°>↑when I was a=
378. S?:                                      ⌊heh:::
379. John:        =kid< I hated roses° because .hhh my mother
380.              loved roses ⌈(^) ↑so in our garden we always=
381. S?:                      ⌊°ye:s°
382. John:        =had lots and lots of rose bushes ⌈(.)and all the=
383. S?:                                             ⌊yeah
384. John:        =way along the wall there were roses, (.) kind of
385.              uh::: (^) and (^)I ↑used to like playing
386.              ↑football ⌈(.) so I would with my friends ⌈(^)
387. S?:                    ⌊un                             ⌊un
388. John:        ↑ I would play football, (.) uh: in the
389.              garden in my::(.)⌈next to my ↑parents' house
390. S?:                           ⌊hah hah
```

---

² *sakura* = cherry blossom

```
391. John:      an:d >we only had a< small garden ↑but it was you
392.            know it was big ↑enough, (.) and (.) but
393.            (^) ↑every time I- I got a new football?
394. S?:        y(h)es hah
395. John:      i- it often after ⌈about a week  ⌈(^)   I kicked the
396. S?:                          ⌊hah hah hah   ⌊un
397. John:      ball against the roses,a- and bang ((mimes a
398.            football exploding)) i- it (^) and it stopped (^)
399.            it stopped so::
400. Yoko:      ⌈hah hah hah
401. Mitsuko:   ⌊hah hah hah
402. Yoko:      hah .hhh b(h)ut ↑maybe, your m(h)other ⌈annoyed at you::
403. John:                                            ⌊hah hah
404.            ⌈Mitsuko:    un
405. John:      ⌊yeah my mother was ⌈uh hah hah .hhh yeah, .hhh
406. Mitsuko:                       ⌊hah hah hah
407. John:      ↑I hated roses, my mother hated footballs
408. Yoko:      hah ⌈hah hah
409. John:          ⌊ s(h)o:: .hhh
410. Mitsuko:       ⌊hah hah hah .hhh=
411. Yoko:      =heh:::
```

TABLE OF TEACHER-PARTICIPANTS

B – 1
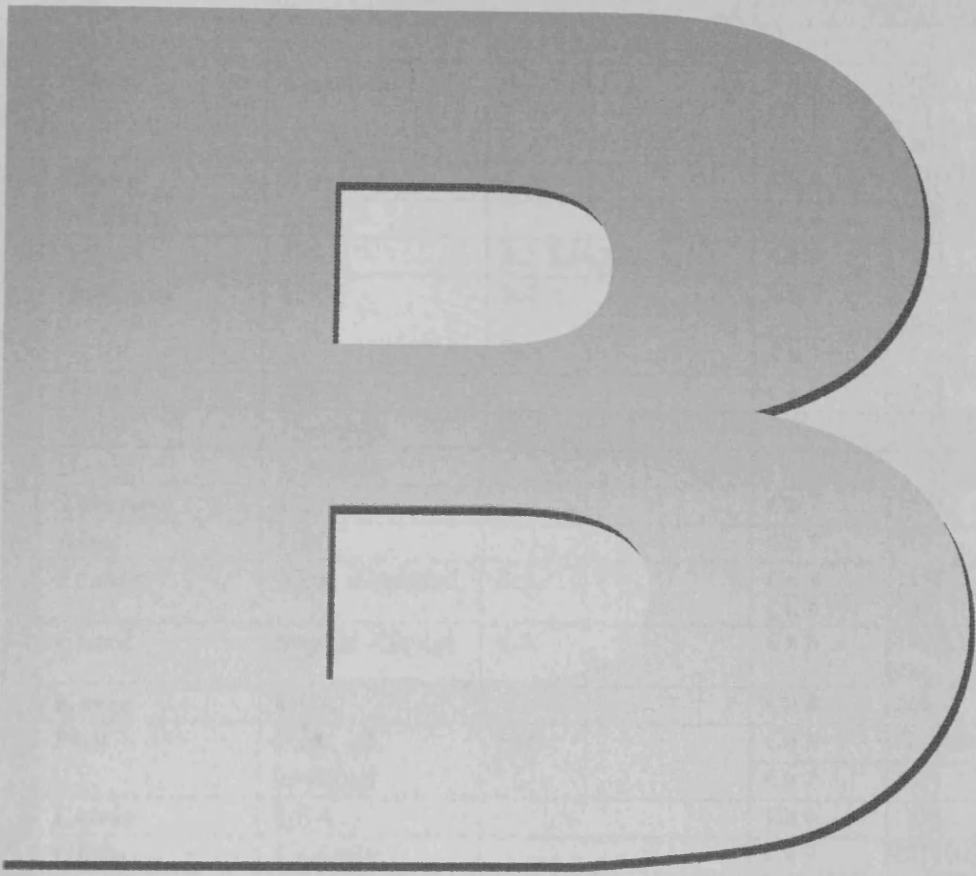
TABLE OF TEACHER-PARTICIPANTS

Ref. no.	Name (Pseudonym)	Country of Origin	Interactional Excerpts	Interview Citations [data position]	
T1.	Matthew	UK			
T2.	Marie	Canada	4.1.1./4.1.2.	Ch 4	[106]
				Ch 5	[35]
				Ch 7	[140~]
T3.	Ethan	Australia	6.2.	Ch 6	[81][173]
T4.	William	USA		Ch 4	[195]
T5.	Alison	USA	4.2.1./4.2.2./ 4.2.3.	Ch 4	[75~]
T6.	Graham	UK	5.2.	Ch 5	[106~][100~] [48~][190~]
				Ch 7	[171~]
T7.	Grant	USA		Ch 5	[35~]
T8.	Gary	Canada			
T9.	Daniel	Canada			
T10.	Terence	USA		Ch 7	[195]
T11.	Alan	UK		Ch 7	[37]
T12.	Fraser	New Zealand	5.1.	Ch 4	[119]
				Ch 5	[70]
T13.	Carol	South Africa	6.1.	Ch 6	[192][72][19] [43]
T14.	Kevin	USA		Ch 6	[160~]
T15.	Phil	Rep. of Ireland	5.4.	Ch 5	[76~][121~]
				Ch 7	[361]
T16.	Lewis	USA		Ch 6	[119]
T17.	Colin	Canada		Ch 7	[28] [109]
T18.	Charlie (f)	Australia		Ch 7	[148~]
T19.	Martin	Australia		Ch 7	[93~]
T20.	Ken	Australia			
T21.	John	UK	6.3.1./6.3.2./6.3.3./ 6.3.4.	Ch 6	[28~][8][61] [21][113]
				Ch 7	[57]
T22.	Liam	UK		Ch 5	[35~]
T23.	Callum	Canada	5.3.	Ch 4	[116~]
				Ch 5	[86] [128~]
T24.	Stuart	UK			
T25.	Andrew	UK		Ch 5	[86]
T26.	Toby	USA			

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Preliminaries

