

NEGOTIATION FOR MEANING AND SCAFFOLDING TECHNIQUES:
AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN NNS JAPANESE STUDENTS
AND NS ENGLISH INSTRUCTORS IN A SEMI-INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

by

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Abstract

This three-article dissertation study examines one-on-one conversations between Japanese students of English and American English-speaking instructors in a semi-institutional setting. These students, who were in the U.S. for one month on a short-term study abroad program, engaged in weekly conversations with instructors as part of an ESL center's Student Help Hours Program. The SHH is a conversation program held in the student lounge, and it is designed to make trained native speakers available to answer questions about homework and hold discussions on language, culture, and various other topics. Specifically, this study combines the frameworks of Conversation Analysis (CA) and scaffolding theory in conjunction with student surveys to shed light on students' strategies to negotiate for meaning (NfM), instructors' focus on form (FonF), and overall perceptions of program efficacy. The aim of the first article is to understand how low-intermediate to intermediate level Japanese students use confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks, known as 3C, to successfully initiate repair on semantic, phonetic, and morphosyntactic trouble sources in conversation. A critical aspect of this analysis is the paralinguistic features students use to first identify the existence of trouble and the role of nonverbal behavior and gaze as they impact repair initiation. The second article explores how NS instructors of American English use self- and other-modification in addition to initiation-response-feedback/evaluation (IRF/E) to scaffold students on gaps and holes in their understanding of English. While three-turn sequences such as IRF/E and other predetermined instructional sequences have been criticized as inauthentic (Hall, 1995; Ohta, 1995; Kasper, 2001), my research shows higher incidences of reduced forms used in the context of semi-casual conversation. Two-turn, initiation-response (IR-only) sequences as well as self- and other-modifications of vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar were used as more subtle instructional techniques. These data reflect persisting orientations to institutional roles as participants engage in discussions of repair, but they also show the relevance of IR and IRF/E techniques to SLA via modified output. The third article uses a combination of student responses on exit surveys and conversational excerpts to evaluate the efficacy of the SHH program. It reveals mainly positive conceptions of the program and makes recommendations for improvements. The findings of this research provide a complete picture of the complex relationship between student, instructor, and institution. It has implications for second language acquisition (SLA), pedagogy, and program administration.

CHAPTER I: 3-ARTICLE DISSERTATION INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this three-article dissertation was located at the intersection of short-term study abroad programs (STSA) and the implementation of an ESL center's Student Help Hours (SHH) Program, which brings ESL students together with trained native speakers of American English. Because of the tendency of STSA programs to keep monocultural groups together for classes, events, and weekend excursions, their limited exposure to native speakers and, subsequently, opportunities to use their L2 English, were a point of concern. Each year, the Center for English as a Second Language (CESL) hosts several groups of STSA students in a

month-long program called the American Studies Program (ASP); the majority of these groups come from universities in Japan. In summer of 2015, a group of fifteen Japanese students joined this program, and due to the aforementioned concern, the coordinators arranged to have these students attend SHH weekly as a requirement of the program. Originally, the focus of this study was on the substance of the students' one-on-one conversations with their instructors in English. Using Conversation Analysis (CA) both as an approach and as a tool, their multiple exchanges were audio and video recorded, transcribed, and studied for patterns of use. An in-depth examination of those NS/NNS exchanges quickly revealed several avenues of interest relevant to second language acquisition (SLA), pedagogy, and program administration resulting in the present 3-article dissertation.

During their conversations with instructors, the students exhibited difficulty using English in both productive and receptive skills, which can be attributed to several factors. First, Japanese and English are typologically different languages, so there was interest in the effects of transfer from L1 Japanese on L2 English use. Another source of difficulty for the students was their proficiency level. When they first entered the ASP, which integrates students with CESL's Intensive English Program (IEP), they were given a placement exam, which determined that this particular group of students had a proficiency ranging from low-intermediate to intermediate. As a result, communicative challenges also arose from their limited knowledge of English lexical items, pronunciation, and structural patterns. A third factor which seemed to influence the quality and amount of language production between conversational co-participants was the institution itself. Although the goal of the SHH exchanges was casual conversation with a native speaker of English, the participants were often observed orienting to their institutional roles of student or instructor through shifts in language use at the onset of communicative difficulty. Specifically, as gaps and holes surfaced in the students' understanding of English use, instructors often assumed the role of knowledgeable authority while conducting error corrections. At the same time, the students were often relegated to the more passive role of recipient. Due to these frequent shifts, conversational exchanges within the SHH are best described as semi-casual and semi-institutional. In brief, where difficulty in comprehension occurred, the smooth flow of conversation was interrupted, and this happened with such high frequency that it became the focal point of interest for this study.

Before entering into an explanation of how this analysis grew into three threads of inquiry, it is necessary to discuss how CA views difficulty in conversation. One of the fathers of CA, Emanuel Schegloff (1987), has defined *trouble* in conversation as “misarticulations, malapropisms, use of a ‘wrong’ word, unavailability of a word when needed, failure to hear or to be heard, trouble on the part of the recipient in understanding, or incorrect understanding by recipient” (p. 210). When a trouble source arises in conversation, the co-participants may choose to ignore it; however, if the trouble source adversely impacts understanding of the message to such a degree that it must be rectified, then a process of *repair* must be initiated on that source. *Initiation* requires one of the participants to use “identifiers of repair including cut-offs (sound stretches, delaying spacers), frames (reissued words or sounds), silences and delays (pauses), apologetic terms, repair prefaces (words like “well” or “I mean”), repeats, multiple tries (returns to trouble source), and self-talk (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 239-41) to draw attention to potential sources of misunderstanding. If these attempts to draw attention to a trouble source are successful, then repair begins, and in the process, it creates what Jefferson (1972) has described as a *side sequence*. It has received this name because the main thread of talk must be put aside until the trouble source can be effectively identified and resolved. For this reason, repair, whether initiated by the speaker or recipient of talk, adversely impacts the smooth flow of talk known as *progressivity* or *contiguity*. Despite the interruption to progressivity that repair entails, it is a commonplace occurrence in everyday conversation, is normally dealt with in an efficient manner, and rarely results in total *breakdown*, or the failure to reach understanding on a source of trouble. In addition, the existence of trouble and necessity for repair in conversation should not be viewed negatively. Particularly in NS/NNS conversations, the existence of trouble as identified by student participants and the repair provided by the instructors generate opportunities for learning, and in many instances, practice of new linguistic forms and items.

The first article in this dissertation explores the various strategies the Japanese students used to negotiate for meaning (NfM). This concept is best described through Long’s (1980, 1981) seminal work on confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks. These range from repetitions of previous utterances using rising intonation (for confirmation checks) to declarative questions/statements about meaning, such as “I don’t understand” (for clarification requests) and even questions from the speaker to the listener about understanding, such as “You know what I mean?” (for comprehension checks). Questions and statements about

the meaning of conversation are important because they often serve as repair initiation tools themselves, but meaning constitutes only half of the picture. Not long after he devised the concept of NfM, Long (1991) introduced focus on form (FonF) as it relates to conversations between NNS participants. Early studies on this topic were relevant to the implementation of communicative language teaching in the context of the ESL classroom. While it was found that NNS rarely attempted to initiate repair by their peers in an ESL setting, other-repair was found to occur frequently in NS/NNS talk (Long, 1983; Varonis and Gass, 1985; Hosoda, 2000; Schegloff, 2007; Kitzinger, 2013). Considering NfM and 3C as a collection of strategies from which a conversational co-participant can choose to begin the process of repair, and the potential it carries to result in FonF is one interesting aspect of this study. The first article also explores the concept of successful repair initiations as those which actually result in attempts at repair.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the first article is the question of whether and to what degree nonverbal behavior influences attempts at repair initiation. Long's (1983) early definitions of 3C claim that "when describing linguistic input, therefore, we are considering only the forms that the learner hears; analysis of interaction means describing the functions of those forms in (conversational) discourse" (p. 127). This definition highlights the importance of the verbal dimension of conversation, but it also overlooks the potential of multimodal aspects of expression. In the decades that followed, CA researchers have noted the significant role which multimodality, or embodiment, plays in the communication of meaning in conversation (Schegloff, 2000; Kendon, 2000; Health & Luff, 2013). In this article, I examine how the students use various aspects of nonverbal behavior including gaze, gesture, and other moves, such as head shakes/tilts, raised eyebrows, lean-ins, and facial expressions. Discovering which of these is combined with specific 3C and whether they're more or less successful at initiating repair is a critical goal of this study because if the initial definition of an approach is incomplete, the research it is based upon will also suffer. Quantitatively, frequency counts of 3C and nonverbal behavior explain which strategies were preferred for specific types of trouble. Qualitatively, I present excerpts of conversation to shed light on contextual use and what it means for the participants' orientation to their institutional roles when repair is needed. Of course, analyzing the students' communicative strategies only provides a partial picture of these exchanges.

Where the first article focuses on students' language use when trouble arose in conversation, the second article explores instructors' strategies, not only for checking meaning, but also for scaffolding students. Similar to the first article, this study also measures instructors' use of 3C to initiate repair as a comparative, but it also seeks to understand how this is relevant to SLA and teaching. A common pedagogical strategy used by language teachers for the purpose of making input more comprehensible is the modification of one's own speech. Instructors often make adjustments to the language they produce in the classroom to, as Krashen (1980, 1982) purports in his Input Hypothesis, ensure the language which students are exposed to reaches the $i+1$ level where they are consistently challenged by the input, but not overwhelmed. Modifications to one's speech can take many different forms. For example, instructors may modify the language they produce preemptively to head off any potential misunderstanding; they may also retroactively simplify a previously stated utterance which was believed to be too complex for the learner. Both types of self-modification involve reducing the complexity of lexical items, slowing the rates of production, and simplifying the use of certain grammatical forms. In other words, instructors modify the output of lexical, phonetic, and morphosyntactic *knowledge systems* to increase comprehensibility. Also, in exchanges with students, they often provide error corrections on these same systems, known as other-modification (Foster, 1998). Unfortunately, as Swain (1985) claims, input alone is not sufficient for language acquisition.

Another common pedagogical strategy instructors use to enhance language acquisition is through structured practice of pre-modified output; this formalized approach to language production is known as Initiation-Response-Feedback/Evaluation (IRF/E). Numerous studies have listed IRF/E as one of the defining aspects of classroom talk, a subset of institutional talk. This strategy, as with other types of institutional talk, has been criticized for being highly structured, and as a result, overly constraining and lacking in authenticity. For example, Skilton and Meyer (1993) have criticized this three-part sequence because it "sustains the power hierarchy, giving the 'subordinates' (most often students) less control over the conversation, and fewer opportunities to ask their own questions" (p. 82). Arguments about authenticity assume that such exchanges only occur within the context of the language classroom and are not useful beyond it. In the second article, I also seek an answer to the question of whether and to what degree IRF/E instructional techniques are employed by the ESL teachers in semi-casual conversation. As in the first article, 3C, modifications to knowledge systems, and instances of

IRF/E were all quantified to highlight their frequency of use, and conversational excerpts were analyzed qualitatively using CA conventions to understand more about their contexts of use. In addition, this second article applies scaffolding theory (Wood, et al., 1976) to measure the effectiveness of IRF/E toward getting students to produce modified output within sequences of repair. In other words, this study seeks to uncover whether error corrections result in an overt FonF, which in turn, creates opportunities for practice of new language forms even within the context of semi-casual conversation.

The third article of this dissertation considers the broader scope of the SHH Program as a mandatory aspect of STSA programs. Research shows that STSA programs are on the rise as a more economical and practical alternative to long-term study abroad programs to/from the U.S. (Engle and Engle, 2003; Dwyer, 2004; Clark, et al., 2009). Shortening the length of exposure to the host culture and language makes meeting the linguistic goals of students more challenging. While the concept of language tables exists at numerous ESL institutions across America, these are often run by graduate and undergraduate university students. The help hours which CESL organizes in the space of the student lounge are a relatively novel attempt to increase ESL students' exposure to trained native speakers while simultaneously making more effective use of instructors' office hours. Conversations on academic matters, such as language and culture, are encouraged, but discussions on a wide range of topics are also frequent. Previous research on classroom talk has largely focused on interaction within the classroom itself, but few have attempted to study student-teacher interactions beyond that context. This article uses a combination of student responses to survey questions and excerpts of overt program references taken from their conversations with instructors to reveal perceptions about program efficacy. Consistent with the previous articles, CA conventions are used to explore why certain exchanges are considered more successful than others. I use these data points to make recommendations not only for the improvement of the SHH program at CESL, but also for the implementation of similar programs at other ESL institutes in the U.S.

Purpose of the Study

Collectively, this three-article dissertation attempts to understand the process of meaning negotiation at the onset of trouble and repair in semi-casual conversation between Japanese STSA students and their American English-speaking instructors. By using CA in a mixed-

methods approach, it is possible to reveal the subtle nuances and deeper complexities of which natural language use is comprised. In support of a mixed-methods approach, Foster and Ohta (2005) argue that the “selection of categories for quantification is viewed as sacrificing the whole for the sake of the partial picture that may not only apply to any real-world situation. When interactions are reduced to tables and figures, other researchers are left without a way to see what really transpired or validate findings for themselves” (p. 403). For example, if one of the NfM strategies is found to occur with greater frequency, but another is found to be more “successful” in the initiation of repair, a micro-analysis of the conversational turn space should reveal why this discrepancy exists. Since the resolution of trouble in NS/NNS conversation is contingent upon success of repair initiation, this process is crucial not only to advance the progressivity of talk in general, but also to achieve understanding in L2. Beyond the repair of trouble sources in conversation, these side sequences serve as opportunities for students to NfM and FonF to expand their linguistic domains of knowledge. This research not only informs SLA and use, it also explores the notion of covert pedagogy through the analysis of instructors’ reduced forms of IRF/E and modifications to produced speech. If students determine that certain aspects of the SHH Program are successful in helping them to achieve their goals of linguistic development while in the U.S. on STSA, they provide a roadmap for other ESL programs hoping to recreate similar programs at their own institutions.

Overall Research Questions:

- **Article 1:** When speaking in English, what NfM strategies do Japanese STSA students use with instructors of American English, and which strategies are most successful at initiating repair on sources of trouble in conversation?
- **Article 2:** How do instructors of American English use techniques (including IRF/E and self-/other-modification) to scaffold Japanese students’ understanding of English lexical, phonetic, and morphosyntactic trouble sources?
- **Article 3:** How successful did the Japanese students perceive the SHH Program to be in meeting their linguistic goals, and what improvements could be made to enhance program efficacy?

CHAPTER II: 3-ARTICLE DISSERTATION CONCLUSION

Conversation is the primary vehicle through which social interaction occurs, and close examination of its co-construction provides us insight into the interconnectivity between micro- and macro-social factors. Analysis of discussions between native and nonnative speakers reveals useful discoveries about how meaning is negotiated when misunderstanding occurs. It also shows that the process of negotiation exists as a resource for learning and expanding one's domain of linguistic knowledge through conscious focus on form. This is especially evident in conversations between low-proficiency language students and their instructors. The point of departure for this study is the question of whether and to what degree students and instructors alike orient to their institutional roles when speaking outside of the classroom in a semi-casual context. Where trouble in meaning or form exists and repair is necessitated, orientation to institutional identities is more marked. Close observations of shifts in language use at the sites of repair uncover important discoveries about how language learners negotiate for meaning, how instructors scaffold them, and how effective conversation programs are at meeting the needs and expectations of the students.

The first article of this dissertation observed NfM strategies Japanese STSA students use with instructors of American English, and determined which strategies were more successful at initiating repair on sources of trouble in conversation. While confirmation checks were the strategy used most frequently by students to NfM, a micro-analysis of the conversational turn space showed that there was a greater tendency to couple nonverbal behavior with clarification requests, and this 3C strategy, in particular, was highly successful in initiating repair. It was also surprising that confirmation checks classified as "unsuccessful" were often found in the turn space prior to clarification requests that were coupled with nonverbal moves. Specifically, nonverbal moves which served to focus the gaze of co-participants, such as head tilts, lean-ins, eyebrow raises, and other head-centric movements, were strong indicators of the existence of trouble and emphasized the need for repair. Perhaps this is because, as Rossano (2013) notes, "in contexts where gaze is not withdrawn, sequences are expanded until they can be closed in absence of interactants' gaze. If both participants keep looking, they are expanded in 95% of the cases" (p. 320). In NS/NNS conversations, particularly where the NNS participants have a lower proficiency in the target language, the nonverbal dimension of talk is a significant resource for communicating understanding or the lack thereof. CA studies of NS/NNS talk should

consider embodiment as a major facet of meaning making in conversation. As a result, this first article calls for a revision to the existing definitions of 3C to incorporate nonverbal behavior. Numerous researchers have made nods to the importance of multimodality, but until the concrete definitions of NfM are revised, subsequent studies on NS/NNS talk may overlook this critical dimension. It's central to our understanding of talk in interaction, or as Health and Luff (2013) argue, "the characteristics of...embodied action, its co-production and the ways in which it informs subsequent activity, provide a vehicle for reflecting upon the ways in which this form of institutional or organizational activity is accomplished" (p. 299).

The second article focused on instructors of American English and the techniques (including IRF/E and self-/other-modification) they used to scaffold Japanese students' understanding of English lexical, phonetic, and morphosyntactic trouble sources. By viewing IRF/E not as an absolute but as existing on a continuum, it was found that in conversations with students, the instructors used a covert technique (IR-only) to scaffold students' English use. Instances of both IR-only and IRF/E often grow out of side-sequences of repair, suggesting that the existence of trouble in NS/NNS conversation is also viewed as an opportunity to FonF and produce modified output of new linguistic items and forms. According to Ellis (1984), "the most valuable input occurs during 'side-sequences', when the teacher deviates from the primary goal to deal with other issues" (p. 105). Although FonF and highly structured techniques such as IRF/E have been criticized as inauthentic, the fact remains that language acquisition is a comparatively conscious process for adults. Ohta (1999) has argued that "clearly, interactional routines of the classroom have a profound impact upon acquisition of the adult learner." Of course, the conversations which occurred between instructors and their students in the SHH can't be classified as classroom talk, and this is why it is essential that we conceive of IRF/E on a spectrum. When IR-only and IRF/E were compared using scaffolding theory as a measure, the similar number of features applied to both sequences suggest a comparable effectiveness in facilitating SLA. With the greatest proportion of these sequences identified in the IR-only category, the casual observer might be led to conclude that IRF/E three-turn sequences are a feature specific to the classroom. However, the findings of article two make the case for user agency and flexibility of structured routines. By downsizing the structure of IRF/E to IR-only, instructors tailored the routine to fit the tone of the speaking situation, which in this case, was semi-casual conversation with low-intermediate to intermediate-level students.

The third article of this dissertation centered on the efficacy of the SHH Program in meeting students' linguistic goals while in the U.S. on a brief, month-long study abroad program. While the SHH Program as a whole was perceived to be moderately effective in meeting students' goals, the idea of access to trained native speakers outside the classroom was highly valued. Analysis of students' language use and their comments from the survey revealed that the level of interest instructors expressed in the students' language and culture was commensurate with their level of participation in conversations. Productive displays of language use are efficient at surfacing gaps and holes in students' knowledge of English. More active participation in the SHH conversations is preferred because, as Canagarajah (2007) notes, "we have to consider the collaborative nature of communication and linguistic negotiation in assessing the meaning and significance of interaction" (p. 928). In a strictly classroom setting, students have limited access to direct feedback from the instructor on issues of accurate use, but in the one-on-one type of speaking situation the SHH provides, students gain full access on a weekly basis. Because of the positive reception that students expressed and the level of benefit it offers toward helping STSA students attain their linguistic goals, article three recommends implementation of similar programs at other U.S. institutions. With the number of STSA programs on the rise as a low-cost alternative to long-term programs, this administrative response is an important step toward meeting the changing needs of our international students.

Collectively, the goal of this three-article dissertation was to increase the scope of the lens through which NS/NNS interaction is viewed. The micro-social moves of the individual reveal a great deal about the influence of the institution on interaction. Of course, increasing the scope of our analysis of micro-social behaviors and macro-social identities is not a simple process. In many cases, it requires mixed-methods approaches to data analysis, and it necessitates consideration of the multimodal aspects of talk. On the surface, a multi-faceted analysis such as this has potential to confound the direction of research, especially when it comes to blending theoretical approaches. Since its inception, countless CA researchers and transcribers have noted that natural language use is a messy business indeed; it requires several tools for analysis and various considerations. For example, in this study we have witnessed Japanese students using 3C to NfM on aspects of linguistic input they had difficulty comprehending. Now, if the analysis were to end here, we would have located only a single piece of the puzzle of NS/NNS interaction. Delving deeper, we have seen how the instructor

participants in this study modified their speech, the language produced by the students, and then turned the existence of trouble and the necessity for repair into multiple opportunities for practice of new language. This is not to say that all trouble results in repair or that all repair sequences result in structured practice, but it does make the case for its *potential*. The potential for trouble to turn into learning opportunities was found to be impacted by a multitude of factors from the type of linguistic trouble (lexical v. morphosyntactic) to the type of topic (familiar v. unfamiliar), and these were affected by interest. The ability of the NNS students to speak on a given topic at length was dependent upon their proficiency level; it was also dependent upon the instructors' level of expressed interest and their ideas about the purpose of SHH. However, once the students took the floor for extended periods of talk (sequences of explaining and storytelling), the aforementioned potential increased exponentially. In other words, the ability to speak at length requires both a topic-based domain of knowledge *and* the linguistic domain through which the topic can be discussed, and this places the NNS at a distinct disadvantage.

Asymmetrical power relationships like those discussed here create somewhat of a pedagogical conundrum. Where conversation can be used as a tool for learning, potential and progressivity are found to be in a state of conflict. In his discussion of grammar in interaction, Hayashi (2005) describes this as “tension which is created by the desire to advance the progressivity of talk and the need to engage in reference negotiation” (p. 463). Since the essential goal of SHH was for students to enjoy conversation with their instructors, the main activity of talk was maintaining its progressivity. Repair as a side activity is enough of a threat to progressivity by itself, but interruptions to the smooth flow of talk become even more pronounced with extended spates of modification in IR and IRF/E sequences. In other words, pausing students' ongoing production of English, while necessary to achieve comprehension in the short term, could be viewed as harmful to their long-term willingness to seize the floor and take their turn at talk. To illustrate this, Carrier (1999) claims that “comprehensible input is important for language acquisition, and NfM within conversations is an important way to achieve comprehension. However, one of the barriers to negotiation within conversations is unequal status in the relationship between the interlocutors” (p. 75). The tension that arises from conversation as a pedagogical tool seems to suggest that SHH conversations are both a solution and a problem. As trouble sources are surfaced, the instructor orients to his or her identity of authority on language, and students are relegated to more passive roles. But this observation

fails to consider the *negotiation* aspect of NfM. In dealing with trouble sources in conversation, the Japanese students were not only negotiating the meaning of an unfamiliar lexical item or grammatical pattern, they were also learning *how* to negotiate in English. In the process of NfM and FonF, they are building their meta-linguistic awareness as well as their pragmatic competence, and these are indispensable steps on the path to increasing proficiency.

This study has made the argument that the SHH Program is a bridge between the more structured language use of the classroom environment and the purely natural language use of everyday conversation with native English-speakers outside of the institution. It is in that middle ground that risks may be taken and direct discussions about contextual language use are both expected and accepted. Kasper (1997) supports the notion of teaching communicative competence when she states that “in order to increase our students’ pragmatic competence, we must challenge them with activities aimed at raising students’ pragmatic awareness and activities offering opportunities for communicative practice” (p. 114). The type of semi-institutional, one-on-one interaction observed in the SHH Program is one way to achieve construction of this awareness. Though their discussions with teachers, these Japanese students located gaps and holes in their knowledge of English and discovered which 3C were most effective at initiating repair. These are strategies that could be applied in a variety of other speaking situations beyond the scope of the institution. In the SHH conversations, we have seen how linguistic performance is an excellent resource for the use of mastered language patterns and for the discovery of new and emerging concepts. Raising awareness of those same concepts informs students’ overall communicative competence in English.

Because the SHH Program creates a bridge between the structure of the ESL classroom and casual English-speaking situations beyond the institution, it supports learner autonomy. In their SHH interactions with instructors, everyday conversation served the additional function of a language-learning resource. Trouble was frequently identified with varying degrees of success, and in several cases, modified language forms were produced. When engaged in NS/NNS conversations outside of the institution, these students will have greater practice in *how* to discuss trouble sources in English. In their research on peer assistance, Foster and Ohta (2005) concluded that “interactional processes including NfM and various kinds of assistance and repair are among the many ways learners gain access to the language being learned” (p. 426). As teachers and administrators, giving our students full access to a range of linguistic resources

should be a common goal, as it would have benefits for both the institution and the individual. From a broader perspective, the repair these students discussed and assistance they received in the SHH model provide a type of training for future interactions. Their one-on-one exchanges with native speakers in SHH encouraged them to seek additional opportunities to converse with other highly proficient speakers of the English language. In fact, during the final week, several students requested advice from their instructors about how to continue receiving English practice “like this” after the program was complete and they returned home. Through the application of strategies tested in the SHH, they will be more comfortable viewing trouble as less of a flaw in their knowledge of English and more of a potential for learning. Positive conceptions about language use are what is needed to motivate students further down the path of acquisition. Taking charge for the responsibility of learning by setting realistic goals is one of the hallmarks of learner autonomy. Whether they actually continue to seek opportunities to practice English beyond their STSA program is the subject of another study.

Supporting learner autonomy is particularly important for STSA students. The competence they gain transcends their SHH interactions because, as various bodies of research have indicated, English is currently the undisputed language of science, technology, international publication, and academic communication (Altbach, 1998; Nunan, 2003; Tsuneyoshi, 2005). Communicative competence in another language is a symbol of individual significance at a global level. For many international students, study abroad, whether short-term or long term, is the first step towards realizing the level of importance these experiences play in their lives. As Peirce (1995) puts it best, “it is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to--or is denied access to--powerful social networks” (p. 13). While the Japanese students’ exchanges in SHH constitute only a fraction of the access needed to negotiate the whole, their participation is an additional investment in the self which draws upon and regenerates their social world.

Programs like SHH can potentially enhance communicative competence through offering STSA students access to proficient members of the speech community, while at the same time, recognizing their complex interests and evolving social identities. As global, economic, and political forces continue to shape the implementation of programs like study abroad, institutions must also reshape their approach to addressing the needs of its students by offering additional

opportunities for social interaction. While some of the institutional aspects of these conversations are viewed as potentially constraining due to their structured practices, we have also observed them to be excellent opportunities for linguistic development amongst multiple other social and personal benefits. This process begins with a seed of conversation between individuals from differing cultures, and it carries the promise of growth through continued interaction on the international stage.

Directions for Future Research

In addition to everything that has been discussed here, this study provides several additional avenues for future research. The first is related to proficiency. The student participants of this study were of a low-intermediate to intermediate range proficiency. Replicating this research on high-proficiency Japanese study abroad students, or international students with long-term objectives, would be an excellent way to test how 3C use shifts with changes in language level. The fact that so few comprehension checks were used by the student participants suggests that they did not hold the floor of conversation very often. On the other hand, students of a higher proficiency would possess a broader linguistic domain of knowledge through which to discuss a range of topics. One wonders whether the use of confirmation checks would be so prolific at their level. It is not the practice of CA to make hypotheses prior to observing the conversational data, but it would be interesting to see how frequencies and types of 3C shift at higher levels of use.

Another very interesting issue, which was mentioned briefly in the second article, was the differing range of instructors' ages and experience in the field of ESL. Specifically, there were 2 instructors aged 20-29, 4 aged 30-39, 4 aged 40-49, and 4 aged 50-60. Certain instructors in the more experienced category relied more heavily on structured techniques of IR and IRF/E in their treatment of trouble sources. This may be due to their increased exposure to more traditional forms of instruction. It could also symbolize their tendency to orient more strongly toward their institutional role of instructor stemming from preconceived notions of age and authority. Additional data is needed on the relationship between age and IRF/E use incorporating the spectrum-based approach that this study supports.

One additional finding which requires verification is instructors' use of what I have come to call "double-/multi-question barrages." Self-modification to reach a low-intermediate

student's $i+1$ level requires considerable effort on behalf of the interlocutor. It's a move which involves conscious revision to multiple knowledge systems through the simplification of one's grammar, lexical choice, and pronunciation. While this is a move most experienced instructors are accustomed to making, something about the semi-casual setting of the SHH conversations seemed to have posed a unique challenge. As a result, instructors frequently found themselves revising down the questions they were posing to the student. Several similarities were observed in the context of these multi-question barrages. For one, they often occur following an instructor's (sometimes lengthy) turn at talk. Also, the questions themselves were often designed to shift the topic of conversation in one direction or another. Perhaps the simultaneous shift in floor and topic of conversation created an overload effect for the students. Another likely explanation is that the students struggled with parser overload. With so many versions of the same question coming at them at once, it must have been difficult to locate the central topic they were expected to address. Students' responses to these multi-question barrages seem to support the latter because the 3C they elected to use overwhelmingly in these cases was the confirmation check, or repetition of a previously uttered word or interrogative phrase, extracted from one of the previous questions, and spoken with a rising intonation.

This finding is a uniquely curious one because of the implications it has for pedagogy and talk in interaction in general. If the instructor's goal in a multi-question barrage is to revise down the complexity of speech to make input more comprehensible, then it should follow that the original question, in its revised form, should already be easier to answer. Unfortunately, this was not the case. In fact, the occurrence of multiple questions in the same turn seemed to create more trouble than it was designed to avoid. Should we attempt to increase instructors' awareness of this behavior to avoid replicating it both in the classroom and in conversation? More data on instructors' use of multi-question barrages with students both in and out of the classroom would help to answer this question, but it raises yet another. What other counterproductive self-modifications do instructors use in their attempts to avoid trouble in conversation? The identification of these would inform studies on institutional talk and pedagogy immensely.

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APPENDIX A: ARTICLE 1

Negotiation for Meaning in NS/NNS English Conversations in a Semi-Institutional Setting:
An Analysis of Verbal and Nonverbal Strategies used in ESL Student-Teacher Exchanges.

By

Glen A. Piskula

Doctoral Candidate

Dissertation Article 1 of 3

November 2nd, 2016

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Abstract

While various studies (Canale & Swain, 1998; Foster, 1998; Sidnell 2007) conducted on NNS/NNS interactions have found that students rarely attempt to modify each other's language production in the institutional setting of the ESL/EFL classroom, other studies (Pica, 1992; Long, 1983; Carrier, 1999) have noted that modification of produced speech occurs frequently within NS/NNS conversational exchanges. Such speaking situations are framed by expectations that conversation is not only a mode of social interaction and information exchange, but also an opportunity for the NNS to practice and enhance their linguistic repertoire. To achieve successful Negotiation for Meaning (NfM), nonnative speakers often employ a number of strategies such as *confirmation checks*, *clarification requests*, and *comprehension checks* (3C) for the purpose of initiating repair, and ideally, locating answers for their gaps in understanding. While previous research using conversation analysis (CA) follows students in the institutional setting of the ESL/EFL classroom to study their exchanges, this study examines Japanese nonnative speakers of English in their attempts to negotiate meaning one-on-one with native-English speaking instructors in the semi-institutional setting of Student Help Hours (SHH). Through these conversational exchanges, it was discovered that even low-intermediate level Japanese students could utilize the 3C to identify trouble sources using their second language of English and effectively negotiate the meanings of phonological, morphological, and semantic productions. Furthermore, it appears that their success in acquiring assistance from the instructor is tied to their use of clarification requests blended with nonverbal behaviors such as lean-ins, head tilts, and blinks, all of which serve to intensify gaze and further draw the attention of the interlocutor to this necessary side activity. The findings of this study also shed light on which features are more successful in eliciting repair in exchanges between NS instructors of English and their Japanese NNS students.

1. Introduction

Studies on the organization of conversation have revealed that the generic problem of interaction is turn taking (Schegloff, 2000, 2015; Sidnell, 2007, 2009). In conversation, decisions about who speaks, about what, and for how long are wrapped up in a multitude of factors which span from micro-level matters such as brief pauses in speech or the use of rising intonation to macro-level concerns such as age, gender, and social status. The connection between micro-level moves and macro-level factors is most evident in examples of institutional talk. Early ethnomethodological research into types of institutionalized talk such as conversation in business meetings, ceremonies, or interviews was famously conducted by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). They used audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations in institutional settings to reveal the existence of universal features of turn-taking in English, such as the discoveries that “overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time...transitions are finely coordinated...[and] there are techniques for the construction of utterances relevant to their turn

status which bear on the coordination of transfer and on the allocation of speakership” (p. 699). They also note that a problem for the research of conversation is that it is always situated, comes out of, and is part of real sets of circumstances of its participants. In other words, institutional talk is a more formalized and structurally predetermined version of ordinary talk often influenced by the goals of the institution.

Research in conversation analysis (CA) is often concerned with classroom talk as a type of institutional talk because it examines the relationship between interaction and pedagogy. In the case of language classrooms, the broad expectations are that the instructor will teach students the second language and that the students will practice under the guidance of the instructor. To accomplish this, certain pre-determined modes of communication are assumed. Seedhouse (2008) outlines three “universal principles” of the ESL classroom:

1. Language is both the vehicle and the object of instruction;
2. There is a reflexive relationship between pedagogy and interaction, and interactants constantly *display* their analyses of the evolving relationship between them;
3. The linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 are potentially subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way. (p. 23)

These principles highlight some important aspects of NS/NNS conversation. First, conversations between NS's and NNS's will likely consist of focus on both meaning and form frequently. However, there is a question of whether and to what degree this occurs in more casual conversations. This depends on multiple factors, such as the nature of the relationship between conversational co-participants, their pre-existing notions about the goals of conversation, and topic of conversation amongst several others. Second, it is through the displays of one's knowledge, or lack thereof, that this focus will shift. Third, during periods of focus on form (FonF) (Long, 1991), practice and evaluation are important aspects of the learning process. More specifically, Gardner (2013) outlines expectations of the roles in language classrooms:

There appears to be a set of underlying normative practices for turn-taking, (teacher dominates next speaker selection, students have limited rights for speaker selection), sequence organization (teacher produces first-pair parts and has special rights to talk in third position, students predominantly produce second-pair parts), and repair (teachers dominate initiations of repair, typically following a student answer to their question).

(p. 594)

While it is important to acknowledge institutional effects on language production, it is also worth noting that roles are not fixed and that all forms of institutional speech are derived from “ordinary” conversation. Since one of the critical goals of the language classroom is to simulate real world speaking situations to satisfy students’ goals of increasing linguistic and pragmatic competence, communicative styles of interaction eschew more formalized structures of talk.

Early analyses of second language conversation surrounded the institutional context of classroom talk as it concerns acquisition (SLA). Long & Porter (1985) as well as Pica (1987) explored NNS students’ use of confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks (3C) to negotiate for meaning (NfM) in small group settings and found a curious absence of their use. It was believed that SLA is facilitated through the interactive process of NfM, but these studies found that the interactional features of the classroom created unequal participant relationships. On one hand, conversational activities between NNS’s were found to facilitate language acquisition less through NfM due to what Gass & Varonis (1985) call a “shared incompetence”. In other words, nonnative speakers of the language felt less qualified to make checks and corrections of their fellow nonnative speaker’s produced speech due to their perceived lack of authority. On the other hand, conversation between NNS students and their NS instructors within the classroom setting was highly constrained due to teachers’ use of interactional routines known as initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979). While these types of interactions were found to be constraining as compared with more “ordinary” types of conversation, they were also found to contain more widespread use of NfM strategies, particularly as instructors worked to repeat, clarify, and confirm students’ productions. Long (1983) discovered that in NS/NNS conversations, the native English-speaking instructors often modified their speech as a strategy to avoid trouble in conversation and employed certain tactics to conduct repair of trouble when it arises. Pica, Young, and Doughty (1987) later found that these “interactional modifications” which were triggered by repetition and phrasing of input content played a critical role in comprehension (p. 753). These modifications belie the instructors’ consciousness of their role as language educators within the institutional sphere and their adherence to the expectations of that context.

From a pedagogical perspective, modifications to one’s own speech and the speech of others is an attempt to make linguistic input and output more comprehensible. Krashen’s (1982, 1985) seminal work asserted that adult language learners possess an interlanguage (i), and when

the goals of learning are set at or above this level (+1), then SLA is facilitated. The *i+1* model is designed to ensure that the language learner is continually challenged by new opportunities for acquisition which are just beyond their reach. However, Swain (1985) later noted that input alone is insufficient for language acquisition to occur. A conscious FonF involves opportunities for focused practice of *comprehensible output*, and it is only through these productions that SLA occurs effectively. In instances of NS instructor and NNS student conversational exchange, these opportunities are located at the sites of confusion or misunderstanding.

Locating a language learner's *i+1* involves modifications as well as self- and other-identification of the gaps and holes in the NNS's understanding. The *noticing hypothesis* (Schmidt, 1990) suggests that adult language learners cannot understand new concepts, such as grammatical structures, without first noticing them directly. The process of noticing is best described as a particular focus of attention or acute awareness of aspects within the L2 of which the language learner is not previously aware. While this hypothesis is often ascribed to the receptive parsing of input (reading and listening), it is also an integral aspect of productive skills (writing and speaking). In both instances, “‘*noticing the gap*’ occurs when learners consciously perceive a difference between the target language and their own interlanguage (Schmidt & Frota, 1986); ‘*noticing the hole*’ refers to learners’ awareness that they are missing a form needed to express a particular idea (Doughty & Williams, 1998)... [and] the process of interacting in the target language can help bring such grammatical and lexical ‘gaps’ and ‘holes’ to the surface for the learner” (as qtd. in Wilkinson, 2001, p. 527). Concerning receptive skills, gaps are instances where the NNS recognizes a concept which doesn't exist in their native tongue but does exist in the target language and vice versa, and holes are concepts known to them, but which they lack the lexical item or grammatical form to express. Regarding production, noticing holes often occurs as the NNS attempts to explain concepts in their second language which they lack adequate knowledge system to articulate. In brief, the identification of gaps and holes in the language learner's knowledge of L2 encourages a conscious FonF, and when coupled with modification of lexicon, phonology, and/or syntax, simultaneously invites modified output (Long, 1980, 1983) through practice. Trouble sources often arise in these three knowledge systems as a result of transference.