o   Explanation: to reflect on interaction and context
o   Permission to record and use data: participant consent forms
o   Transcript reading time

TOPIC 1: CONVERSATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

⇒   What's your first impression of this conversation/ what do you think of this
     conversation? Anything at all that strikes you?

⇒   How would you describe the conversation (e.g. in terms of topic, style, formal v.
     informal)? If you were to compare it with other conversations, e.g. your friends,
     coworkers, etc.?

⇒   Anything which gives you that general feeling or impression?

TOPIC 2: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERACTANTS

⇒   Can you remember the students at all? Did you know the students at all, before you
     did this activity with them?

⇒   How would you define your relationship with the students when you were speaking to
     them, from your transcript of this activity? How would you describe it (e.g.
     teacher/student, as among friends)?

⇒   Anything which gives you that general feeling or impression?

TOPIC 3: CONSTRAINTS ON INTERACTION

⇒   Do you feel that there were any constraints at all when you were talking to these
     students (e.g. language, topic, recording, activity type, setting)?

⇒   How about the students? Can you imagine that they felt any constraints?

TOPIC 4: TYPICALITY OF INTERACTION

⇒   Do you feel this conversation is kind of typical of conversations you normally have in
     the [conversation lounge], or different (e.g. topic & style of interaction)?

⇒   How about in general, do you think it's typical of teachers' conversations in the
     [lounge] with the students?

TOPIC 5: ASSUMED CONVENTIONS

⇒ When you're talking to students in general do you feel there's any way you're supposed to be speaking or acting? How about on [conversation lounge] duty? (Any way of speaking or acting which you feel is specific to this university setting, or setting in Japan?)

⇒ How about the students? Do you think there's any way they are supposed to speak or act?

⇒ Do you think that's how you both spoke in this example?

TOPIC 6: PERCEPTIONS OF INTERACTANTS

⇒ How do you think students generally perceive you, e.g. when you're on duty?

⇒ Why do you think they have that impression?

⇒ Can you describe the way you think you present yourself? (role/ identity)

⇒ Do you think that's the same in general for other [conversation lounge] teachers, i.e. the way the present themselves and the way they are perceived?

⇒ How about this example (in terms of your self-presentation and students' perceptions)?

TOPIC 7: CONTEXT OF INTERACTION

⇒ If you're talking to the students outside the [conversation lounge], do you think your way of speaking or acting is pretty much the same or different in any way?

⇒ How do you think the students consider the role of ELU teachers compared to that of other teachers and faculty, e.g. :

   o   western teachers in other departments
   o   non-native English speakers, e.g. Japanese teachers of English

⇒ Do you feel the students have certain expectations about you?

⇒ [If yes] Do you think this has a bearing on how you make conversation with them?

TOPIC 8: ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

⇒ Is there anything else you'd like to talk about, related to what we've been discussing?

ASK TEACHERS TO COMPLETE QUESTIONNAIRE

B – 3

TEACHER CONSENT FORM

Preliminary title of research project: Intercultural Pragmatics (PhD thesis)

Researcher: Marion [Nao]

Academic department: Centre for Language and Communication Research;
School of English, Communication and Philosophy;
University of Cardiff, Wales.

Intended period of research: 2004-2007

I _____ ,

(Please print your name)

have given permission for this interview to be recorded and used for the
purpose of research pertaining to the project named above. I have agreed to
participate on the understanding that only the researcher will have access to the
recordings, my name will not be disclosed and any use of direct quotation from
the interview will exclude or replace identifying information.

I hereby also acknowledge having provided the researcher with prior consent to
use the transcribed conversation, which will serve as a prompt for this
interview, for the above-named research project.

Date: _____

Signature of participant: _____

E-mail contact of participant: _____

Signature of researcher:

_____

E-mail contact of researcher: [---]

Questionnaire

Please complete the information and check the boxes which apply.

1. Name: ⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯

2. Age: 21-25 ☐   26-30 ☐   31-35 ☐   36-40 ☐

3. Nationality: ⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯

4. Countries of prior residence (followed by total period of stay)
Example: US (20 years), Taiwan (4 years), Australia (1 year)

5. Total period of residence in Japan: ⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯
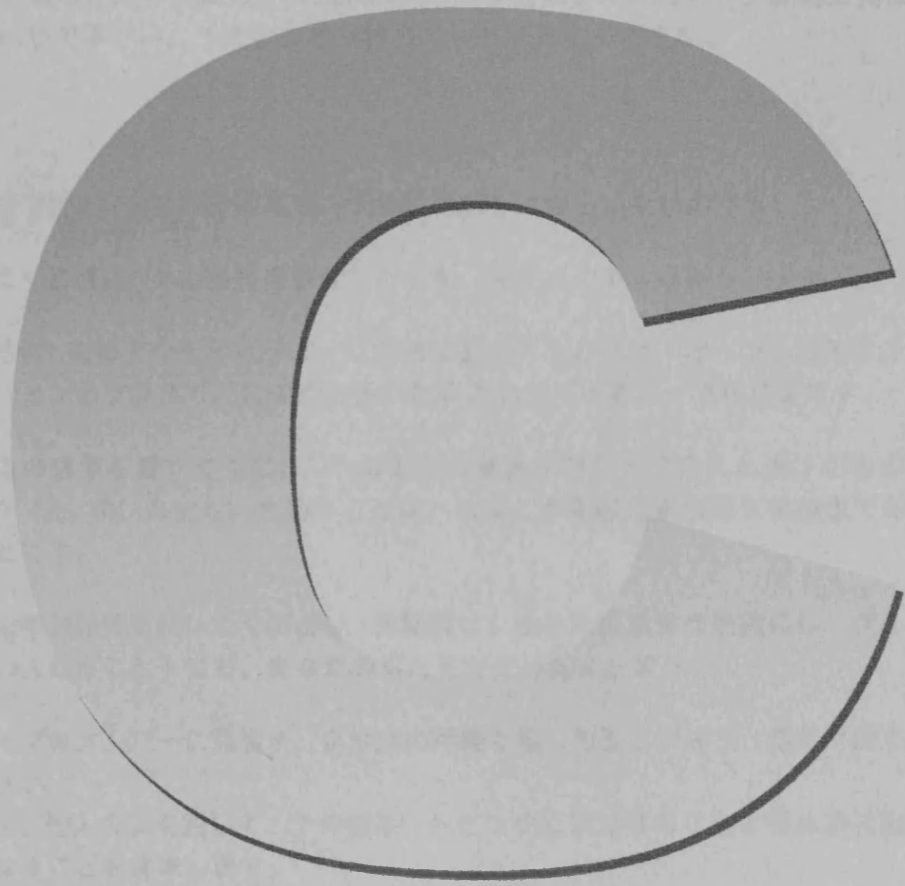
6. Level of spoken Japanese proficiency:

☆ Rudimentary ☐

☆ ☆ Basic conversational ability ☐

☆ ☆ ☆ Functional conversational ability (for everyday purposes) ☐

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ Able to express most things I wish to convey within everyday conversation ☐

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME!