An integral aspect of interlanguage research is the notion that language learners often “borrow” linguistic strategies from their first language and apply them in the second language

when no other option is available. The two types of borrowing between L1 and L2 are positive and negative transfer. Positive transfer refers to those linguistic strategies which are borrowed from the L1 and do not rouse suspicion when applied to the L2 because they are close enough in grammatical, lexical, or phonetic accuracy that they “pass” in terms of comprehensibility. On the other hand, negative transfer is often described as “*interference* as an L1 structure or rule used in an L2 utterance which results in ‘error’” (Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 19). It is at these critical points of confusion that trouble sources occur and the gaps and holes in the learner’s understanding are surfaced through NfM and FonF.

Shifting back to the CA perspective, it is necessary to distinguish between trouble in conversation and breakdown. Schegloff (1987) originally defined trouble as “misarticulations, malapropisms, use of a ‘wrong’ word, unavailability of a word when needed, failure to hear or to be heard, trouble on the part of the recipient in understanding, or incorrect understanding by recipient” (p. 210). This description suggests a wide range of possible ways to express the existence of trouble. It covers incorrect uses, delays, word searches, excessive use of spacers, requests for assistance, and many more. Trouble occurs as a natural part of conversation not only between NS’s and NNS’s, but also between NS’s talking in their mother tongue. It is the first step in the process of repair, a mechanism which exists in most, if not all, languages. Although the features used in its execution may differ from language to language, repair often consists of an adjacency pair, so many strategies for the indication of trouble may be effected through positive transfer. Upon the indication of a trouble source (first pair part), “problems of understanding are overwhelmingly dealt with efficiently [through repair (the second pair part)], mostly by the speaker of the trouble source, and mostly very close to the source of the trouble” (Gardner, 2008, p. 275). In contrast, breakdown refers to the collapse of understanding between participants and often results in abandonment of the topic under discussion. In casual discussions between NS’s and NNS’s, trouble is best conceived as opportunities for repair, modified input and output, and subsequently, learning while breakdown is best conceived as lost opportunities for understanding or failure to repair.

For the sake of a general exchange of information, the central goal of conversation is maintaining the progressivity of talk. Progressivity is “the observation that the relationship between most components of the organization of interaction (e.g. sounds within words, words within TCU’s, TCU’s within turns, turns within sequences of action, etc.) is generally that each

component progresses to the next relevant component immediately after, or contiguously with (Sacks, 1987) the prior component. Repair halts progressivity” (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 238-39). According to this description, both trouble and breakdown are problematic to the progressivity of talk, but only the latter is detrimental to it. Also used interchangeably in the literature as *contiguity*, progressivity may be defined as the smooth flow of talk from one topic to the next with little-to-no trouble. When trouble occurs, the smooth exchange of information may or may not shift to a focus on meaning and/or form depending on the degree of threat it poses to the progressivity. The following discussion outlines the process of repair starting with trouble’s interruption to progressivity, the various ways that the need for repair can be indicated, and how repair itself is conducted.

The conversational maneuver of repair is a complex process, due in part to the various ways it can be conducted. Originally addressed by Schegloff, et al. (1977), repair is described as an interruption to the progressivity of talk in which attempts are made to fix a trouble source resulting from some problem in the production, reception, or comprehension of talk. Jefferson (1972) and later Gumperz (1977) described the process as a side activity, emphasizing that the main activity of conversation already underway must be put aside until conversational participants are able to correct the problem source and return to the original thread of talk. To avoid breakdown when trouble occurs, one of the conversational participants must indicate where the trouble source exists, and this can be accomplished in one of four different ways.

Table 1: Four Possible Types of Repair

1. Self-initiation → self-repair	3. Other-initiation → self-repair
2. Self-initiation → other-repair	4. Other-initiation → other-repair

Of the above-listed types of repair, self-initiation, self-repair is the most frequently observed type, and its trouble source is most often one of reference, or semantic issues. However, frequency of repair type is also tied to the speaking situation.

In NS/NS English-speaking situations, self-initiated repair is the highest frequency type and offers multiple features of initiation. Some trouble source identifiers of self-initiated repair include cut-offs (sound stretches, delaying spacers), frames (reissued words or sounds), silences and delays (pauses), apologetic terms, repair prefaces (words like “well” or “I mean”), repeats,

multiple tries (returns to trouble source), and self-talk (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 239-41). The use of any of the above-listed trouble source identifiers, if successful in their application, sets in motion a re-focusing of the conversation from meaning to form, which then continues until the conversational participants are able to achieve mutual understanding and realign to the existing thread of talk. Specifically, in conversations between native speakers, self-initiated, self-repair often refers to one interlocutor's incorrect or insufficient use of a term of reference and their own attempt to rectify that error. Self-corrections like these have been called replacement terms, a sort of catch-all category which includes words that substitute meaning either by providing synonyms, antonyms, swapping terms of pronominal reference, and in the case of verbs, shifting to a more appropriate tense (Hosoda, 2000; Kitzinger, 2013). Native speakers often make this move to head off any possible expression of confusion as it relates to the central elements of the conversation such as subjects and objects, and the most likely purpose of its use is specification. In other words, when a previously uttered word or phrase seems too broad or general in scope to the interlocutor, quick attempts are made to head off confusion by redacting the more general term of reference and replacing it with one more specific to their shared understanding of the topic.

While self-repair is observed most frequently in conversations between native speakers, other-repair occurs more frequently in NS/NNS speaking situations in English. Several bodies of research (Long, 1983; Varonis and Gass, 1985; Hosoda, 2000; Schegloff, 2007; Kitzinger, 2013) indicate that other-repair has been identified across many languages and exists as a general organization of practice. Specifically, in NS/NNS speaking situations, the native speakers are often viewed as models for accurate production and offer opportunity to check or confirm features which may or may not transfer effectively from the NNS's L1. In these situations, other-repair can occur in one of two possible ways: 2. self-initiated, other-repair and 4. other-initiated, other-repair. Either the NNS uses a lexical item, pronunciation, or grammatical form which the NS perceives as problematic and must rectify by initiating repair, or, in the process of explaining some concept they lack the language to express accurately, the NNS requests assistance from the NS in closing the hole. Just as with NS/NS conversations, many of the trouble sources are lexically based, and similar strategies for repair such as replacement occur. Kasper (1985) has used the term "appealing" to refer to the act of performing word searches in front of the NS as one method of verbally initiating other-repair (p. 205). Others include the use

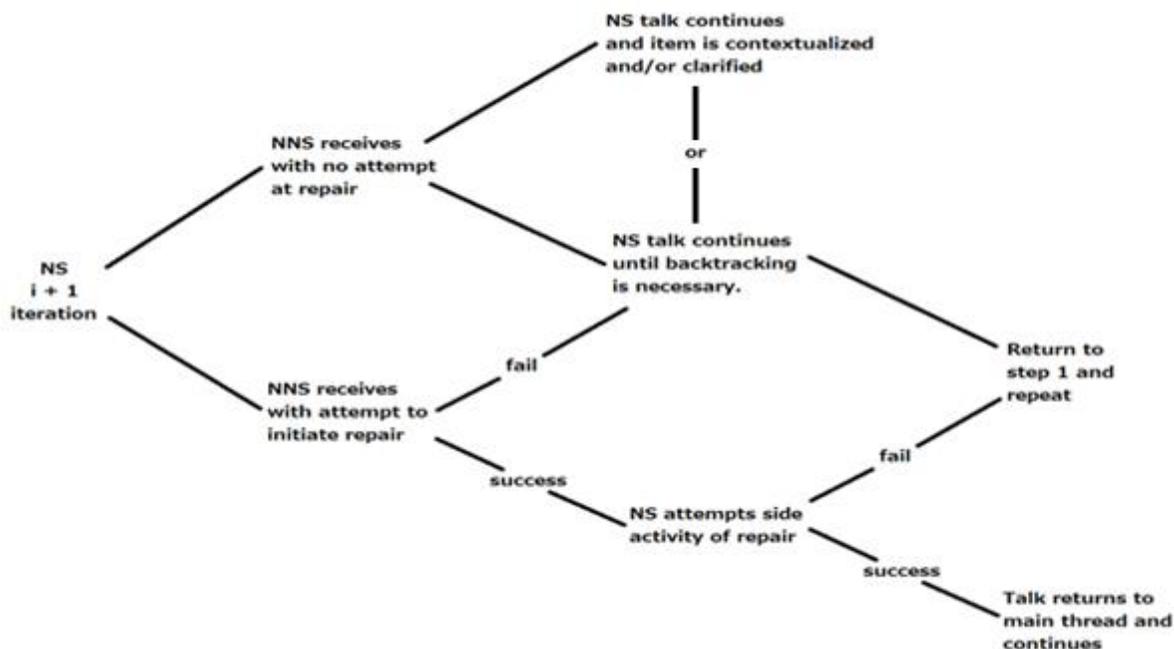
of interrogative Wh- words (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), repetitions (Schegloff, 2007), and flat out displays of misunderstanding the prior talk known as “open-class initiators” (Drew, 1997). These types of repair-initiation techniques have been collectively described in the literature as confirmation checks.

As a subset of repair, Long’s (1980, 1981) seminal work on 3C was an attempt to categorize the language features which often (but not always) serve to initiate repair. Pica (1987) summarizes the definitions of 3C as:

- *Confirmation Checks*: Moves by which one speaker seeks confirmation of the other’s preceding utterance through repetition, with rising intonation, of what was perceived to be all or part of the preceding utterance.
- *Clarification Requests*: Moves by which one speaker seeks assistance in understanding the other speaker’s preceding utterance through questions, ...statements such as “I don’t understand,” or imperatives such as “Please repeat.”
- *Comprehension Checks*: Moves by which one speaker attempts to determine whether the other speaker has understood a preceding message. (pp. 3-21)

While the former two mostly are typically considered as other-initiated repair, comprehension checks are more of a self-initiated form of potential repair. Here, it is necessary to mention that while the 3C technically classify as a subset of repair, they do not always assume this categorization. Some 3C classify as continuers (Schegloff, 1982) or backchannels, which indicate to the speaker that the recipient is listening actively and that the talk may continue. For a conversational move like initiation to fully classify as repair, it needs to be reciprocated; if repair does not occur, then the original thread of talk continues regardless, and the attempt at repair fails. There are many such cases where, for example, a confirmation check is attempted and ignored by the interlocutor for any one of multiple reasons which usually involve advancing the progressivity of talk. The following figure delineates the potential for repair which occurs in the existence of conversational trouble, and shows how repeated attempts at repair can either be ignored or acknowledged by the NS. These attempts at initiation and their successful repair are the context in which negotiation occurs.

Figure 1: Potential in $i+1$; Success and Failure of Attempts at Repair Initiation



The concept of NfM is a nebulous one because it encompasses many different interpretations. Within the scope of comprehensible input in NS/NNS conversations, Long (1983) claims that “native speakers appear to modify interaction to two main ends: (1) to avoid conversational trouble, and (2) to repair the discourse when trouble occurs” (p. 131). While point (1) suggests preemptive maneuvers designed to head off perceived difficulties in comprehension, point (2) suggests that repair is at the core the NfM process. Foster (1998) defines NfM as necessarily checking and clarifying problem utterances, something which happens quite frequently within the NS/NNS dynamic. He found that, “NNS’s were interacting with NS’s and would therefore have felt an inequality of status regarding the language. Any communication problem affecting the smooth completion of the task may have been felt by the NNS’s to be their fault and their responsibility to repair. They may, in short, have felt more ‘pushed’ to make language comprehensible” (p. 17). More recent analyses of this process have described it as problem utterances which are checked, repeated, clarified, or modified in some way (semantically, phonetically, or morphosyntactically) so that they are brought within the optimum $i+1$ level (Foster & Ohta, 2005, p. 405). In other words, as NNS’s engage in conversation with NS’s, they may feel more compelled to clearly identify and elicit the NS to rectify the trouble source because they are not only responsible for the shared task of advancing

smooth conversation, but they are also responsible for checking their own accurate use of the target language.

Consider an example from the data which illustrates the basic process of using 3C to NfM at the occurrence of trouble in NS/NNS conversation:

Example 1: Maya initiates repair on lexical trouble to Esther via confirmation check

1. M: I miss my dog. [.h.h
2. E: [Yeah, definitely.
(0.5)
3. E: **Can he do (.) any tricks?**
- 4. M: **((turns off phone and places it on table and looks up at Esther))**
(2.0)
- 5. M: **Tricks?**
6. E: **Can he sit? Can he go down? ((motions hand toward floor))**
(1.5)
7. M: **Mmm. ((nods head sharply))**
8. E: [Yes?
9. M: [Yeah.
10. M: Yes.
11. E: Did you train him?
12. M: Yeah.

In the example above, the progressivity of talk is disrupted at line 4 where Maya indicates trouble with a lengthy pause of two seconds. In addition to this, she then uses a confirmation check by repeating the previously uttered term “tricks” with a rising intonation to isolate the lexical trouble source. The rise in intonation distinguishes it from a standard continuer. The instructor, Esther, reciprocates this request for repair by providing examples of tricks and using gestures to reinforce her questions of specification at line 6. After a brief pause, Maya confirms that she has understood, and once Esther is satisfied with Maya’s level of comprehension, she returns the side sequence back to the main thread of talk at line 11 with a new question related to the main topic, Maya’s dog. While this example provides a summative picture of how repair occurs between NS’s and NNS’s as they confront trouble in English, it also highlights a very important reality. Line 4 describes Maya’s nonverbal behavior which is a dimension of her attempt at repair initiation; however, no mention of nonverbal features is made in the above-listed definitions of confirmation checks. Specifically, it reflects the importance of gaze combined with nonverbal behavior in the process of repair initiation. This is a particular problem for those who not only design studies based upon this tool, but also for the explanation

of why repair initiation is more or less successful in certain instances. In brief, this research calls for a redefinition of 3C which incorporates consideration of all dimensions of multimodality: verbal, paralinguistic, and nonverbal features.

Nonverbal behavior, also described in the literature as embodiment, serves multiple functions from reinforcing the meaning behind a message to expressing aspects of speakership rights in conversation, but these were not considered in early NfM definitions. Long (1983) describes the parameters of 3C as “when describing linguistic input, therefore, we are considering only the forms that the learner hears; analysis of interaction means describing the functions of those forms in (conversational) discourse” (p. 127). While the argument for analyzing verbal (linguistic) as well as paralinguistic (intonational) features of NfM is a valid one, it also sets up an incomplete approach. Other more recent research on conversation has stressed the importance of considering nonverbal features as integral aspects of communication. Schegloff (2000) has noted that nonverbal behavior is important to the orderly distribution of opportunities to participate. In conversation, the distribution of turns, who takes them, and how frequently is often simultaneously determined by verbal (“What do you think?”) and nonverbal indicators (such as hand gestures pointing to next participant). On the matter of gesture, Kendon (2000) has found that “gesture is used to provide context for spoken expression, thus reducing the ambiguity of the meaning of what is expressed.... Speech and gesture are co-expressive of a single inclusive ideational complex, and it is this that is the meaning of the utterance” (p. 62). A reduction of ambiguity is critical when meaning or form become a source of trouble in conversation. However, nonverbal behavior is not limited to gestures alone. Specific to the process of repair, Hosoda (2000) has identified a range of nonverbal signals for initiating other-repair as “eye gaze, posture, raised eyebrows, laughter, nods, pointing to oneself, and head tilts” (p. 48). This range of nonverbal moves serves the purpose of drawing attention to necessary shifts in conversation, such as those required for side activities. In brief, “an activity’s multimodal or embodied accomplishment can be subject to the situated, interactional, and sequential analysis that underpins studies of language use and talk in Conversation Analysis” (Heath & Luff, 2013, p. 283).

Of the various types of nonverbal moves mentioned here, gaze was found to be the most critical move in expressing speakership expectations. Goodwin’s (1981) research on native speakers’ use of English revealed that when head or bodily movements reduced the recipient’s

gaze on the interlocutor, it symbolized diminished hearership (p. 89). Inversely, Kendon (1990) found that “participants used eye gaze to signal when they want a response from their recipients: speakers look away as they begin an utterance, forestalling a response, and they look back at their interlocutors when they are open to a response” (p. 64). What these findings in gaze represent is a degree of willingness to participate in the ongoing conversation and/or opportunity for turn transition. From the recipient’s perspective, head and body movements which bring their gaze toward an interlocutor signify a desire to enter the conversation; from the interlocutor’s perspective, this similar move signifies an openness for interjection. Rossano (2013) summarizes the functions of gaze in social interaction “on three different dimensions: first, its relationship to participation in the conversation; second, its regulatory functions (e.g. its role in turn-taking); and third, its role in action formation” (p. 311). In the present study, it is necessary to consider how gaze and speakership rights are affected by other nonverbal moves. For example, eyebrow raises and lean-ins serve to intensify one’s gaze; nods and gestures like self-pointing may maintain gaze, and head shakes or bodily shifts could disrupt it.

There are, of course, cultural differences concerning the use of gaze in conversation. In their study on Trinidadian, Canadian, and Japanese speakers, McCarty, et al. (2006) examined gaze and facial expressions during moments of thinking because individuals who are engaged in thought tend to look away from their conversational co-participant. Through their research, they found that Japanese interlocutors maintained the least amount of gaze as compared to their Trinidadian and Canadian counterparts, and that they displayed significantly more downward than upward gaze. Relevant to this point, McCarty, et al. note that “although gaze aversion may be a universal behavior during thinking, the participants’ averted gaze direction may be governed by cultural conventions. Because looking down is perceived to be polite and respectful in Japan, the Japanese must look down when they think about the answer to a question” (p. 5). The influence of culture on communicative behavior must be taken into consideration when examining NS/NNS conversations where displays of deference may be driven by pre-existing notions about social roles such as instructor and student.

The skillful use of nonverbal behavior in conversation is relevant to this analysis of NfM because it belies the alignment of conversational participants. Iwasaki (2009) underscores the importance of nonverbal behavior in alignment when she claims that “participants construct their vocal and bodily conduct in a way that projects what is coming, allowing participants to

negotiate joint courses of action while constructing units of talk together” (p. 236). In her study on Japanese conversation, she refers to the permeability of turns as something which is influenced by the use of physical communication. For example, when a recipient decides to employ a confirmation check by repeating a previously uttered referent with rising intonation, elongating the vowel sound of one’s response token, and blending in a sequence of nods, they are exhibiting a “heightened alignment” which is not only a meaningful display of attention focus, but also signifies their understanding of the permeability of that turn. Iwasaki’s analysis effectively stresses the significance of nonverbal behavior in conversation in general, and it also emphasizes that nonverbal aspects of communication are integral to native Japanese speakers’ communicative repertoire.

Not only is embodiment an important pairing to verbal expression in conversation in general, but it also plays an individual role in the initiation of repair. Kitzinger (2013) has found that “repair initiations can be accompanied by gestures (e.g. a head tilt or head poke; Seo & Koshik, 2010), and these gestures can—at least in some pedagogic contexts—be used to initiate repair without verbal accompaniments” (p. 251). This suggests that certain conversational moves can be made even without the addition of their verbal layer as a nonverbal-only category. It highlights the importance of this integral aspect of communication in the NfM process. As a result, it is necessary to incorporate it in this analysis of 3C, and try to discover whether and to what degree it plays a role in helping participants who use it to achieve successful repair initiation.

2. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to determine Japanese students’ linguistic strategies to NfM when speaking with native English-speaking instructors (in their second language of English) in a semi-institutional context. It is concerned with which features of language low-intermediate Japanese students call upon, which trouble sources they apply 3C to most frequently, and whether or not they are successful in eliciting assistance with one strategy over another. Using CA as a tool, I examine students’ use of 3C to resolve semantic, phonetic, and morphosyntactic sources of trouble in talk. Specifically, I seek to understand if and to what degree multimodal resources, such as nonverbal behavior, play a role in the process of successful repair initiation.

Research Questions:

1. How do Japanese non-native English learners use 3C (*confirmation checks*, *clarification requests*, and *comprehension checks*) to initiate repair when speaking with NS instructors in a semi-institutional context?
2. How relevant is nonverbal behavior in students' attempts to NfM, and how are particular moves used differently depending on the type of repair?
3. Are some attempted strategies to NfM more successful than others in initiating repair depending on their degree of multimodality?

3. Method

3.1 Setting and Participants

This study was conducted at an ESL center in the American southwest over a five-week period from August to September 2015. The Center for English as a Second Language (CESL), which is located on the University of Arizona campus, offers full-time students an intensive English program as well as a number of special and part-time programs. One of the special programs it offers is called the American Studies Program, which is a one-month, short-term program. Through standard placement procedures, it integrates the participating students with those in the leveled Intensive English Program for classes in oral communication, written communication, and reading skills. The only IEP class they do not participate in regularly is the grammar class, which is substituted for an American culture class tailored for this specific group. Each weekend, the American Studies group attends various organized functions such as trips to local points of interest like the Grand Canyon, but the majority of these trips and events are exclusively organized for the group. While other events, such as the social mixer which invites university affiliates to speak with the students, are designed to increase exposure to native speakers, opportunity for one-on-one contact with native speakers is limited. For this reason, the American Studies Program has begun requiring weekly participation in a program called the Student Help Hours.

Student Help Hours, which take place within the Student Learning Center (SLC), a type of student lounge geared toward academics, allow NNS students to communicate with their NS English instructors. Starting in spring of 2015, CESL has begun scheduling full-time instructors' office hours within the space of the SLC in an attempt to increase opportunities for exchange. Conversations with instructors are often held on the topics of language, class assignments, local issues, and more broadly, American culture, but these are never pre-determined. While the instructors are scheduled in the SLC weekly, they are not assigned to specific students, and the topics of conversation vary widely, which makes this conversational space both casual and semi-

institutional. For this study, a total of 14 instructors (4 male, 10 female) conversed with students in the American Studies Program.

The speaking situation this study examines is best described as semi-institutional for several reasons. While it is institutional in that the conversations occur within the broader context of an ESL center, they were not conducted within a classroom; they were held in a student lounge. Also, while the institutional roles of the participants are student and instructor, they are encouraged to enjoy casual conversation which is similar to everyday conversation. This setting shifts focus away from the more institutional roles of student-instructor to that of NS/NNS. In other words, the purpose of the setting (help hours) is not focused as much on form as it is on use through conversational exchange. The semi-institutional design of this speaking situation is significant for several reasons. For one, it allows us to see whether and to what degree perceived institutional roles are summoned when trouble arises. It also challenges the notion that institutional talk is somehow different than everyday conversation by allowing opportunities for ordinary conversation within an actual institutional context. A casual conversation which occurs within the walls and hours of an educational institution may be just as “natural” to the context as a conversation between strangers on a park bench. As we have seen from previous research and studies in CA, it is up to the participants to both construct and renew the context of the conversation, which makes naturalness a variant specific to the speaking situation and the conversational participants involved. At the same time, it is necessary to acknowledge that the institution and the roles within it exist and exert some degree of influence on the course of talk.

The student participants in this study all come from the same private university in the southwest of Japan (Kyoto), but they originate from a variety of regions across Japan. They chose to participate in the American Studies program individually, which means that they study a variety of disciplines. At the time of this study, the participating students were either sophomores or juniors, which places their age range between twenty and twenty-one. Collectively, there were 15 students in this group (5 males, 10 females). While all of the students in the group agreed to participate in the study, one did not attend any of his help hour sessions, making the total number of student participants 14. Based upon the students’ placements in CESL’s IEP and their self-rating scores in the exit survey, the majority of American Studies Program students were low-intermediate to intermediate range in proficiency.

Each student was assigned a specific time slot in which to attend their help hours, and they were expected to attend once per week for each of the four weeks of academics for about thirty minutes per session. In total, 14.5 hours of conversational data were recorded, but 0.6 hours were unusable due to third-party interruptions (the SLC is a public space). With 13.9 hours of usable data across fourteen students, the average number of total hours attended by participating students amounted to 59.64 minutes, about half of the expected amount. Of the 28 total sessions attended, the average number of minutes per meeting was 29.17.

3.2 Procedure

Because CA requires an approach which uses *unmotivated looking* (Psathas and Anderson, 1990), very little structure was used in establishing the shared task of conversation. Student participants were instructed in the initial meeting to keep a special notebook into which they wrote questions of both linguistic and cultural interest. While these questions could be entered into the notebook at any time, it was likely that more specific questions would arise during their participation in CESL classes, so they were asked to keep track of those questions and bring them to their weekly help hours session. The central goal of these questions is that they serve as conversation starters. Beyond the listing and asking of questions, students were instructed to attend one of their scheduled help hour sessions per week for half an hour to a full hour if possible. Participating teachers were instructed to answer students' questions, and beyond that, enjoy casual conversation with them about their experiences in the U.S. This setup ensures that both sides share the purpose of the meeting, that is to have casual, non-instructional conversation, while at the same time, allowing for NfM and FonF where necessary.

3.3 Materials

Instructor participants and SLC student workers were trained on operation of the equipment. All NS/NNS, student-instructor conversations were audio and video recorded using a Canon VIXIA HF R500 Full HD Video Camcorder, 16GB Class, mounted upon a collapsible lightweight tripod. The HD-quality video was useful in tracking nuances of nonverbal behavior, such as micro-expressions on the faces of participants, because it allows for high-quality, slow-motion playback. Due to the small, relatively compact size of the room and general open-door policy of the SLC, a Pyle-Pro PMEM1, Omni-Directional extended microphone (3.5mm / 1/4")

was also used to enhance the audio recordings. Two backup 16GB SD memory cards and a fresh reserve battery were supplied to the operators at the start of each recording day. Finally, a sign-in, sign-out sheet on a clipboard was supplied to track differences in scheduled times and actual help hours attended.

3.4 Data Collection and Coding

This research uses CA as the central framework to analyze instances of 3C in the data and an institutional talk perspective to examine the results more closely. It takes audio and video recordings of NS/NNS conversational exchange and transcribes all instances of 3C for the purpose of repair using the standard transcription conventions of CA (See Appendix A for key). The design is mixed methods as it quantifies students' use of 3C in their attempts to successfully initiate repair on trouble sources. It also quantifies students' use (or lack thereof) of nonverbal moves in the NfM and repair processes. 3C were quantified into three categories of verbal-only, verbal-nonverbal blended, and nonverbal-only types. Nonverbal moves were also subdivided into categories specific to the following classification types: head movements (shakes and tilts), eyebrow raises, hand gestures, lean-ins, and other (includes shifts in facial expression). The qualitative discussion which follows uses CA as a tool for microanalysis of repair from the onset of trouble sources to their successful return to the main thread of conversation.

Understanding language use in social interaction is an undertaking which requires multiple considerations. On one hand, there is a strong compulsion to quantify behavior and generate statistics which suggest that certain behaviors exist and are explainable based on their frequency of occurrence. Unfortunately, quantification can only tell us so much about how language works, while a closer, more in-depth look at instances of talk-in-interaction may illuminate the details that numbers cannot. Cohen (1996) argues that "any one method alone cannot assess the entirety of behavior in question. In speech act investigations, the challenge is to find some means of combining different approaches to the description of the same speech act among both native and nonnative speakers of a language" (p. 390). Cohen is not alone in this call for a more complete approach. Foster and Ohta (2005) also argue that the "selection of categories for quantification is viewed as sacrificing the whole for the sake of the partial picture that may not only apply to any real-world situation. When interactions are reduced to tables and figures, other researchers are left without a way to see what really transpired or validate findings

for themselves” (p. 403). The reasoning behind this dual-method approach is to use quantification to explain the broader findings while enhancing the richness of that data with critical analysis of conversation. Singular approaches are often viewed as reductionist, so this research will attempt to explore linguistic phenomena of use more extensively.

On the matter of data quantification, NfM counts were selected based on students’ use of 3C as defined above by Long (1980, 1981). Concerning confirmation checks, only repetitions of previous utterances that were inflected with a rising intonation were counted in the totals because those which lack a rise in intonation classify as continuers or backchannels (Schegloff, 1982). Students’ requests for clarification from “Huh?” to “Excuse me, what did you say?” were quantified regardless of their focus on meaning or form. Also, comprehension checks such as “Do you understand?” were counted because while they imply a focus on meaning (semantic), we cannot discount the possibility that students may use them to simultaneously check the form (grammar and/or pronunciation) of their own previously stated utterance/s. A student’s use of 3C was considered “successful” in the sense that it initiates *an overt attempt at repair* from the instructor participant. It is necessary to distinguish this definition of repair from the idea that the instructor successfully repairs the gap or hole in a student’s understanding because it is not always clear whether an explanation has been received as understood or skipped over for the sake of progressing the conversation. Finally, instances of repair which were provided by the instructor due to a student’s prior nonverbal move were also quantified in the 3C categories. For example, a confused facial expression coupled with an eyebrow raise and sharp lean-in which is then followed by a deeper explanation from the instructor classifies as a 3C, as it successfully initiates a repair sequence.

From the qualitative perspective, CA allows us to take a critical look into the raw data that is naturally occurring conversation, replete with all its complexities, multiple layers for meaning-making, and imperfections. This research study is specifically interested in the contextual environment of which NfM is comprised and how participants orient to certain social actions and roles in this process. The notion of context can refer to descriptors of one’s environment such as the time or place where something occurs. However, in the strictly CA sense, context refers to configurations of talk; it embodies the language and actions that have come before as well as shaping those which follow it. Hayashi (2004) describes this notion as “language *in situ*” and claims that “it does not (only) belong in the minds of isolated speakers,

but is constituted by a community of interacting participants producing and understanding language as a form of participation in socially organized activities" (p. 3). Most aspects of multimodality, such as verbal/linguistic, prosodic, and physical/nonverbal coalesce to create this meaning-rich context. Through a microanalysis of the aspects that surround the parenthetical activity of repair, it is possible to learn how NNS's utilize these resources collectively to initiate it when trouble exists.

A secondary but equally imperative goal is to define the structure of that context. In her examination of Japanese speakers' use of 3C, Ohta (2005) reveals that the primary function is to initiate repair and outlines a 3-turn minimum structure as "(1) the initial turn which contains the materials to be confirmed (the first turn), (2) the turn containing the candidate confirmation check (the second turn), and (3) the turn containing the response (the third turn)" (p. 388). In other words, the confirmation check begins with a statement which is followed by one of the 3C, and is then (ideally) acknowledged. Since this classifies as a "minimum" structure of the 3C context, I seek a more complete picture of its structure, one that incorporates all aspects of multimodality in its description. One of the reasons for this shift is because the idea of context-driven social interaction was thought to be too limiting. Heritage (1989, 2005) terms this as the "bucket theory of context" which suggests that pre-existing institutional circumstances are seen as enclosing interaction and are unaltered by it, but CA considers context as an entity which is both constructed by and results from participants' interactions. This is what is referred to as the *context-shaping, context-renewing paradigm*, and it means that participants are the agents of identity through conversation first and foremost. In other words, through the process of engaging in social interaction, participants orient to specific activities, such as repair, and in doing so, play out aspects of their social identity while simultaneously redefining the expectations of how those actions are to be carried out.

Because this study follows NNS Japanese students' interactions in their L2 of English with NS English-speaking instructors, it is related to classroom talk as a specific subset of institutional talk. Within the language classroom, it is the job of the instructor to locate students' *i+1* zone and scaffold them by eliciting an accurate production of specific language patterns. However, this is criticized by Canale and Swain (1988) who refer to controlled production as creating a "classroom interlanguage, a language system that may satisfy basic communicative needs in the classroom but does not correspond entirely to the language systems used by native

speakers of the second language” (p. 64). For instance, the IRE approach to language instruction is viewed as a type of conversational exchange specific to the classroom setting and unhelpful for communication in actual NS/NNS conversation which students are liable to confront in the so-called real world. Long and Porter (1985) describe IRE as “lockstep teaching, in which one person (the teacher) sets the same instructional pace and content for everyone, by lecturing, explaining a grammar point, leading drill work, or asking questions of the whole class” (p. 208). Concerning the semi-institutional setting of the help hours, shifts from casual conversation to overt styles of correction observed in IRE sequences would indicate an instructor’s orientation to their institutional roles and relevant instructional techniques. A student’s self-selection to allow the instructor to complete their description or practice a newly discovered item would reflect his or her orientation in a similar manner.

Consider the following example in which a student participant confronts a new, low-frequency lexical item that the instructor breaks down phonetically and then defines for him. The bolded text represents zones of trouble and the arrows indicate students’ use of 3C.

Example 3.4-1: (Casey & Ren’s Successful Clarification Requests and Confirmation Check

1. C: **What else do you like to do for fun?**
(1.0)
- 2. R: ((leans in sharply)) **Pardon?**
3. C: ←**What else do you like to do for fun?**←
4. R: **Uh::**
(2.0)
5. R: **I love swimming**↓
6. C: **You like to swim?**
7. R: **Yeah.** ←**I like to swim**←
8. C: Ok.
9. R: ((nods))
10. C: **Do you swim (.) competitively?**
- 11. R: ((looks slowly up and to right))
(1.0)
- 12. R: ((sharply returns gaze to C)) **Competit\?**
13. C: **Com pet it ive ly**↓
- 14. R: **Uh, (.) what’s mean?**
15. C: **Like, do you swim in races?**
16. R: **Ah, Yeah.** ((nods)) →**Of course, of course**→ **Uh:: (.) I**
(1.0)
17. R: **I swa::m (.) from\ for::**
(2.0)
18. R: **ten years ago\ ten years.**
19. C: **Ah:: since you were ten?**

20. R: Yeah.

21. C: Wo::w. That's awesome!

This spate of conversation illustrates the frequency with which 3C were employed by student participants in the data and the relevance of the non-verbal dimension to successful repair initiation. The first sign of a trouble source is indicated by Ren following the instructor's question at line 1 with a pause. Adding to this, Ren's sharp lean-in and verbal clarification request "pardon" is a clear display of his misunderstanding of the question. This is a successful initiation of repair as the instructor repeats the question, but this time, with a much slower enunciation of the individual words. His direct answer to Casey's question at line 5 suggests it has been understood and this side sequence of repair closes, but not before his practice (modified output) of the instructor's utterance at line 7. This first half of this example shows that repair sequences which involve modification can take up to five or six turns at minimum.

An additional trouble source arises at line 10 with the instructor's use of the low-frequency lexical item "competitively." Ren initiates repair by pausing to break gaze and look up and away. This type of display is typical of word search behavior or *appealing*. He then uses a verbal-nonverbal blended confirmation check by making a quick head movement to realign with Casey's gaze and then partially repeats the item with rising intonation. This, too, is a successful initiation of repair as the instructor slows down her syllabic enunciation (modified input) of the item for Ren. Unfortunately, this is not only a matter of pronunciation, as Ren indicates at line 14 with his use of another clarification request; it is also a source of semantic trouble. Casey then provides a definition in the form of a self-modified (for simplification) question at line 15, to which Ren replies in the affirmative in the subsequent line 16. In sum, line 2 is an example of verbal-nonverbal clarification request, lines 11 and 12 are an example of verbal-nonverbal confirmation check, and line 14 shows a verbal-only clarification request. All three are considered "successful" in repair initiation, as they prompted the instructor to self-modify her speech and provide simplifications and definitions where needed.

While Example 3.4-1 shows several cases of successful repair initiation, some attempts at initiation were not so successful. The following example reveals conflict at the intersection of a student's multiple attempts to initiate repair using confirmation checks and the instructor's attempts to maintain the progressivity of the ongoing topic of conversation:

Example 3.4-2: (Stan &) Fuyu's Unsuccessful Confirmation Checks

1. S: We can't carry our piano↓=
2. F: ((nods))
3. S: =the way we carry the other instruments.
4. F: ((nods)) Mmm.
5. S: So::
6. F: *Exact*
7. S: So::\ so the\ there's a piano in the building, so (.) they can play↓
(0.5)
8. F: ((mimics playing motion with hands)) Orugan?
9. S: There isn't an organ.
10. F: ((nods))
11. S: ***No.* There's an organ in the church where I work.**
- ➔ 12. F: **Church?**
13. F: ((looks slowly off to the right))
(4.0)
14. S: **We have an organ and a piano.**
15. F: ((nods, returns gaze to S))
16. S: **a::nd, we use guitar.**
- ➔ 17. F: **Guitar?=
18. S: ==→So, so they give me the key to the church→ (.) because most Americans do not have an organ.
(0.5)**
19. F: ((nods))
20. S: **So if they practice the organ (.) they have to go to the church.**
21. F: **Hmm.**

The student participant displays signs of trouble in understanding certain lexical items specific to this topic of conversation both verbally and nonverbally. At line 12, Fuyu repeats the item “church” with a rising intonation and then shows nonverbal signs of word searching at line 13. The extended pause which follows should have also highlighted the attempt at repair, but in line 14, the instructor continues with his previous line of talk by listing the musical instruments they have at the church. A similar move happens at line 17 where Fuyu is barely able to repeat the additional lexical trouble source, “guitar”, before Stan moves to complete his utterance. Because the instructor does not provide clear repetitions in the form of self-modifications or definitions for the lexical trouble sources, these both fail to classify as successful attempts at repair initiation. However, it is important to note that while some attempts at initiating repair may be unsuccessful at first, meaning may be derived from the ongoing context of conversation. Cases such as this one are a good example of how the progressivity of talk can have more weight than the call for a side activity.