FOCUS GROUP INSTRUCTIONS

アクティビティ・ インストラクション

これからおこなうアクティビティーで必要なことは、「皆さんが授業で日常・普段行っているように、それぞれのグループ内で、意見交換をすることだけ」です。マリオンが渡したカードに書かれた質問について討論してください。絶対に先に問題を見ないで下さい。1度につき1枚のカードを見てください。

注意事項

o 日本語で話す: あなたの考えを、十分に表現してもらいたいのです。

o 卒直に・正直に: その発言を誰がしたかを、突き止める人は誰もいません。

o 積極的に: このアクティビティーに活発に参加することは、オーラルコミュニケーションのクラスで、この次に行われるアクティビティーでも必要です。

o あなたの意見を言ってください: あなたの意見がグループの人と違ったものであっても 構いません。大切なことは、あなたが正直で積極的な参加者であることです。

o あなたの体験談を話してください: 体験談は、あなたの意見を明確にし、グループの人たちにとっても、あなたの考えを分かり易くします。

o グループのメンバーに発言や、自分達の体験を話してもらうよう、働きかけてください:
  これは、他人の目を通して、その話題・トピックに対するあなたの考え方を豊かにすることを意味します。

o 意味が不明瞭の時には、発言者に意味を尋ねて下さい: そうすれば互いの思考回路・考え方についていけるようになります。

o グループメンバーに関連した話題について詳しく述べるようにたずねて下さい:
  グループメンバーの経験に関連した質問をすることで関心を示してください。

o 他の人があげた例に関連して自分の意見を述べてください:
  賛成・反対といったことを示したり、指摘された問題点に答えたりしてください。

　話題から、横道にそれない・はずれないようにしてください。会話に流されない、カードにかかれている質問、そしてそれに関係する話題を論じてください。

FOCUS GROUP INSTRUCTIONS

ACTIVITY INSTRUCTIONS

All you need to do for this activity is to discuss your opinions together with your group members, just as you normally would in class. Please discuss the questions on the cards which Marion has given you. Please don't leaf through them. Just look at one card at a time.

PLEASE NOTE:

o **Speak in Japanese:** I want you to be able to fully express your thoughts.

o **Be frank:** Nobody is going to find out what you *personally* have said.

o **Be active:** Your active participation in this activity is necessary for the follow-up activities in *Oral Communication.*

o **Give your opinions:** It doesn't matter if these differ from your group members. What matters is that you are an honest and active participant.

o **Give examples of your experiences:** These can clarify your opinion and make it easier for others to relate to you.

o **Encourage others to give their opinions and to describe their experiences:**
This means you will be able to enhance your own understanding of the topic through the eyes of others.

o **Ask your group members to clarify when the meaning is unclear:**
This means that everybody will be able to follow one another's line of thinking.

o **Ask your group members to elaborate on relevant topics:** Show an interest in your group members' experiences by asking them relevant questions.

o **Relate and respond to other people's examples:** Show agreement, disagreement, etc., and respond to the points which have been raised.

Stick to the topic. Don't get carried away with the conversation. Please discuss the questions on the cards and topics which are <u>relevant</u> to them.

1.

はじめる前に、機器を確認しましょう。

Before you start, let's check the machine.

- o MDプレイヤーを目の前のテーブルにおきます。

  Put the MD player on the table in front of you.

- o あなたのグループメンバー全員の短い会話を、録音してください。

  Please record a short conversation with your group members.

- o MDをもどして聞いてみてください。

  Please replay the MD.

- o それぞれの声はよく聞こえますか、はっきり聞こえますか。

  Can you hear each voice well and clearly?

- o もし何か問題があれば、マリオンのところに行って聞いてください。

  If you have any problems, go and ask Marion.

それでは録音をはじめてください。

Now start recording.

2.

次のカードに書かれている質問は、[Conversation lounge] Project で、あなたが先生と交わした会話についてです。

The questions written on the following cards are about the conversation you had with the teacher for your [Conversation lounge] Project.

o 自分のトランスクリプト（原稿）をもう一度読んでください。

Please read your transcript once again.

o 読み終わったら、あなたのトランスクリプト（原稿）を裏返してください。

Once you've finished reading, please turn around your transcript.

o 次のカードに進む前に、皆が読み終わるのを待っていてください。

Before you proceed to the next card, please wait until everybody has finished reading.

3.

Q1. [Conversation lounge] Project で、先生と話した体験だけについて討論してください。

Please only discuss your experience of talking to a teacher for your [Conversation lounge] Project.

o 誰と話しましたか（先生のことについて、のべてください。）

Who did you talk to (describe the teacher).

o [Conversation lounge] Project を行う前、どのくらいあなたはその先生を知っていましたか？

Before you did the [Conversation lounge] Project, how well did you know the teacher?

o その活動を行っている間、どのようなことについて話しましたか？

While you were doing this activity, what did you talk about?

o どのように感じましたか、なぜそのように感じたと思いますか？

How did you feel? Why do you think you felt that way?

次に移る前に

Before you proceed

⇨ 皆が自分達の意見・体験を話し合いましたか。

Has everybody discussed their opinion or their experiences?

4.

Q2. あなたが[Conversation lounge] Project で話していた先生との会話のスタイルを、どのように説明しますか？

How would you explain the style of conversation you had with the teacher for the [Conversation lounge] Project?

Q3. 会話を通してその先生と、どのような関係を築けたと思いますか、また、どうしてそのように考えるのですか？

Through the conversation what kind of relationship did you construct with that teacher, and why do you think it was so?

次に移る前に

Before proceeding

1. 皆が自分達の意見・体験を話し合いましたか。

Has everybody discussed their opinions and experiences?

2. このカードのディスカッションの重要な点を要約して下さい。

Summarize the important points of this card's discussion.

5.

あなたのトランスクリプト（原稿）を裏換えして目を通してください。

Please turn around your transcript and look at it.

Q4. そのトランスクリプト（原稿）に、①会話のスタイルと②先生との関係についての説明を裏付けるものがありますか？もしあれば、トランスクリプト（原稿）のテキストから、例を出して下さい。注）①と②、両方のことついて詳しく話してください。

In the transcript, is there any evidence of ① the style of conversation and ② your relationship with your teacher. If so, please draw examples from the transcript. N.B. Please talk specifically about both 1. and 2.

次に移る前に：

⇨ 全員がトランスクリプト（原稿）について話し合いましたか？

Has everybody discussed their transcripts?

もう一度あなたのトランスクリプト（原稿）を裏返してください。

<u>**Please turn your transcript over again.**</u>

6.

Q5. あなたが、[Conversation lounge] Project で話した先生との言葉のやり取りにおいて、何らかの制限するものを感じることはありますか？たとえば、何かあなたが言えなかったことや、できなかったことなど。もしそうなら、なぜそれらを言ったりしたりできなかったと思いますか？

Do you feel that there were any constraints regarding the conversation you had with the teacher you talked to for your [Conversation lounge] Project? For example, things you couldn't say or things you couldn't do. If that is so, why do you think you couldn't say or do them?

Q6. あなたが、[Conversation lounge] Project で話した先生が、あなたとの言葉のやり取りにおいて、何らかの制限するものを感じていたと思いますか？たとえば、先生が言えなかったりとか、することができなかったりとか。もしそうなら、あなたは何故、先生がそれらを言ったりしたりできなかったと思いますか？

Do you think that the teacher you talked with for your [Conversation lounge] Project felt any constraints in their conversation with you? For example, things the teacher couldn't say or do. If that is so, why do you think the teacher couldn't say or do them?

次に移る前に

Before proceeding

1. 皆が自分達の意見・体験を話し合いましたか。

Has everybody discussed their opinions and experiences?

2. 学生や先生が直面しているとあなたが考える"制限するもの"について主なものを要約してください。

Please summarize the main things about the constraints which you think the students and teachers faced.

7.

Q7. あなたのトランスクリプト（原稿）の会話は、[ELU]カンバセーションラウンジで、学生と先生のあいだで交わされる，一種の典型的な会話だったと感じますか？あるいは典型ではなかったと感じますか？
どのような点でそう思いますか？

Do you think that your transcribed conversation is kind of typical of the interaction between students and teachers in the [ELU] conversation lounge, or do you feel that it is atypical? In what kind of ways do you think so?

次に移る前に:

Before proceeding

1. 全員が意見・経験を話し合いましたか？

Has everybody discussed their opinions and experiences?

2. このカードでのディスカッションにおいて最も重要な点について要約して下さい。

Please summarize the main points of this card's discussion.

8.

Q8. 一般的に言って、カンバセーションラウンジに行くとき、学生はどのように①話し、そして
②行動すべきだと思われているように感じますか？（普段、カンバセーションラウンジを利用しない生徒も意見をのべてください。）注) ①と②、両方のことついて詳しく話してください。

Generally, when students go to the conversation lounge, how do you feel they are supposed to 1. speak and 2. behave? (Please explain your opinion even if you don't usually use the conversation lounge.)
N.B. Please talk specifically about both 1 and 2.

Q9. あなたの[Conversation lounge] Project の先生と、話しをしていたとき、このようなやりかたで①話し、そして、
②行動しましたか？ 注) ①と②、両方のことについて詳しく話してください。

When you were talking to the teacher for your [Conversation lounge] Project, in what way did you 1. speak and 2. behave? N.B. Please talk specifically about both 1 and 2.

次に移る前に:

Before proceeding

1. 皆が自分の意見・体験について話し合いましたか？

Has everybody discussed their opinion and experiences?