Nonverbal behavior was also examined to discover how vital of a role it plays in successful repair initiation. All nonverbal moves were initially counted individually, even if they co-occurred with other nonverbal moves. For example, a simultaneous blink and lean-in, which was a popular nonverbal clarification request, was counted as two and coded as a pairing (one of two to be later subtracted from the total). In review, the nonverbal categories found across this data set include head shakes/tilts, eyebrow raises, lean-ins, hand gestures, and other shifts in facial expression including blinks, squints, wandering looks, and expressions of confusion. These were counted as they relate to each of the 3C, success rates were measured on these nonverbal data as well, and then they were tallied against the categories of verbal-only, verbal-nonverbal blended, and fully nonverbal.

Example 3.4-3: (Adele &) Yuri's Successful Nonverbal Clarification Requests & Confirm Check

1. A: What kind of person?
2. Y: Mmm\ Like (.) military↓
3. A: Military person?=
4. Y: =Mmm. ((nods))
5. A: →Oh, coo::l→ **What ha\ Where did you see them.**
(2.0)
- ➔ 6. Y: ((tilts head, makes confused facial expression))
7. A: ←Where did you see them?←
- ➔ 8. Y: **Where? Mmm. (.) Where (.) a::h (.) bookstore↓**
9. A: Mmhm::

The example above reflects a fully nonverbal clarification request which blends two moves simultaneously for one purpose, expressing the idea of “I don’t understand.” These moves in combination are particularly successful at eliciting the instructor, Adele, to repeat the previous questions with self-modification (slightly slower rate of speech and with greater emphasis on each individual word). The instructor’s utterance in line 7 shows that she assumes the trouble source to be receptive pronunciation or possibly a breakdown of the parsing process due to structural complexity. The student, Yuri, confirms this at line 8 where she returns the conversation to the original thread of talk by answering the instructor’s question. In cases such as these, the nonverbal moves were counted as two separately, but one blended for the purpose of clarification request. Even when they are blended with a verbal move, they are still counted collectively as one 3C move. For example, 1 verbal + 2 fully nonverbal moves, blended = 1 clarification request. This style of quantification is used because it allows for the use multiple moves toward a single purpose.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Students' Success in Repair Initiation Using 3C and the Case of Confirmation Checks

Over the total 13.9 hours of observed conversational data, 3C were used frequently by both NNS Japanese students and NS English instructors for the purpose of initiating repair. Because this study is concerned with the students' ability to use 3C to NfM, the following numbers represent only the students' attempts at repair initiation. As previously mentioned, "success" is determined by whether or not the students' uses of 3C were successful at initiating the side activity of repair. Table 4.1-1 below includes not only verbal counts, but also those which classified as verbal-nonverbal blended and fully nonverbal.

Table 4.1-1: 3C Totals and Successful NfM Differences

	Confirmation Checks	Clarification Requests	Comprehension Checks	Total
Occurrences:	370	120	12	502
Successful NfM:	224	115	10	349
% of total successful:	60.5%	95.8%	83.3%	69.5%

Of the 502 total 3C, students used confirmation checks most frequently at 370 (73.7%). These instances represent cases where students attempted to initiate repair on lexical items, phrases, or in some cases, entire questions by repeating a previous utterance with rising intonation. However, the majority of confirmation checks observed in the data were for checking the meaning of an individual lexical item as a trouble source. Of the 370 total confirmation checks, 224 (60.5%) were classified as successful attempts at repair initiation. Compared to the success rates of clarification requests (95.8%) and comprehension checks (83.3%), which were often overt questions about meaning or understanding, confirmation checks had the lowest percentage of successful initiations. This section focuses on their contextual use and the reasons behind their 60% success rate.

Because confirmation checks often dealt with issues in semantic meaning of lexical items, they were often resolved quickly through other-repair using short definitions, synonyms, and examples. In these data, I observed different types of trouble sources, and depending on whether repair was successfully initiated, varying degrees of focus on those items. As it relates to repair in NS/NNS conversations, successful initiation often led to explaining sequences by the instructors, and subsequently, opportunities for students to practice through additional repetitions

of the word or phrase. While the student participants did not always repeat the instructor-modified terms, those cases which did are relevant to SLA and should be included in discussions of how repair is also relevant to L2 learning. Building upon Ohta's (2005) 3-turn minimum structure, the table below shows an expanded 5-turn structure of repair which includes the possibility of modification both in terms of the instructor's self-modification and the student's modified output. Using a 5-turn minimum structure for understanding NS/NNS repair-based exchanges highlights the onset of trouble, indication of that trouble source, NS instructors' attempts at self-modification, and the NNS students' attempts to learn new items through focused practice. It also emphasizes the turn in which repair is concluded. This is a critical step in the repair process as it signals the exact point of return to the main thread of talk and the various ways in which it is executed.

Table 4.1-2: Structural Context of Confirmation Checks Incorporating Modification

Confirmation Check Contextual Side-Sequence Patterns					
1st NS Instructor "Statement of Trouble Source"	2nd NNS Student "Spacer Stage"	2nd NNS Student "Check Stage"	3rd NS Instructor "Clarification" or "Modified Input"	4th NNS Student "Modified Output"	5th NS Instructor "Completion or Abandonment"
▶ Question/ expression of uncertainty: (e.g. direct questions, comprehension checks, pre-modified utterances, etc.)	▶ Paralinguistic Features ▶ Spacers (pauses, in-breaths/ out-breaths slow production, and non-lexical items)	▶ Confirmation Check (repetition of previously uttered word, phrase, or question with rising intonation)	▶ Self-Repair (e.g. explaining sequence with or without examples, full definition/s, synonyms, etc.)	▶ Declaration of Comprehension	▶ Return to main thread of talk (e.g. questions and statements shifting topic)
▶ Statements of lexical items which become trouble source	▶ Pauses		▶ Modified repetition of lexical items, phrases, and/or questions.	▶ Modified repetition of checked item in practice OR Clar. Request	▶ Repair continues due to additional trouble or perceived need for practice
▶ Statements which are too voluminous	▶ Clarification Request		▶ Attempt ignored (No response and talk continues)	▶ Declaration of sustained trouble (e.g. additional pauses, spacers, etc.)	▶ Breakdown occurs

Table 4.1-2 shows that sources of trouble were often spoken by the instructor participant who frequently controlled the topic and direction of talk. Either by uttering an unfamiliar lexical item or by asking a question that required repeating, a trouble source was then indicated by the

student participant, first through a combination of pauses, paralinguistic features and spacers, then through repetition of the trouble source with rising intonation. On occasion, confirmation checks were preceded with a clarification request. This combination was often highly successful in initiating repair sequences. If the confirmation check was not missed or ignored, the third turn often involved either the instructor's self-modified repetition of the word or phrase, and/or a description of its meaning. On occasion, the instructor's self-modified repetitions at turn three were repeated by the student participant as we observed above in Example 3.4-1. Where the instructor elicited repetition from the student, a sequence of scaffolding co-occurred. Scaffolding is a type of guided learning or assistance which focuses on "those elements of the task that are initially beyond the learner's capacity, thus permitting him [or her] to concentrate upon and complete only those elements that are within his [or her] range of competence" (Wood, et al., 1976, p. 90). In these instances, NfM creates focus on the semantic meaning of words and phrases not only to maintain the progressivity of talk, but also to support SLA. The above-listed model also allows for continued misunderstanding following the initial explanation by the instructor and potential for communicative breakdown, but it was extremely rare, with only three occurrences across the entire data set.

While nonverbal behavior was not a common characteristic of the confirmation check category, other paralinguistic features and non-lexical items were. Paralinguistic features are both verbal and nonverbal aspects of talk which express additional meaning beyond the literal message, such as shifts in pitch, rate of speech, sound stretches, pauses, sighs, and many others. The expressive significance of these aspects in conversation is supported by Mori, et al., (2011) who note that "paralinguistic features can be even more eloquent than the linguistic message itself" (p. 36). The following table highlights the most prolific features observed in the data. It is important to note that while some confirmation checks lacked the use of any of these features, others incorporated more than one simultaneously.

Table 4.1-3: Paralinguistic Features and Other Phenomena in the Context of Confirm Checks

	Pauses	Spacers	Slow/quiet/ stretch	Syllabic breakdown	Out-breath/ in-breath	Total
Number of occurrences:	34 (18%)	75 (39.9%)	55 (29.3%)	15 (8%)	9 (4.8%)	188

Pauses or brief spates of silence following an instructor's question were strong indicators of trouble. Spacers such as uh, hm, mm, and eh also preceded the use of a confirmation check to

highlight a trouble source. Kitzinger (2013) has described these as “delaying devices” and claims that “hesitating in this way can maintain an active claim on the turn space and indicate a continued commitment to the turn’s production (though it can also signal a willingness to relinquish it)” (pp. 239-40). In the case of the NNS student participants, the latter was true as they requested assistance in checking a point of misunderstanding, thereby setting the groundwork for their turn. During the confirmation check itself, students also slowed the production of their speech, breaking down the trouble word into its syllabic (or moraic) components. This often indicated trouble in semantic meaning as well as receptive pronunciation. Finally, audibly distinct in-breaths and out-breaths were occasionally used both prior to and immediately after the confirmation check. Those confirmation checks which were used together with one or more paralinguistic features and non-lexical items were more successful in their initiation.

Although nearly 40% of confirmation checks were deemed “unsuccessful” at initiating repair, meaning was still conveyed sufficiently in most instances. One reason for this is the continued creation of context by the NS instructor, as the following example shows:

Example 4.1-1: (Mick &) Naoko’s Unsuccessful Attempt to Initiate Repair Using a Plain Confirmation Check with Few Paralinguistic or Non-Lexical Features

1. M: In *summer*:
(1.0)
2. M: um:: the Grand Canyon is very crowded and (.) many tourists from all over the world
3. N: Mmm-
4. M: →**and\ and the United States too. Many tourists.**→
(1.5)
5. M: **I like to go in the winner.**
- 6. N: **Winner?**
7. M: **Oh, it’s beautiful::**
(2.0)
8. M: **because you\ you remember how the rocks are red?**
9. N: ***Yeah.***
10. M: **Well then you have snow::**
11. N: **Mmm:: Ah::**
12. M: **on the red, you know? (.) Oh, it’s so beautiful::.**
13. N: **I want to see.**
14. M: ←O::h, it’s very beautiful::←

In this example, Mick has the floor as he describes the beauty of the Grand Canyon at different times of the year. The trouble source occurs at line 5 where he uses a phonetic reduction of the

word “winter” to “winner,” and this causes some difficulty for Naoko who repeats it verbatim with a rising intonation. Her attempt at orientation to the task of repair is unsuccessful in the sense that Mick continues with his description of the canyon from line 7. The two-second pause which follows is an additional sign of trouble as Naoko does not seize the floor. Mick then provides additional context at lines 8 and 10 as he describes the contrast of the red rocks against the snow, and following this description, Naoko makes the connection at line 11 with her expression of understanding “ah.” As we see here, “unsuccessful” attempts at repair initiation can be resolved through a *wait-and-see approach* via additional context. In cases like this, the weight of progressivity takes precedence over side activities. This is not a surprising discovery considering the high frequency of confirmation checks found in the data. If every attempt at repair initiation was reciprocated overtly by the instructor, the level of disruption to the contiguity of talk would make understanding quite difficult to achieve.

“Successful” confirmation checks were often delivered using a blend of different paralinguistic and non-lexical features. The pairing of additional features with a confirmation check appears to create an increased degree of urgency which is commensurate with the level of importance a lexical item has in the conversation. The following example shows how these multiple features can be used to this effect.

Example 4.1-2: (Nataly &) Yuuki’s Successful Attempt to Initiate Repair Using a Confirmation Check with Several Paralinguistic Features

1. Y: So, uh
(1.0)
2. Y: I spend (.) many money.
3. N: Hahah.
4. Y: A lot of money. ((nods))
(1.5)
5. Y: .h.h *to go sh\ shopping.*
6. N: n shopping. Ri::ght.
(1.0)
7. N: **Um (.) just clothes↓ Did you buy anything here?**
- ➔ 8. Y: ((leans in quickly, silently))
9. N: ←did you buy any clothes (.) [here?←
10. Y: [Yeah, yeah. Ah, yeah. Um,
(1.5)
11. Y: I (.) bought (.) a lot\ a lot of clothes and shoes (.) a::nd-
12. N: **Is it going to fit in your luggage?**
(1.0)
- ➔ 13. Y: ←*Lug gage?*←
14. N: ((makes gesture of lifting)) **Your luggage (.) when you go back [home, to Japan**

15. Y:

[Yeah, yeah.

16. N: is it going to fit?

17. Y: Yeah, yeah. Um::.

In this conversation about souvenir shopping and packing for travel, Nataly speaks the trouble source at line 12 where she says, “luggage.” After this line, there is an extended pause followed by the student’s repetition of the word with not only rising intonation, but also with a slower rate of speech and lower volume. Yuuki even breaks the word down into its syllabic components as he pronounces it. This confirmation check at line 13 successfully initiates a repair sequence in which the instructor gestures the experience of lifting heavy bags at line 14. As Nataly begins to provide additional context by describing travel in the same line, Yuuki interjects with positive confirmation that he has understood her description and the side sequence is closed. Nataly then re-submits the previous question from line 12 at line 16, albeit in modified grammatical form. The extended pause, reduced rate of speech, reduced volume, and syllabic breakdown all coalesce to increase emphasis on this single lexical item and its importance to the ongoing thread of talk.

From an institutional talk perspective, this example shows what is known as an *asymmetrical power relationship*. In NS/NNS conversations, claims to knowledge are exhibited through displays of what one knows both about the topic and the language in which it is discussed. The instructor, Nataly, orients to her perceived role as she controls the line of questioning at lines 7, 9, 12, and 16. Vine (2008) has noted that “teachers usually open and close sequences in classroom interactions” (p. 682). Yuuki similarly orients to his role of NNS student as he allows the instructor to guide the direction of conversation with those questions. The extended teacher wait time (Rowe, 1986), which Nataly provides following lines 4, 6, 10, and 12 prompt the student to produce more details in answer of her questions which Yuuki does at lines 5 and 11, prior to the occurrence of trouble. Yuuki’s overt display of confusion at line 13 invites the instructor to take the floor and conduct repair on the lexical trouble source. Nataly also has the responsibility to return the conversation to the main thread of talk once understanding is achieved. During sequences of repair, the floor is relinquished to the more knowledgeable participant while the less knowledgeable participant plays a more passive/receptive role. Tyler (1995) describes these dominant roles as being related to “domains of knowledge,” and in NS/NNS conversations, the NS often commands the linguistic domain of knowledge.

One additional point of interest which is observed in the above-listed example is Yuuki's use of a fully nonverbal clarification request at line 8. It is successful in its execution as the instructor repeats her previous question, but more slowly with *specification* of the item "anything" to "any clothes." As discussed, specification is the most common form of replacement terms observed in sequences repair. The next section explores students' use of clarification requests and varying degrees of nonverbal behavior to initiate repair. Similar to how paralinguistic features were discovered in the turn space of confirmation checks, it uncovers the use of several nonverbal moves in the turn space of clarification requests.

4.2.1 Students' Use of Nonverbal Moves by 3C Category and the Case of Clarification Requests

While confirmation checks were the most prolific 3C type observed in this data set, clarification requests were the second-most frequently used NfM strategy at 120 of 502 total 3C (23.9%). Interestingly, the majority of clarification requests at 115 of 120 (95.8%) were successful initiators of repair. This may be due to their explicit force in conversation. Where confirmation checks imply misunderstanding through the repetition of a previous utterance, clarification requests are a direct declaration of it. Structurally shorter clarification requests such as "huh?" and "what?" could potentially be missed or intentionally passed over for the sake of progressivity, but there was very high likelihood of repair surrounding the longer, more overt clarification requests, such as "I didn't understand," or "Could you say that one more time, please?" In addition to the overt display of misunderstanding they help to create, nonverbal behavior also played an important role in interaction between the NNS Japanese students and their NS instructors, especially at the sites of repair resulting from clarification requests. As the following tables show, nonverbal behavior was observed less frequently in the confirmation check category as it was in the clarification request and comprehension check categories.

Table 4.2.1-1: Clarification Request Categories

Request Types:	Verbal Only	Verbal-Nonverbal Blended	Fully Nonverbal	Total
Number of Occurrences:	36	54	30	120
		84		

Table 4.2.1-2: Total Nonverbal Moves Across 3C Categories

	<u>Confirmation Checks</u>	<u>Clarification Requests</u>	<u>Comprehension Checks</u>	<u>Total</u>
Occurrences:	9	84	7	100

Successful NfM:	5	80	6	91
% of total successful:	55.5%	95.2%	85.7%	91%

The results in Table 4.2.1-2 are a combination of both verbal-nonverbal blended 3C as well as fully nonverbal 3C. It represents NNS students' use of nonverbal moves such as head movements, eyebrow raises, hand gestures, lean-ins, and a few others at the sites of trouble in conversation. Despite their comparatively high rate of occurrence in the totals, only nine confirmation checks were paired with some type of nonverbal behavior. This may be due to the use of other paralinguistic and non-lexical features at the sites where they were spoken. Clarification requests, on the other hand, not only showed a very high likelihood of co-occurring with nonverbal behavior at 84 of 120 total clarification requests (70%), but those which did showed a very high rate of successful repair initiation (95.2%). It is for these reasons that this section focuses on the multimodal environment of their use.

Similar to confirmation checks, clarification requests were employed at the onset of trouble, and the resulting repair was often resolved in a three-to-five-turn structured side sequence. Interestingly, the use of clarification requests was often preceded by one or more confirmation checks. This seems to suggest that an attempt at initiating repair can be made more effective when initially passed over by providing an additional confirmation check or clarification request.

Table 4.2.1-3: Structural Context of Clarification Requests Observed in Data

Clarification Request Contextual Side-Sequence Patterns					
1st NS Instructor "Statement of Trouble Source"	2nd NNS Student "Spacer Stage"	2nd NNS Student "Request Stage"	3rd NS Instructor "Clarification w/ Modified Input"	4th NNS Student "Modified Output"	5th NS Instructor "Completion or Abandonment"
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Question/ expression of uncertainty: (e.g. direct questions, comprehension checks, modified utterances, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Spacers (pauses, in-breaths/ out-breaths slow production, etc.) ▶ Pauses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Clarification Request ▶ Nonverbals (often blended with verbal aspects): (e.g. head tilt/shakes, blinks, lean-ins, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Repetition of lexical item, phrase, question, etc. using modification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Declaration of Comprehension ▶ Modified repetition of lexical item or phrase w/ falling intonation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Return to main thread of talk (e.g. questions and statements shifting topic)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Statements of challenging lexical items as a source of trouble 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Confirmation Check (▶ Possible response from instructor) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Repair (via definition, example/s explaining sequences, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Declaration of Sustained Trouble ▶ Additional Confirmation Check 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Repair continues due to additional trouble or perceived need for practice ▶ Breakdown

While the existence of confirmation checks prior to students' use of clarification requests did not occur every time, it did occur frequently enough to warrant a discussion here. This is one example of what Sidnell (2007) calls a "mobilization of local resources," a process in which the language user calls upon the grammar, social categories, and other language-specific resources to carry out a particular social action. In this case, the failure of one 3C to initiate repair necessitates the use of another with additional features to stress the importance of resolving the trouble in conversation.