2. このディスカッションについて最も重要な点について要約してください。

Please summarize the most important points of this card's discussion.

9.

Q10.一般的に言って、あなたは先生が[ＥＬＵ]カンバセーションラウンジで勤務しているとき、どのように①話し、そして②行動すべきだと思われているように感じますか？
注) ①と②、両方のことについて詳しく話してください。

Generally, how do you feel that teachers on duty in the [ELU] conversation lounge are supposed to 1. speak and 2. behave?
N.B. Please talk specifically about both 1 and 2

Q11. あなたの[Conversation lounge] Project の先生が、あなたと話していたとき、そのように①話し、そして②行動していると思いますか。注) ①と②、両方のことについて詳しく話してください。

When your [Conversation lounge] Project teacher was talking to you, do you think they 1. talked and 2. behaved in this way? N.B. Please talk specifically about both 1 and 2

Q12. [Conversation lounge] Project の先生が、あなたについて、どう感じていたと思いますか？

How do you think that your [Conversation lounge] Project teacher felt about you?

次に移る前に:

Before proceeding

1. 皆が自分の意見・体験について話し合いましたか？

Has everybody discussed their opinions and experiences?

2. このディスカッションについて最も重要な点について要約してください。

Please summarize the main points of this card's discussion.

10.

Q13.あなたはシチュエーションにより、学生と先生が同じ・あるいは違う①話し方や②行動をしていると思いますか？

もし：
According to the following situations do you think that the students and teachers 1. speak and 2. act the same or differently?

a．学生が[ＥＬＵ]の先生とカンバセーションラウンジ以外で、話す場合（大学内で）
If students and [ELU] teachers speak outside the conversation lounge (within the university)

b．学生が[ＥＬＵ]以外のネイティブイングリッシュティーチャーと話す場合（英米語学科の先生など）
If students talk to native English teachers who are not in the [ELU] (for example, teachers in the English department)

c．学生が日本人の英語の先生と英語で話す場合。
If students speak in English to Japanese teachers of English.

Q14.何故あなたは前述のa、b、cのそれぞれのシチュエーションで、同じであったり、違っていたりすると思いますか？詳しくのべてください。
Why do you think it is the same or different for each of the aforesaid (a, b, c) situations? Please explain specifically.

次に移るまえに
Before proceeding

1. 皆が自分の意見・体験について話し合いましたか？
Has everybody discussed their opinion and experiences?

2. このカードについてのディスカッションで最も重要な点について要約してください
Please summarize the most important points of this card's discussion.

11.

Q15. これを終了する前に、なにかこのディスカッションについて言っておきたいことがありますか？

Before concluding, is there anything you want to say related to the topic of this discussion?

12.

ご協力ありがとうございました。MD プレーヤーを止めてください。

ペーパー類を封筒にしまい、MDレコード、MDと一緒にマリオンに戻してください。

Thank you for participating. Please stop the MD player. Please put the materials in the envelope and bring them together with the MD player and MD to Marion.

JAPANESE FOCUS GROUP DATA

CHAPTER 3

FG, Card 7, Q7

S1(f)	一般の会話ではないね?
S2(m)	一般の会話では ⌈ないと思う
S3(f)	⌊ない(.) うん　　((同意))
S4(f)	なんでなんで？
S3(f)	最初の方とか ⌈って
S2(m)	⌊あらかじめ、会話をしなくっちゃいけないという決まり
	のもとで
S4(f)	うん　　((同意))
S2(m)	何らかの話しをしようとしているから、普通のカンバセーションじゃな
	いんじゃない？
S4(f)	うん　　((思案))
S1(f)	うん　　((同意))
S3(f)	相手が先生だし
	[...]
S1(f)	えっ　　((思い付く))
	初めてなら、典型的じゃないんじゃない？
S3(f)	あ、あ、((気付く))
S1(f)	回数を重ねれば、それにだんだん近くなってくるけど
	[...]
S2(m)	おまえはどう[S3]?
S3(f)	私は、普通の典型的な会話だと思う、学生と先生の間の、[トビー][1]とう
	ちらではなくて先生と学生、
(.)	
S3(f)	なんでしょ？
S1(f)	えっ、どういうこと？
S3(f)	なんか、よくわからない

---

[1] トビー＝個人名は偽名を使用しています

S4(f)	なんだろう
S3(f)	えっ、典型的じゃない会話ってどおいうこと?
S4(f)	しらじらしいんじゃん?
S3(f)	えっ?そおお((笑))
(.)	
S4(f)	全部が全部そうじゃないけど
S2(m)	そうだね、最後の方はみんな馴れてきて
S4(f)	うん、初めはみんなさ、挨拶して、ホームタウン聞いて
S3(f)	あ ((思案))
S2(m)	あっ、それ典型的じゃん
S4(f)	典型的か?