The following example illustrates an attempt at repair initiation which begins with a confirmation check and then leads to a clarification request. In this spate of talk, the instructor is explaining her time spent abroad in South America as the student offers occasional displays of knowledge, such as the names of popular tourist sites.

Example 4.2.1-1: (Casey & Ren's Successful Initiation of Repair Using a Verbal-Nonverbal Blended Clarification Request Preceded by a Confirmation Check

1. C: Ye::ah. There\ There's a\ There's lots of history [and heritage in Mexico.
2. R: [Ah::
3. R: Yeah.
4. C: Ye::ah.
- (1.5)
5. R: ((looks off to right)) Machu Picchu? ((returns gaze to C))
6. C: **Machu Picchu is actually in Peru.**
- (0.5)
- ➔ 7. R: →In Peru? (.) Ah::→
8. C: **In Peru. But (.) um (.) Mexico has some (.) uh (.) archeological sites?**
9. R: ((nods))
10. A: Um (.) mainly from the *Mayans*.
- ➔ 11. R: **Mayans?**
12. C: →Yes::→
- ➔ 13. R: ((snaps head to right briefly and quickly returns gaze)) **What's this?**
14. C: **The Peru\ P\ P\ Peru:: and Machu Picchu=**
15. R: ((lean in, nods)) **Mmhm-**
16. C: **=is the Incan[s. It's a tribe.**
17. R: [Uh. **Yeah.**
18. C: **Yeah? And in Mexico (.) it's mainly the Mayans↓**
19. R: **Uhuh. ((nods))**

Evidence of trouble appears subsequent to line 6 where Casey, the instructor, is correcting the student's presumed location of Machu Picchu. A brief pause is followed by Ren's confirmation check of the item "Peru" in line 7, but he immediately follows it with a declaration of comprehension, which is a same-turn self-repair of the trouble source. This is Ren's first brief

display of unfamiliarity with the topic. As the instructor continues with her description, there are signs that she has understood this display at line 8 where she uses several micropauses and spacers followed by a rising intonation on the phrase “archeological sites?” and also in line 10 when she says the word “*Mayans*” with increased stress. The student then indicates this new lexical trouble source with a confirmation check by repeating it with rising intonation; however, in the following line, the instructor replies with a quick “yes,” possibly mistaking it for a backchannel and not an actual attempt at initiating repair. As a result, Ren uses a clarification request at line 13 to reinstate his initially unsuccessful attempt at repair, which Casey then reciprocates with her descriptions in lines 14, 16, and 18. While it is unclear from this example that the student has understood the instructor’s description or continues using backchannels for the sake of progressing the ongoing thread of talk, it is evident that less successful attempts at repair initiation can be followed with more overt displays of misunderstanding by diversifying the 3C they use.

Example 4.2.1-1 illustrates the notion of *intensification*, not as it relates to the modification of specific words being used, but in terms of the implicit display of one’s own level of understanding. It shows how trouble sources which have been overlooked or ignored for the sake of progressivity can be revisited, and this increased emphasis lends NNS student participants an important resource for ensuring that NfM occurs on items which they consider to be central to achieving understanding. Another example of intensification is observed in Ren’s use of a nonverbal head movement at line 13, where just prior to his clarification request, he snaps his head to the right and back again. Sharp head movements call attention to one’s facial region, and this can have the effect of drawing a recipient’s gaze back if it is wandering. Focusing gaze is essential in aligning participants to the task of a side activity like repair. The next section discusses the role that gaze plays in alignment of conversational co-participants, how different nonverbal moves impact gaze, and what this means for speakership roles.

4.2.2 How the Use of Nonverbal Moves Impacts Gaze

Gaze plays a very important role in determining turns at talk and speakership rights. Goodwin (1981, 1986) has noted that the use of gaze in conversation is one of the strongest determiners of who has claim to the floor and who gets to speak next. Secondly, he emphasized the importance of gesture in its ability to direct gaze by creating spatial focus. Other

aspects of nonverbal behavior are important to this process as they contribute to focusing attention on one's eyes. The following table reflects verbal-nonverbal moves as well as the fully nonverbal moves used by students at the sites of trouble and repair. It is important to note that "combined" occurrences in this table refer to one nonverbal move used simultaneously with another (e.g. raised eyebrows and a lean-in).

Table 4.2.2-1: Total Occurrences of Nonverbals by Move Type

Name	Head Shake/Tilt	Raised Eyebrows	Hand Gestures	Shoulder Shrugs	Lean ins	Other	Total Non-Verbals
Individual Occurrences:	23	6	29	1	16	7	82
Combined Occurrences:	5	10	3		15	3	36 / 2 = 18
Actual Total:							100

As Table 4.2.2-1 indicates, nonverbal moves were occasionally blended together to create a powerful draw of focus to initiation. For example, the greatest co-occurrence of nonverbal moves observed in the data (10 occurrences) was the pairing of sharp and sudden lean-ins with raised eyebrows. The second most frequent pairing observed (5 occurrences) was the combination of lean-ins with head tilts, and all of these achieved the effect of clarification request. This determination was made for fully nonverbal moves based upon their comparable use and effect at the sites of verbal-nonverbal blended clarification requests. Of the nonverbal moves, 64.3% were a blend of verbal and nonverbal, and 35.7% were fully nonverbal. Fully nonverbal behavior was paired with stretches of silence, features of a dispreferred response. They served to interrupt the flow of conversation, which may be why they were particularly effective at initiating repair. Considering this, the nonverbal moves which intensified the force of repair initiation by focusing gaze were head shakes/tilts, eyebrow raises, and confused facial expressions. Lean-ins were also extremely important in combination with these because they often brought the face of the student closer to that of the instructor to increase visibility of the other nonverbal phenomena in use.

Where comprehension is critical to the progressivity of talk, clarification requests were blended with nonverbal behavior to intensify gaze and align participants to the task of repair. The following example shows how alignment to this side activity occurs at the point where Ren's break in gaze is returned to the interlocutor.

Example 4.2.2-1: (Stan & Ren's Successful Attempt to Initiate Repair Using Verbal-Nonverbal Blended Clarification Request

1. S: And it's easy to leave a tip when somebody's doing something
(1.5)
2. S: that\ that we appreciate.
(1.0)
3. S: Like give us food. Like giving us food (.) I mean.
4. R: ((Looks off to the left of S))
(2.0)
- ➔ 5. R: ((Looks back at S, raises index finger, and leans in)) *one mo* Eh, (.) one more please.
6. S: Uh, we like to show, uh, our appreciation, and it's easy to
(0.5)
7. S: give a tip when somebody does something nice for us.
8. R: Huh.
9. S: Maybe somebody serves us, like they take our garbage.
(1.0)
10. S: You know (.) in the United States (.) we put the garbage in containers (.) and we bring them to the road.
(2.0)
11. S: But they're not giving us something delicious (.) right? We don't think of leaving the garbage man a tip.
12. R: Huh. Ok ((nods))

Image 4.2.2-1: Ren's Use of Gesture and Lean-in to Recapture Gaze and Align with Stan



This exchange shows how a nonverbal move can be combined with a verbal clarification request to initiate a repair sequence. Trouble begins with Stan's description at lines 2 and 3. He self-truncates, uses micro-pauses, and rephrases his previous utterance in a form of self-modification. The lengthy two-second pause which follows line 4 reflects Ren's indication of that trouble. As Image 4.2.2-1 shows, during the pause, Ren looks off to the right of Stan, but then he leans in slightly, raises a finger, and reconnects with Stan's gaze. The brief break in gaze leaves the floor

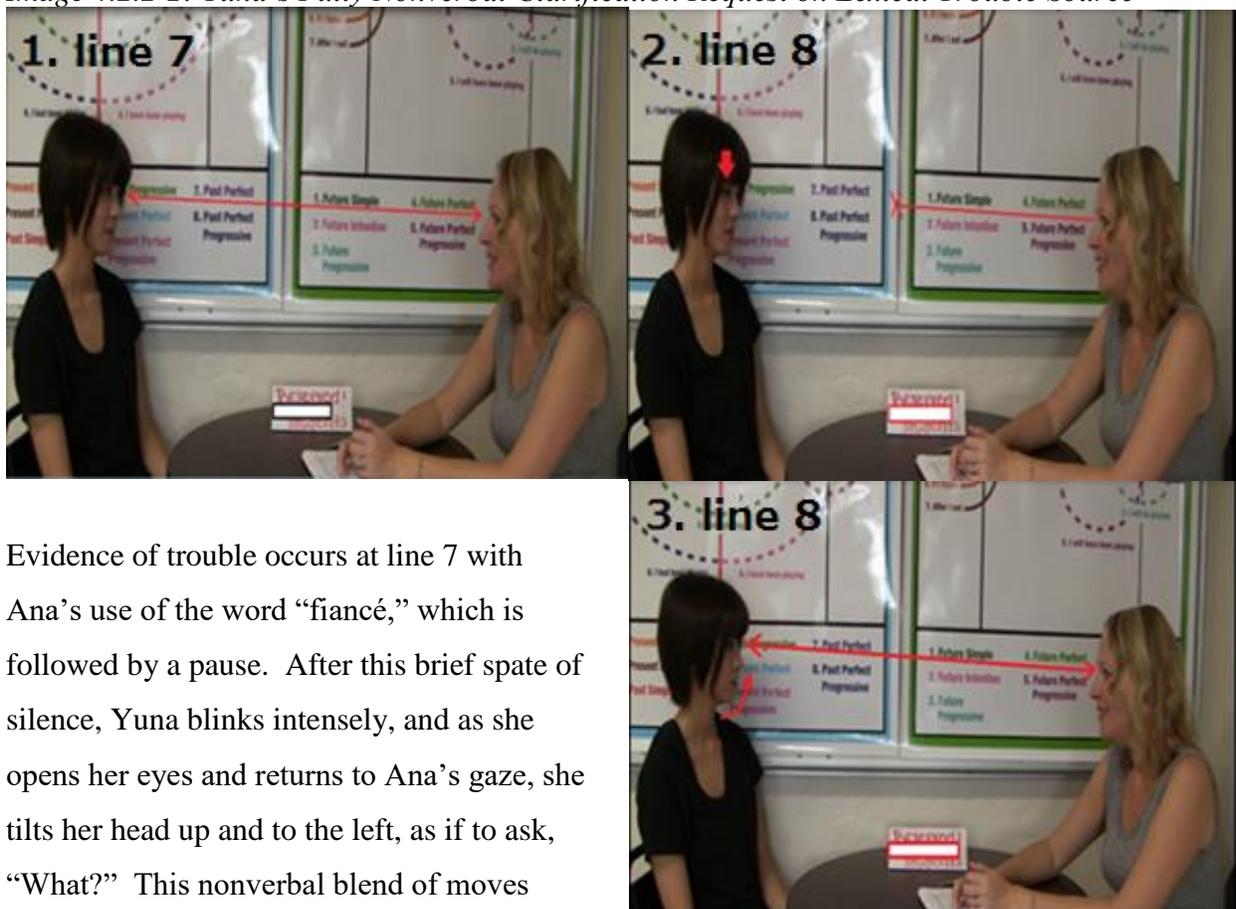
open, but the return to gaze combined with the simultaneous lean-in signals an attempt at achieving alignment with Stan as it brings their faces closer together. These nonverbal expressions are folded into the verbal clarification request in line 5 which also shows the use of paralinguistic features (lower volume), a non-verbal spacer (“Eh”), and a restart on the request at full volume. At line 6, Stan relaunches his attempt at explaining the rationale of tipping culture and reciprocates Ren’s request. Stan’s repair appears to be focused on defining the semantic concept of “appreciation” which first appears at line 2, and is reiterated at line 6 as he provides additional examples. From lines 6 to 11, Stan commands the floor in this effort, and it is a sequence in which Ren has oriented to a more passive role. The student’s limited responses to questions suggest Ren’s desire to allow the instructor a degree of control over the direction of conversation, a type of behavior commonly observed in classroom talk (Vine, 2008). Despite the pauses that Stan offers following lines 9 and 10, Ren continues to relinquish the floor until line 12 where he expresses a degree of comprehension. The type of verbal-nonverbal blended clarification request observed here was found most frequently in the data (64.3%); however, a sizeable proportion (35.7%) were fully nonverbal, and these were successful in every attempt at initiation and NfM.

As the previous examples have shown, nonverbal behavior is often blended with lengthy pauses, and this silence is also highly effective in making requests for clarification. Example 4.2.2-2 illustrates how these requests are displayed. In this spate of talk, Yuna was explaining to Ana, the instructor, about her brother back home when Ana uses an unfamiliar lexical item.

Example 4.2.2-2: (Ana &) Yuna’s Successful Attempt to Initiate Repair Using a Clarification Request which Blends a Blink and Head Tilt with Silence

1. A: Heheh. That’s a special [man.
2. Y: [Yeah.
3. A: →So how old is he?→
4. Y: Twenty-five↓
5. A: ((nods)) Twenty-five?
6. Y: Yeah.
7. A: **Ok. That’s nice (.) Do you know his fiancé?**
(1.0)
- 8. Y: **((blinks, tilts head up slightly and returns gaze to A))**
9. A: **Fiancé is: (.) his (.) girlfriend? (.) who will become his wife?**
10. Y: **Ye::s, but (.) I just saw her in photo↓**
11. A: Right (.) So you haven’t met her↓
12. Y: Yeah.

Image 4.2.2-2: Yuna's Fully Nonverbal Clarification Request on Lexical Trouble Source



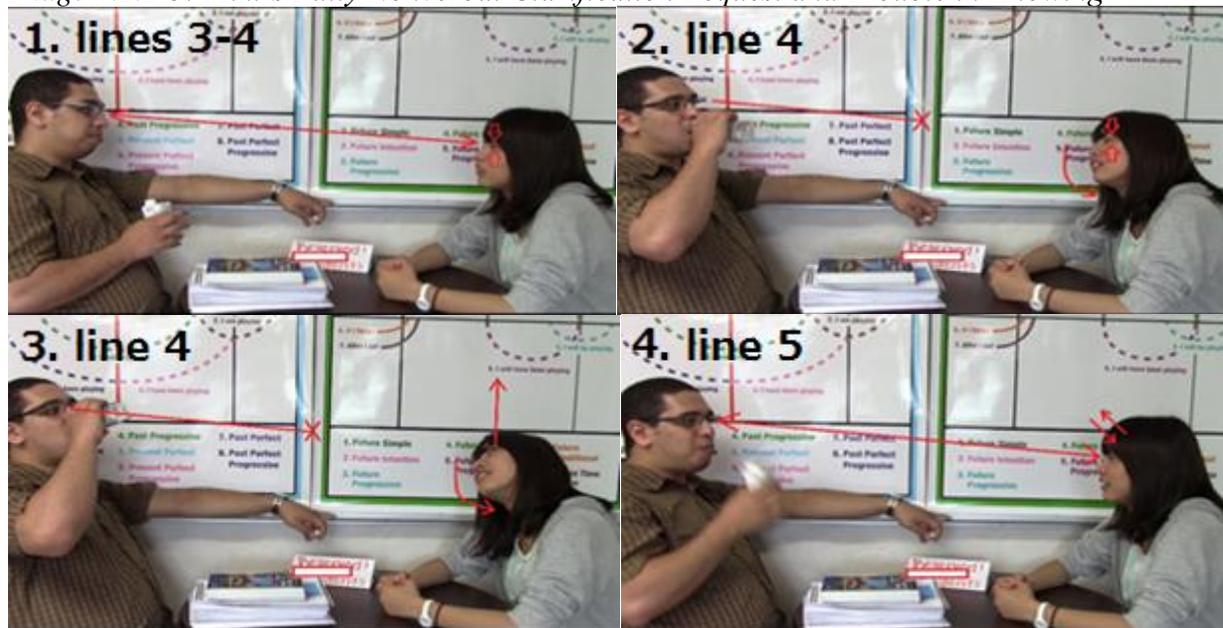
Evidence of trouble occurs at line 7 with Ana's use of the word "fiancé," which is followed by a pause. After this brief spate of silence, Yuna blinks intensely, and as she opens her eyes and returns to Ana's gaze, she tilts her head up and to the left, as if to ask, "What?" This nonverbal blend of moves coupled with her extended silence is successful in orienting Ana to the side sequence of repair, which Ana then provides via definition at line 9. Yuna's reply in the subsequent line is a display of comprehension and the talk returns to the main sequence. In an interview with Wong and Olsher (2000), Schegloff has said that "silence could become, for example, a key resource for grounding a claim for the relevance of the categorical identity of the speaker as a non-native speaker" (p.114). What this means is that spates of extended silence can be used to draw focus to the meta-level aspects of conversation by reminding the NS instructor participant that they are in a conversation with a NNS student and that NfM or FonF is required. However, spates of silence in isolation are indeed rare, even in conversations with Japanese speakers. Studies on Japanese communication strategies (Iwasaki, 1997; Kogure, 2007) have noted quite accurately that silence is a form of subtle negotiation, one which is not interactionally vacuous. These studies have remarked that silence is often combined with smiles, nods, and other nonverbal behaviors to powerful effect in conversation.

The classification of certain nonverbal moves as clarification requests requires careful observation of the co-participants' facial expressions and the verbal context that the surrounding talk provides to understand the stances. The fully nonverbal clarification request in the previous example was classified as such because the student visibly mouthed the word "what" (See third frame of Image 4.2.2-2) without vocalizing it. In other examples, it was necessary to study the surrounding context of talk.

Example 4.2.2-3: (Ken &) Miki's Use of Nonverbal and Verbal Clarification Requests Also Preceded by Confirmation Checks

1. K: If you like
(1.0)
2. K: Um:
(1.0)
3. K: intelligence? Like (.) espionage type movies? you can watch *Bourne Identity*.
- 4. M: **Bourne Identity*?* ((narrows eyes, tilts head, blinks and looks up at ceiling))
(4.5)
- 5. M: ((returns gaze to K and shakes head))
6. K: Hm. By Matt Damon?
- 7. M: Matt Damon?
(3.0)
- 8. M: *I don't kno::w.*
9. K: I'll tell you about a really nice movie. It's animation or toon? but you'll love it.
(1.0)
10. K: *Despicable* (.) *Me*.
11. M: Mmm.
12. K: *Despicable Me*. You'll love that movie.

Image 4.2.2-3: Miki's Fully Nonverbal Clarification Request and Trouble in Knowing



In this example, Ken is sharing his knowledge about movies which Miki could use to practice English. Signs of trouble appear at line 4 where Miki uses a confirmation check first, and then narrows her gaze, blinks, tilts her head to the right, and looks up at the ceiling. Image 4.2.2-3 reveals how dramatic Miki's head tilt becomes as she shifts her gaze to the ceiling. This process creates an extended spate of silence lasting just over 4 seconds which is a considerable break in the progressivity of the conversation. Miki then returns her gaze to Ken and shakes her head from side to side silently. This successful attempt at repair initiation is classified as a clarification request because head shakes are often coupled with the words, "I don't know," and indeed, these exact words are used by Miki in a fully verbal response at line 8. The full range of nonverbal signals and silence which lead up to this head shake create a strong message to the interlocutor which he initially attempts to repair at line 6 by specification (providing the name of the well-known actor). However, following an additional lengthy pause, Miki's second verbal clarification at line 8 is not repaired but abandoned by Ken at line 9, and this raises an important problem in the classification of clarification requests.