S1(f)	私も[Conversation lounge]行くと初めはきくな
S3(f)	決まり文句なんじゃない?
S4(f)	うん ((同意/思案))
S1(f)	うん ((同意/思案))
S1(f)	文句じゃないけど、話題が、どこからきたのって
S4(f)	でもその先生が始めてあった先生かで、変わってこない?典型的かっていうのは
S?(f)	うん ((同意))
S4(f)	ね?
S2(m)	典型的って言われれば
S4(f)	典型的だと思うけど
S2(m)	うん ((思案)) わからない、なんか微妙になってきた
S4(f)	じゃあ、重要な点っていうのは、回数を重ねれば、もっとカンバセーション的になってくるよ?でしょ?
全員	((笑))

CHAPTER 4

FG, Card 10, Q14

S2(f)	トレンス[1] と時々、私一緒に食べるんだけど、その時は結構、日本語交じりでしゃべる
S4(f)	うん　((興味))
S2(f)	話したりはするけど、日本語で会話［はしないじゃん
S4(f)	└うんうんうん　((同意))
S2(f)	授業中は、だけど、そういう時は、日本語で「そうなの」とか「そう、何とかなんだよ」とか、［そっちの方が
S4(f)	└うん　((同意))
S2(f)	「話題飛んだね」とか
S1(f)	うんう［ん　((同意))
S4(f)	└うんうん　((同意))
S3(f)	授業以外でなら、日本語交じりの変な会話するよね?
S2(f)	［うん　((同意))
S4(f)	└うん　((同意))
(.)	
S2(f)	それは、場所関係ないよね?
S3(f)	うん、ね　((同意))

---

[1] トレンス＝個人名は偽名を使用しています

CHAPTER 5

FG, Card 5, Q4

S2(f)	さっきの長い文章がそうだったね? こっちの反応も短い文章だったし、なんて言っていいのか分かんなかったから、感嘆詞ぐらいしか出なかったから
Ss	うん ((同意))
S2(f)	「あ」、「うん、うん、」って
Ss	((笑))
(.)	
S3(f)	うちらも一箇所、すごい間が空いたところがあって、5秒ぐらい、[トモコ]が質問して次の会話に続いたんだけど、「点、点、点」
S1(f)	って書いてあったね
S3(f)	うん ((同意))
S1(f)	難しいね
S4(f)	そうすると、ありきたりな質問しか浮かばないよね?
S3(f)	とっさに気の利いたことがでないよね

FG, Card 4, Q2

S1(f)	そうそう、タイミングもあるよね。とりあえず、しゃべり終わるのをまって、終ったら、次ぎ質問しようかなって
S2(f)	うん ((理解))
S1(f)	待って、待ってみたいな感じ
S4(m)	話したことは、質問くらい?
(.)	
S1(f)	うん ((同意))
S4(m),S3(f)	((笑))
S1(f)	あっちから質問してくれないの ⌈ね
S3(f)	⌊あ ((理解))
S1(f)	あなた達はどうなのっていう質問をしてくれないから、
S3(f)	あ ((理解))
S1(f)	だから、聞いて、その答えが終ったら次の質問をしようかなっ、みたいな

S3(f)	うん ((興味))
S1(f)	これって、キャッチボールじゃないよね?
S4(m)	花火を点火して、萎れるって感じだよね
S1,2,3(f)	((笑))
S1(f)	そうそうそう、そんな感じ
S2(f)	「ピュ〜」ってなって(.)　はい終わり
S1(f)	そう、そんな感じ

FG, Card 5, Q4

S1(f)	私達が話題を提供し⌐て
S2(f)	⌐うん
S1(f)	それについて先生がしゃべっている感じがした
S2(f)	そうそう　((同意))
S3(f)	あ　((理解/同意))
S1(f)	質問⌐するのは
S2(f)	⌐だから一方的な感⌐じ
S4(f)	⌐あ、じゃインタビューみたいになってるってこと?
S2(f)	そう、　だよね

FG, Card 8, Q9

S2(f)	でも、目的があるんだったらいいよね
S4(m)	うん、((同意))
S2(f)	これについて話したいなって行って
S3(f)	うん ((同意))
S2(f)	会話が活発⌐に交わせて
S3(f)	⌐そうだよね。うん、((同意))

FG, Card 9, Q10

S2(f)	じゃなくてさ、何を話そうかって言われると詰まっちゃう
Ss	あ（（同意））
S2(f)	何を話していいかわかんなく、なっちゃう
S?(f)	うんうんうん（（同意））
S2(f)	って、なっちゃうから、天気の話でもいいから自然⌈に
S?(f)	自然⌈に
S3(f)	今日はいい天気
	だね?
S2(f)	そうそう、自然に
S?(f)	自然に持って行きたい⌈よね?