Overt displays of knowledge or the lack thereof feed into the notion of asymmetrical relationships of participants in conversation. In conversation between NS's and NNS's, the NNS participant faces the double challenge of 1) possessing the knowledge of a particular topic, and 2) possessing the linguistic capacity through which to express that knowledge. Heritage (2013) describes this power dynamic as *epistemic status*:

It involves the parties' joint recognition of their comparative access, knowledgeability, and rights relative to some domain of knowledge as a matter of more or less established fact... The speaker is laying claim to an absolute epistemic advantage in which the teller is projectedly knowing about the matter at hand, while the recipient is, projectedly at least, entirely unknowing about what is to be described. (p. 376)

In Example 4.2.2-3, Miki's extended pauses and nonverbal displays resulting in broken gaze relinquish the floor continually to Ken who possesses the knowledge of films which are both entertaining to watch and effective for studying English. Ken launches a repair sequence at line 6 due to the ambiguity of these two competing domains of knowledge because it is unclear whether Miki knows the term of reference (the English name of the movie) or is familiar with the movie itself. Once Ken determines that the latter is true, he uses his continued claim to the floor at line 9 to progress the conversation to a new subtopic. Close examination of this particular

instance of trouble reflects the disparity between what the numbers show and what actually occurs in social interaction. The combined use of confirmation checks and clarification requests is an option available to emphasize the scale of threat that the continuing trouble poses. These resources are mobilized together on verbal as well as nonverbal levels, and shifts in gaze symbolize the participants' perceived stances. The student participants in this study used these multimodal resources to produce displays of knowing and unknowing, and from those displays, determinations about who plays more active or passive roles in conversation were made. In the final section on comprehension checks, the notions of knowledge domains and ambiguity of categorization are explored further.

4.3 Domains of Knowledge and the Case of Comprehension Checks

One factor by which conversational participants transcend their preconceived roles is through their knowledge of a particular topic. Status in conversation is impacted by many macro-social factors such as age, gender, institutional role, and cultural background amongst others. In this study, NNS student participants likely entered conversations with NS instructors with the expectation that the instructors, who are experts in the target language, will be doing much of the talking. However, even in asymmetrical NS/NNS exchanges such as these, the course of talk is impacted more by what one knows about the topic under discussion. Tyler (1995) summarizes several studies in this area with the claim that “inequality of topic knowledge and the role of teacher/expert of the NNSs resulted in a status gain that was reflected in the features of the exchange. The increased status in the role of content expert seemed to cancel the presumed automatic, superior effect accruing from NS status found in other studies” (p. 132). Also, Kamio (1994) and later Hosoda (2000) define three types of territory in which “(a) the information is obtained through the person’s internal or external direct experience; (b) the information embodies detailed knowledge which falls into the person’s professional or other expertise; or (c) the information is about persons, facts, and things close to that person, including information about that person” (p. 42). Indeed, the student participants in this study discussed matters of their native language, country, and culture when they held the floor and claimed knowledge over the discourse domain. Unfortunately, this did not occur very often as many of the students appeared to enter each conversation with the mindset that they were there to learn from the instructor about the local culture, language, and traditions. This is evidenced in the fact

that of the 502 total attempts at NfM, only 12 (2.4%) were comprehension checks as used by students. It emphasizes how infrequently student participants possessed the discourse domain.

The Japanese NNS students did not use any tag questions such as “right?”, and the majority of those they used were direct questions related to knowledge, such as “Do you understand?” and “Do you know what I mean?” Because comprehension checks usually follow an interlocutor’s description of a topic within their domain of knowledge, they are retroactive actions on an interlocutor’s produced speech. Carrier (1999) has claimed that unequal status between NNS’s and NS’s is a “barrier to negotiation”. In fact, those claims to knowledge made by student participants were often on matters of Japanese culture, language, and food. The following example is one such case of laying claim to a knowledge domain:

Example 4.3-1: (Rose & Ako’s Use of a Comprehension Check which Expresses Discourse Domain over the Topic of Hometown (Topic Domain)

1. R: How about you? Where are you from↓
(1.0)
2. A: I came from Japan?
3. R: ((nods)) Mmhm.
- 4. A: and Hyogo↓ *Do you know Hyogo?*
5. R: Huh::
6. A: Hyogo (.) e:::h (.) Hyogo includes Kobe?
7. R: Yeah. ((nods))
(0.5)
8. A: Hyogo is next to Osaka?
9. R: Oh (.) Yeah.
10. A: a::nd Kyoto↓
11. R: Oh (.) sure. Mmm.

In the example above, Rose is adamant about transitioning the floor to the student participant for the majority of their help hours session, so she often asked Ako to describe aspects of her life back home. Asking open-ended questions is one method teachers use to elicit responses from their students, and Rose orients to this task frequently in her conversations with Ako. During Ako’s explanation of her home prefecture, she checks Rose’s knowledge at line 4. Rose’s use of the spacer “Huh::” signals her unfamiliarity, so Ako conducts repair by providing a replacement term in the form of a well-known city within the prefecture at line 6 and an adjacent city at line 8. Rose displays that comprehension has been achieved in lines 9 and 11, and the conversation returns to the main sequence. One particularly interesting detail observed here is the low volume which Ako applied to her comprehension check in line 4. It suggests the student’s consciousness of her own status in this asymmetrical power structure.

The concept of asymmetry doesn't just refer to domain or territory of knowledge alone; it refers to the broader power relationships between individuals as well. The rules which govern communication in asymmetrical power relationships also dictate matters of formality and politeness. Early work on the concept of face was conducted by Brown and Levinson (1987), and it was based upon the desires of conversational participants. Schiffrin (1996) summarizes the definitions of two types of face as "the desire that others want the same thing that the self wants (positive face) and the desire that one's own wants and needs be unimpeded and unintruded upon (negative face)" (p. 309). While CA does not seem to be directly interested in an exploration of the desires of conversational participants, research on face-saving techniques may inform what occurs in the data. When a trouble source arises, the very act of initiating repair on that trouble source could be viewed as a two-way threat to face, and this is particularly problematic in NS/NNS conversations where a significant goal of interaction is the facilitation of second language acquisition. Foster (1998) remarks upon the face threatening nature of NfM as an explanation for why it occurred so infrequently in the conversational data of NNS's. She coined the term "shared ignorance" to explain why NNS students didn't attempt to initiate repair of each other's speech in class discussions. The very idea that one language learner would flaunt their domain of linguistic knowledge over another seemed to be too presumptuous and potentially face threatening to occur often. However, the asymmetrical power dynamic of NS/NNS conversations allows for more frequent attempts at NfM. At the same time, it makes the process of seizing the floor potentially more face threatening in the student's mind as the instructor carries a higher status than they do. Ideally, these presumed threats are mitigated by cognizance of the institutional roles the participants assume.

Similar to clarification requests, the concept of "knowing" in comprehension checks also carries a degree of ambiguity. By asking the question, "Do you know what I mean?" a NNS conversational participant can refer to dual domains of knowledge: 1) the NS's own understanding of the explanation, and 2) the linguistic accuracy with which the NNS conveyed it. In this final example, Ren uses a comprehension check as a measure of the accuracy of his linguistic production. When his pronunciation creates a trouble source, repair is initiated.

Example 4.3-2: (Stan & Ren's Use of a Comprehension Check which Expresses Trouble in Pronunciation (Linguistic Domain)

1. R: My faza:↓ (.) Uh
(0.5)

2. R: learns his company-
3. S: Mhm?
4. R: so:: I want to:: succeed his company↓-
5. S: Mhm::
- 6. R: Uh (.) he:**
(1.0)
- 7. R: he learns (.) uruseru?**
(2.5)
- 8. S: ((blinks, angles head in slightly))**
- 9. R: He learns uruseru↓**
(2.0)
- 10. S: ((Maintains gaze, lowers his head in a little more))**
- ➔ **11. R: uru (.) Do you\ do you know::?**
- 12. S: ((shakes his head silently))**
- 13. R: Ah. Uruseru. ((Spells out writing on palm of hand)) W H O L-**
- 14. S: Wholesale.**
- 15. R: →Ah Wholesale→ Yeah! ((nods, smiles))**
- 16. S: It's ok. Got it. So he has a whole[sale company?**
- 17. R: [Yeah::**
- 18. R: his wholesale comp[any-**
- 19. S: [What does he sell?**

From a CA perspective, Ren controls the floor as he attempts to explain his plans after graduation, but signs of trouble in production begin to occur at lines 6 and 7 as exhibited by his sound stretches and delaying productions. This is confirmed by Stan, the instructor, who uses a nonverbal clarification request by blinking and leaning in to enhance gaze at line 8. Ren uses a frame by reissuing his previous statement in line 9 with falling intonation, but this attempt is also checked with an extended pause and an additional nonverbal clarification request by Stan at line 10. In the subsequent line, Ren employs a comprehension check by asking, “Do you know?” to which Stan nonverbally shakes his head. Vine (2008) notes that second pair parts in response can be both verbal and nonverbal, and Stan’s adjacency pair completion exemplifies this. Unsuccessful in his attempt at multiple tries, the trouble becomes unavoidable, so Ren executes a repair sequence of his own at line 13 by using a spell-out technique. It is successful because the instructor interjects prior to the completion of Ren’s turn and provides the lexical item he was appealing for.

From an institutional talk point of view, there are several asymmetric and also beneficial aspects to this exchange. First, Stan orients to his role of instructor by allowing long stretches of wait time where the student participant pauses to word search and produce his turn. This even seems to connect with his decision to use fully nonverbal responses at lines 8, 10, and 12. Upon

realizing the word Ren is trying to express, Stan interjects and provides a verbal correction with emphasis. On the matter of classroom talk, MacBeth (2004) notes that “error correction is the task of language class teaching” (p. 703), and this is the goal to which both participants orient in their effort at repair. Evidence of this is supported by the students’ multiple repetitions of the instructor’s pronunciation at lines 15 and 18. This is another example of how orientation to institutional roles for the sake of repair offers opportunities for modified input, output, and facilitation of SLA.

5. Conclusion

This study has asked how Japanese non-native English learners use 3C (*confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks*) to initiate repair when speaking with NS instructors in a semi-institutional context. It has found that the highest frequency 3C type used by these low-intermediate students was confirmation checks on issues of reference. These were successful at initiating repair and launching NfM sequences about 60% of the time. More successful cases of repair initiation were preceded by paralinguistic features and non-lexical items such as spacers and other delaying devices. On the matter of paralinguistic features, it was interesting to find that very few instances of nonverbal behavior preceded confirmation checks. Nonverbal behavior was, on the other hand, a significant aspect of the space which preceded clarification requests. Requests for clarification were successful an impressive 95% of the time and often involved nonverbal moves which focused gaze via intensification to align the conversational co-participants to the task of repair. It is worth noting that confirmation checks often existed in the turn space prior to the utterance of clarification requests because while a particular confirmation check might not be successful in halting the progressivity of talk to initiate repair, the perceived urgency of resolving a trouble source can be reinstated with more overt nods to gap and holes in the students’ domains of knowledge. The fact that NNS student participants faced dual challenges in making claims to knowledge territories (both linguistic and topical) was evidenced in their low 2.4% use of comprehension checks. Conversational participants who claim a particular domain of knowledge also lay claim to the floor, and as a result, they enjoy increased opportunities to talk. However, the student participants observed in this study were anything but passive observers. The use of 3C to NfM and FonF provided them

with helpful tools to learn more about the meaning of unfamiliar words and phrases, practice new grammatical and phonological forms, and discover more about American culture.

This study was also concerned with the institutionality of classroom talk as it relates to the casual context of the Student Help Hours. It supports Seedhouse's (2008) "universal principles of classroom talk", specifically in reference to the *displays* of knowledge each interlocutor makes in conversation. Upon the occurrence of trouble, the native English-speaking instructors often controlled the floor to conduct other-repair by asking questions to highlight students' specific gaps and holes and check their understanding. On the other hand, the students were often relegated to the somewhat passive role of recipient, adding additional checks and requests when trouble persisted and then displaying comprehension when the trouble was resolved. However, this is not to say that the Japanese student participants played completely passive roles in this process. As we have seen from their various conversational exchanges, students often used the opportunities of NfM and FonF to practice the trouble sources through a process of careful repetition, or *modified output*. In these instances where the NS orients to their instructor identity and the NNS orients to their student identity, negotiation is played out within the frame of the institution. In other words, although the Japanese students and American English-speaking instructors enjoyed casual conversation within the semi-institutional space of the student lounge, they frequently oriented to their asymmetrical institutional identities when trouble arose in conversation. This asymmetry may be viewed as problematic due to the shift in power dynamic it creates. Indeed, the number of comprehension checks used by the students is evidence of this disparity. But the students' frequent role of recipient in these conversations also afforded them a rich resource they used to indicate the gaps and holes in their knowledge as possible opportunities for learning and engagement. In the CA sense as well as in the pedagogical sense, social interaction which supports SLA is a type of conversation in which roles are consistently reevaluated and evolving as new displays of knowledge and understanding are made. Therefore, the results of this study suggest that a more comprehensive 5-turn structure is observed in speaking situations which involve NfM between NS instructors and NNS students. It stresses the importance of the potential for learning through exchanges designed to not only fix problems in understanding, but also to build upon them going forward. Through the use of modified input and output techniques, the Japanese student participants found it possible to

expand their proximal domains of semantic, phonetic, and morphosyntactic knowledge in English.

Of course, institutional talk was not the only issue influencing the course of social interaction between the participants; language proficiency was also a contributing factor. The Japanese university students who participated in this study were, in the majority, low-intermediate to intermediate level. In research conducted by Skilton and Meyer (1993), it was found that “not only do higher proficiency students participate more, they may also participate differently.... These students made fewer clarification requests” (p. 84). These findings are commensurate with those of my study as the number of clarification requests was notably lower than for confirmation checks. This is, perhaps, due to the length and complexity of their verbal production. For instance, it is far easier to repeat what has just been uttered with a rising intonation than it is to interrupt the contiguity of talk with a statement such as, “I don’t understand what you mean.” However, this is a myopic argument to make considering the range of multimodal options which are at the disposal of these NNS student participants. Considering the importance of the nonverbal dimension in students’ use of clarification requests, we have observed the critical role they play in successfully initiating repair of ongoing trouble sources. In a similar vein, this also explains students’ reluctance to use comprehension checks. Since a low-intermediate student may not make claims to domains of knowledge as frequently, it follows that there would be fewer opportunities for them to check instructor’s comprehension. Inversely, as student proficiency increases, we might expect to observe a decrease in the use of defensive strategies such as confirmation checks and clarification requests, and an increase of more offensive strategies like comprehension checks. This is one potential area for future research.

In addition to institutional talk and proficiency level, culture may have also played a role in the Japanese students’ negotiation strategies. Preexisting notions of power are indeed wrapped up in institutional roles, and Japanese culture and language are highly bound by the concept of social hierarchy. This is evident in the Japanese term of reference used for instructors, lawyers, and doctors being the same: *sensei*, but it is also clear from their culture-specific, teacher-centric modes of communication within the classroom context. As we have discussed, while comprehension checks may be used by students as an implicit means of incrementally checking their own success (or lack thereof) in form and use, they are also used in exercising claims to specific domains knowledge. From a cultural perspective, this may have

been a challenging move for student participants to make as the phrase “Do you understand?” could be perceived as conveying an air of dominance in conversation, something a Japanese student would rarely exercise over an instructor in the context of learning situations in Japan. That said, some of the Japanese students did use comprehension checks in their conversations with English instructors, which may suggest a cognizance of the shift in social paradigm. It would be interesting to understand more about how the use of comprehension checks changes not only with proficiency level, but also with length of exposure to native English-speaking cultural norms. On this matter, Schiffirin (1996) argues “we, educators, should never forget that involvement is socially structured,” and that “it is important for educators to be aware of the different styles through which people from different cultures create and display involvement. Otherwise, it can be difficult to differentiate between behaviors which display a lack of involvement and behaviors which stem from the use of different cultural norms for displaying engagement in an activity” (p. 319).

In closing, the most salient finding of this research is evidence of Japanese students’ considerable use of nonverbal behavior as clarification requests to initiate repair on sources of conversational trouble. The majority of them involved a blend of verbal and nonverbal behavior while a third of those were fully nonverbal in their use. For the accuracy of future studies and to add to the completeness of our understanding of their success in initiating repair, we must incorporate this necessary dimension of multimodality as it relates to gaze enhancement, alignment to the task, and speakership rights. The act of intensifying one’s gaze conveys important messages about understanding or the lack thereof; it also acknowledges degrees of force students use to check specific issues in conversation. This capacity is integral to students as they participate in social interaction in their second language of English, and use that very event as opportunity for learning. In this sense, 3C-based displays of knowledge can be both admissions of misunderstanding and invitations to assist in the learning process. While this is a social action which may seem at odds with the progressivity of talk, the distinct rareness of breakdown and surprising efficiency with which repair is conducted signify its omnipresent role in conversation.

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Appendix

APPENDIX A

CA Transcription Key; Modified slightly from Goodwin (1981)

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
11	Line number: Each line of transcribed talk is numbered to facilitate reference
Yuki	Denotes the speaker. Discussants are referred to by pseudonyms
Other/s	Refers to an unidentified speaker/s
[]	Indicates overlap in speakers' talk
(0.5)	Indicates a pause in speech, in this case of 0.5 seconds
(.)	Indicates a micro-pause of less than one tenth of a second
=	Indicates continuation of a previous utterance amidst an interjection
-	Indicates no pause between speakers
\	Indicates a speaker's self-truncation and subsequent restart
<i>word</i>	Indicates speaker's <i>stress</i> on a particular word or phrase
word/s	Indicates the environment in which the target language behavior begins, occurs, and is completed.
word	Indicates a quietly spoken word or phrase
word	Indicates a whisper. Anything quieter such as mouthing a word is enclosed by double-parenthesis
(word)	Indicates a transcriber's uncertainty about what was said
((nod))	Indicates non-verbal moves used in context of talk; transcriber's description
wo::rd	Indicates an extension of the word or sound preceding. Indicates a lengthening of the sound preceding the colon. The more colons, the longer the length.
word↑	Indicates a rise in intonation occurring in the sound preceding the symbol. May also be used ↑word↑ to indicate an entire word or phrase produced as such.
word↓	Indicates a fall in intonation occurring in the sound preceding the symbol. May also be used ↓word↓ to indicate an entire word or phrase produced as such.
.h.h	Indicates an out-breath
h h	Indicates an in-breath
←word←	Indicates a word (or phrase) spoken more slowly than the surrounding text
→word→	Indicates a word (or phrase) spoken more quickly than the surrounding text
.?,	Indicates a speaker's intonation
aha	Indicates laughter immediately preceding and or bubbling through a word or phrase as indicated by its position in the transcript

APPENDIX B: ARTICLE 2

ESL Instructors' Use of Scaffolding and Modification Techniques in Semi-Casual Conversation.