S3(f)	{ロンドン}にはこんないい天気はない
	よ、とかね
S2(f)	うん（（同意））
S?(f)	そうそう
S4(f)	そういう感じのね
S1(f)	そうだよ、それにこの時期はもうすぐクリスマスだよ⌈とか
S3(f)	あ、いいじ
	ゃんいいじゃん
S1(f)	そしたらさ、まっ、予定ないけど
Ss(f)	（（笑））
S1(f)	ま、予定はないけど
S3(f)	誰も聞いてな⌈い
Ss(f)	（（笑））
S1(f)	年末近いね、とかいえるじゃん
S2(f)	そうだね
S1(f)	何するのとか
（．）	
S2(f)	だろう⌈ね
S3(f)	だろうね
S4(f)	そんなんだよ
S2(f)	うん、そんな感じだね、あえて言うなら
S1(f)	話でも、⌈行動すべき
S4(f)	プレッシャーをかけないで欲しい
S2(f)	うん、（（同意））
S1(f)	確かに、そうだね
S2(f)	うん（（同意））

CHAPTER 7

FG, Card 8 ,Q8

S1(m)	ある程度準備していく必要はあるよね
S2(m)	ある、ある
S3(f)	うん、((同意))
S1(m)	それは、この前キリスティ[2]が文句を言っていた
S3(f)	なんて？
S2(m)	えっ　((驚嘆))
S1(m)	いきなり来て、話しにきても、あんたのことなにも知らないから話せないんだけどって
S4(f)	へこむ
S1(m)	へこまないだろ、だって、当たり前じゃない
S3(f)	そのとおりです
S2(m)	当たり前です、ハイ
S1(m)	ある程度はね、こおいう事聞きたいとかさ
S3(f)	誰かも言ってた
S1(m)	考えて行かないとだめなんだろうな
S2(m)	うん ((同意)) なんかね、話すにしても書くにしてもね、具体的にね、一点に絞りきった方が、いいと思う。なるべく
S3(f)	うん ((同意))
S1(m)	推考を重ねなければ、散文になってしまう
S2(m)	そう
S4(f)	キリスティはなんか言ってた？　どんなトピックがさ
S1(m)	あ、だから、相手が興味を持ってくれて話してくれないと、話しても
S3(f)	でも今更さ、国とかきかれるのもだるいんでしょ？
S4(f)	うん
S1(m)	なんかいも何回も話しているからね
S2(m)	うん ((理解)) 何か
S3(f)	うん、分かるけど、一年に取っては、ニュウだからね
S4(f)	そうなんだよね
S2(m)	うん ((同情))

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[2] キリスティ＝個人名は偽名を使用しています

	国については、良くありがちなことだろうね?
S4(f)	うん ((同意))
S1(m)	あの人達はね
S2(m)	うん、もっと新鮮なことについて聞いて欲しいんだと

Student Consent Form

I _____ ,

(Please write your **full** name, e.g. Keiko Takahashi)

agree that Marion [Nao] can use the work I have completed during the second semester of *Oral Communication*, at [name of university], for her personal research on student-teacher communication.

The research may include:

1. MD recordings and transcripts of my conversation with a teacher on [conversation lounge] duty (as part of the [*ELU*] *Project*).

2. MD recordings of my discussion with other students about the conversation in no. 1.

3. The questionnaire I completed.

I understand that nobody except for Marion [Nao] and her research assistant(s) will listen to any recordings and that my name will not be used.

Date: _____

Student's signature: _____

Researcher's signature: _____

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

[Conversation lounge] QUESTIONNAIRE

This is for me to gain background information on the class. It's not a test, so please answer honestly.

Name:

Check one of the boxes for each of the following questions ☐

1. Sex: ☐ Female ☐ Male

2. Age: ☐ 19 ☐ 20 ☐ 21 ☐ 22 ☐ 23+

3. Have you ever been to an English-speaking country, e.g. Canada, US, UK, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand?

☐ Yes (If you have checked this box, please answer question 4.)

☐ No (If you have checked this box, please skip question 4 and go to question 5.)

4. Please list the countries and length of stay:

COUNTRY	LENGTH OF STAY
	(Total amount of time you have spent in that country. Please don't list separate visits to the same country.)

5. How frequently on average do you visit the [Conversation lounge & location] ?

☐ 1.   ☐ 2.   ☐ 3.   ☐ 4.   ☐ 5.   ☐ 6.

1. Very frequently	2. Frequently	3. Quite frequently	4. Sometimes	5. Rarely	6. Never
(Twice or more than twice a week)	(About once a week)	(About once every two or three weeks)	(About once a month)	(About once or twice a semester)	Ø

Answer the following question:

6. What do you think the main purpose of the [Conversation lounge & location] is? You may list more than one thing.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____