By

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Dissertation Article 2 of 3

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Abstract

Modifying language production is one important technique that instructors use to make linguistic input more comprehensible for the language learner. Within the institutional setting of the classroom, these modifications take various shapes and forms from the structured technique of initiation, response, evaluation (IRE) to more micro-level adjustments such as simplified lexical choices, careful pronunciation, and slowed rate of speech. While adjustments in language production are often made for the students' benefit, they are also criticized for being inauthentic. Error correction (other-repair), while somewhat awkward in conversations between native speakers, is an essential component of NS/NNS talk, but it involves shifting the conversational focus from meaning to form. The study reported in this article utilizes both scaffolding theory and CA to analyze casual conversations between 14 native English-speaking instructors at an ESL center and 14 Japanese nonnative speakers in order to look at the influence of institutional talk on instructional strategy. It was found that while instructors largely dispense with the structured technique of IRE in casual contexts, they often use a more covert form known as IR (initiation and response) amongst other modifications to speech during repair sequences for the purpose of facilitating second language acquisition. The results of this study highlight instructors' self-made modifications of lexical/semantic production and their tendency to prompt modified output via IR and IRE when focusing on the phonological and morphosyntactic accuracy of the NNS participants. It supports the notion that the context of the conversational setting is an influential factor in language choices made by the participants by showing how they orient to their perceived social identities during side sequences of repair. It also provides guidelines for the future examination of structured techniques such as IRE by providing a definition of the structured continuum on which it exists.

1. Introduction

The pedagogical challenge of language teaching has always been locating the best practices of instruction to meet students' ever-changing needs. Savignon (2001) characterizes the effort of building communicative competence as "the need for learners to have the *experience* of communication, to participate in the negotiation of meaning" (p. 15). Interactive, participatory models of language use and instruction emphasize the importance of learner-centeredness which was less present in traditional contexts. Long and Porter (1985) have criticized traditional, teacher-centered forms of instruction as "*lockstep* teaching, in which one person (the teacher) sets the same instructional pace and content for everyone, by lecturing, explaining a grammar point, leading drill work, or asking questions of the whole class" (p. 208). This style of teaching gradually fell out of practice in favor of methods and approaches which addressed students' developmental needs. In the latter half of the 20th century, views of the role of instructor in the ESL classroom have shifted from one of knowledgeable authority to facilitator of language acquisition. Researchers such as Mitchell and Vidal (2001) have

described these historical changes of approach to language pedagogy in terms of a metaphorical river into which the methods of the past combine with the trends of the present. Dissatisfaction with the myopic designer methods era has led researchers such as Kumaravadavelu (2006) to call for “post-method pedagogies to help teachers develop their own theories of practice, awakened to the multiplicity of learner identities, awakened to the complexity of teacher beliefs, and awakened to the vitality of macrostructures--social, cultural, political, and historical--that shape and reshape the microstructures of our pedagogical enterprise” (p. 75). These studies and numerous others have encouraged important shifts from product to process orientation, from teacher to learner-centeredness, and from an authoritative power structure to one that recognizes learner autonomy, agency, and identity; they support a model of language acquisition which is more authentic to students’ real world goals and objectives.

Considering all these improvements to the field, there is still a need for focus on form (FonF) to facilitate language acquisition (Long, 1991; Fujii, 2005), and this is practiced through the technique of scaffolding. Scaffolding (Wood, et al., 1976) is a type of guided learning or assistance which focuses on “those elements of the task that are initially beyond the learner’s capacity, thus permitting him [or her] to concentrate upon and complete only those elements that are within his [or her] range of competence” (p. 90). As an instructor provides guided assistance and contextualizes the student’s application of these newly learned concepts, proficiency is increased and the “scaffolding” is removed from the higher-level structures of knowledge. This conceptualization of the teacher-learner relationship is one that seems to suggest a novice-expert paradigm, but it is also one which considers the instructor as a facilitator and the student as an emergingly active participant in their own learning process, which may explain why it continues to be adopted even in recent pedagogical models. Specific to SLA, this analysis suggests that the process of learning is socially constructed and dialogically oriented. As more proficient language users of a particular speech community share their mode of communication with less proficient users over time, a process of knowledge construction takes place, and subsequently, individuals become socialized. In other words, by helping language learners acquire higher levels of proficiency through mutual engagement in dialectical processes, they simultaneously become more proficient language users and more prolific members of the speech community as they break free of the asymmetric interactional structures. To achieve this goal, considerable effort should be expended on scaffolding language learners through a process of other-regulation

with the goal of internalization and appropriation. The process of negotiation for both meaning and form involves a more proficient member identifying the learner's semantic, phonological, and morphosyntactic issues through the construction of a noticing discourse.

The construction of a noticing discourse begins with the notion of comprehensible input, a type of controlled language that is modified from its original form to match the learner's linguistic level. Krashen (1980, 1982) submitted through the input hypothesis the concept of $i+1$ in which the "i" refers to the language learner's own interlanguage and the "+1" is the level at or above their interlanguage. This concept is designed to ensure a constant state of challenge and improvement for the learner. Early work on the process of negotiation examined the ways in which teachers facilitate learners through interaction (Gass & Varonis, 1985; Long and Porter, 1985; Pica, 1987; Pica, Young, & Doughty, 1987). Comprehensibility is found to be achievable through different types of adjustments to speech production, but it is important to note that comprehensibility alone is not a requisite for acquisition (Swain, 1985). The sustained process involves consciousness raising, provision of corrective feedback, negotiation of meaning *and* form, as well as focused practice. On the issue of corrective feedback, Schmidt (1990) suggests that instructors focus on identifying *gaps* and *holes* in learner's knowledge to create opportunities for self-mediation. Combined with the consistent introduction of new linguistic material (Foster, 1998), layering explanations with demonstrations should result in a level of redundancy necessary to support the noticing discourse. However, it is still debatable whether the establishment of a noticing discourse alone is sufficient to facilitate SLA in adults.

Around the same time that shifts to learner-centered models of teaching were underway, so was the identification of teacher-centered models of classroom discourse. The concept of IRE was first referred to by Mishler (1975) as an "interrogative unit (IU)--consisting of a three-part sequence." Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) referred to this three-part form of "teacher-fronted discourse" as initiation, response, feedback, or IRF. A few years later in 1979, Mehan provided a slight adjustment to the name by exchanging the term "feedback" for "evaluation" to emphasize the authoritative role of the instructor in the classroom. Over the years it has been called by many other names including QAC adjacency triads (McHoul, 1978), triadic dialog (Lemke, 1985), and modeling/correcting/scaffolding (MCS) (Kim and Elder, 2005), but most of the argument seems to be focused on whether it is more appropriate for the final turn to be called "F" for feedback or "E" for evaluation. Hall and Walsh (2002) have argued in favor of IRF

because of their “more inquiry-based understanding of learning, which values the activities of exploration, hypothesis testing, and problem solving” (pp. 196-97). The third part of the three-part sequence is called into question because normal closers are posed as acknowledgements whereas the use of an evaluation as a closer seems to suggest that the instructors already know the answers to the questions they pose. Asking questions to which one already knows the answer is not viewed in society as natural social behavior, and this has led to criticism of the technique as inauthentic (Hall, 1995; Ohta, 1995; Kasper, 2001), or even detrimental to learning because it suppresses opportunities for voicing understanding of problems or exploring alternative correct answers (Waring, 2008). In addition, early discrepancies in the characterization of IRF/E’s third part belie an important reality, which is that the follow-up turn is highly variable.

More recent studies on the use of interactional routines in second language classrooms have revealed a sequence that is determined in structure, but somewhat flexible in content. In Ohta’s (1999) examination of the IRF/E’s effect on L2 interactional competence in first-year JFL classrooms, she provides a breakdown of the process turn-by-turn:

Table 1: Possible Content of IRF/E Routines

Initiation turn	Response turn	Follow-up turn
1. question	answer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • indication of comprehension (minimum) • indication of comprehension (extended)
2. drill prompt	response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evaluation • assessment

(p. 1497)

This table shows that the opening portions of the sequence are more firmly set while the latter portion, namely the third part, allows for multiple variations of what Ohta calls “expressive possibilities.” These possibilities allow for some degree of freedom in response, but that does not change the fact that answers are often known in advance by the turn initiator and the set of possible answers is limited to the expectations surrounding the parameters of the activity. Mori’s (2005) study on the use of textbooks in adult Japanese language classrooms implicated both materials and interactional routines to make the point that textbooks need to change to match actual language production, but my evaluation of teacher talk also shows that teachers themselves use little IRF/E in actual conversations outside of the classroom. Considering the inauthenticity resulting from the mild formulaicity of IRF/E sequences combined with the simultaneously shifting attitudes toward a pedagogy which is more learner-centered, educators could expect that classic pedagogical practices such as this are nearing extinction. However, as

Gardner (2013) notes, “the three-part instructional sequence, far from being restricted to traditional classrooms, still appears to exist widely in modern classrooms” (p. 601).

The reasons why the use of IRF/E persists in classroom pedagogical practice may be explained by the approach of conversation analysis (CA), which considers the effect of institutional contexts on the sequential organization of talk:

‘Institutional CA’ is a study of the social operations of social institutions of talk...to understand the work of social institutions, such as police, law, education, medicine, mass media, and so on. Unlike work in basic CA, these findings are less permanent; they are historically contingent and subject to processes of social change under the impact of cultural, social, ideology, power, economic forces, intellectual innovation, and other factors impacting change in society. (Heritage, 2005, pp.104-105)

CA-based studies on institutional talk grew out of Gumperzian (1977) ethnomethodological analyses of “institutionally constrained speech.” He described a model in which the social context of speech events influences the roles that participants assume, and subsequently, the composition of the talk which occurs in those contexts. Seminal studies in CA conducted by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson sought to understand the processes of exchange within the contexts of workplace interaction. The structured communication which often takes place within the workplace or other formal social contexts such as weddings, public speeches, and ceremonial events reveals multiple layers of affect on communication, indexing language, as it were, to the situations which determine its use. Under this notion, the interactional routine of IRF/E is a pre-determined aspect of communication which is bound to its context of use, the classroom. Interestingly, these studies on institutional talk have revealed the significance of individual agency in conversational situations, and this has led to a body of research which examines language use in its most natural form.

CA views talk-in-interaction as not only a product of the circumstances, but also a project of its participants, something which is both enacted and regenerated through its practice. In this sense, context is less of a physical space and more of an entity collaboratively produced by its participants, and the role of the institution is more of an aspect of identity. These context-renewing elements become observably prominent in casual conversation, which is often viewed as the best type of conversation for analysis. Stivers, et al. (2009) have remarked that “informal conversation is where language is learned and where most of the business of social life is

conducted” (p. 10587). In addition, Gardner (2008) has claimed that “ordinary everyday conversation is the most basic to human interaction and sociality... [and that] all other forms of talk-in-interaction are derived from ordinary conversation, and are thus culturally and socially restricted” (p. 264). These observations suggest that the lack of a pre-determined structure for interaction results in conversation which is purely natural due to its complexity. Specifically, with no preexisting format for the rules of turn taking, individuals must take it upon themselves to project turn space, make interjections, talk, hold, or relinquish the floor, among other complex maneuvers of talk. However, a strictly micro-level analysis ignores the influences of macro-social constraints which also impact language use. Factors of age, gender, social status, and other constitutive features of identity tend to finesse the direction of speakership roles, notions of power, and thus, conversation. Skilton and Meyer (1993) have criticized the three-part sequence because “this, in turn, sustained the power hierarchy, giving the ‘subordinates’ (most often students) less control over the conversation, and fewer opportunities to ask their own questions” (p. 82). However, just as it is impossible to extract aspects of institutional identity from the individual, it is also unrealistic to view forms of institutional talk as being somehow less “natural” due to the socio-structural spheres in which they occur. For example, IRF/E interactional routines may be used most prolifically in the classroom, but their implementation as a strategy in pedagogical discourse isn’t necessarily limited to that space; it is also used by the conversational participants who wish to orient to this self-ascribed identity during instructional exchanges, such as when a parent teaches a child.

Due to their pivotal role in structured practice, which is a type of FonF, IRF/E are often found near the sites of trouble and repair in NS/NNS conversation. Difficulty in conversation has been described as “misarticulations, malapropisms, use of a ‘wrong’ word, unavailability of a word when needed, failure to hear or to be heard, trouble on the part of the recipient in understanding, or incorrect understanding by recipient” (Schegloff, 1987, p. 210). According to this definition, any type of misunderstanding in speaking, hearing, or understanding creates a “trouble” source. When trouble arises in conversation, it may be addressed by either the speaker of the trouble source (self-initiated repair) or one of the recipients (other-initiated repair). Several bodies of research have found that in conversations between native speakers, the most common type of repair is self-initiated repair occurring very close to the trouble source (within the same turn-constructive unit TCU) (Schegloff, et al., 1977; Wong, 2005; Gardner, 2013).

However, other research (Long, 1983; Varonis and Gass, 1985; Hosoda, 2000; Schegloff, 2007) has found that in conversation between a native and nonnative speaker, other-initiated repair is the more common type. For the purposes of this research, which is concerned with NS/NNS conversation with a focus on the native English-speaking instructor's conversational and pedagogical strategies, both repair types are considered relevant to the discussion.

Repair is a complex conversational process which is driven by multiple factors. Self-initiated, same-turn repair is often executed quickly by means of replacement or repetition of all or a portion of the preceding utterance using paraphrase. However, in the case of other-repair, it often takes the form of error correction, and this tends to initiate what Jefferson (1972) has called a "side-sequence." On the surface, side sequences could be viewed as problematic because they pull the conversational participants' attention away from the main sequence of talk, disrupting the progressivity of the conversation. Progressivity is "the observation that the relationship between most components of the organization of interaction (e.g. sounds within words, words within TCU's, TCU's within turns, turns within sequences of action, etc.) is generally that each component progresses to the next relevant component immediately after, or contiguously with (Sacks, 1987) the prior component. Repair halts progressivity" (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 238-39). While the brief cessation of contiguity may be viewed as problematic, Gardner (2008) notes that "problems of understanding are overwhelmingly dealt with efficiently" (p. 275). This is, perhaps, because instances of repair are expected due to the commonplace presence of trouble in everyday conversation. It is also because instances of repair are "a set of regular conversational practices oriented to the maintenance of mutual understanding" (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977). In other words, upon the initiation of repair, conversational participants, often through the use of gaze and other paralinguistic features, orient themselves to each other in the essential process of resolving the trouble source and, subsequently, returning to the main sequence of talk in progress. This process is known as negotiation for meaning (NfM), the initiation of which utilizes specific devices for initiation such as confirmation checks.

At the heart of comprehensible input is the idea of meaning negotiation (NfM) which involves a conscious, interactive process of checking for problem sources, repeating and clarifying previously uttered statements, and/or modifying the language used. Long's (1980) seminal work on NfM defines confirmation checks in three categories:

Confirmation Checks: any expression by the NS immediately following an utterance by the interlocutor which was designed to elicit confirmation that the utterance had been correctly understood or correctly heard *by the speaker*. Confirmation checks are always formed by rising intonation questions, with or without a tag (*the man? Or the man, right?*) They always involve repetition of the interlocutor's preceding utterance.

Clarification Requests: any expression by a NS designed to edit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance(s). Clarification requests are mostly formed by questions, but may consist of wh- or yes-no questions (unlike confirmation checks) as well as uninverted intonation and tag questions, for they require that the interlocutor either furnish new information or recode information previously given. They are effected by statements like *I don't understand*, and imperatives such as *try again*.

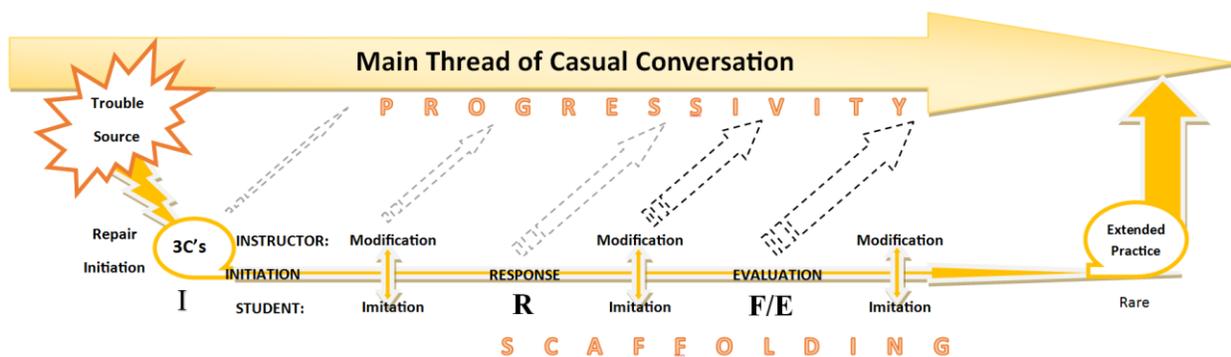
Comprehension Checks: any expression by a NS designed to establish whether that speaker's preceding utterance(s) had been understood. These are typically formed by tag questions, repetitions of all or part of the same speaker's preceding utterance with a rising intonation, or by utterances like *Do you understand?* (pp. 81-83)

Together, these three are used in the NfM process not only to check understanding, but also to initiate repair when necessary. While studies examining NNS/NNS conversations uncovered very little use NfM, other studies on NS/NNS talk (Long, 1980, 1983; Pica, 1987; Pica, et al., 1989) uncovered widespread use. For the purpose of understanding NS/NNS strategies of NfM, instances of 3C's at the sites of repair are also considered in the examination of IRF/E.

In addition to the initiation of repair via NfM and the use of IRF/E, there are micro-level adjustments to language production known as modifications. Krashen's (1982) Input Hypothesis states that input must be comprehended by the learner if it is to assist in the acquisition process. Basic speech modifications are found at the sites of repair in conversation because they are used to avoid trouble in conversation and help repair trouble when it occurs. Pica, et al. (1987) define the modification of input as native speakers' "simplification in some way through repetition and paraphrase of words, phrases, or sentences; restriction of vocabulary to common or familiar items; addition of boundary markers and sentence connectors; and reduction in sentence length and complexity through removal of subordinate clauses" (p. 738). This process involves both pre-emptive or retroactive attempts to reduce the complexity or increase both quantity and redundancy of an utterance. Early conceptions of simplification through modification were described as "foreigner talk", which was an ungrammatical representation of speech resulting in the deletion of copulas, articles, and other inflectional morphology (Ferguson, 1975; Meisel, 1977). This is distinct from classroom talk, the goal of which is not only to achieve comprehension, but also to serve as a structurally and phonologically accurate model of language

production. Foster (1998) defines the modification of output as nonnative speakers' "utterances that were morphologically, semantically, or phonologically altered in response to a negotiation move" (p. 14). In other words, NS instructors use *modified input* to make their language use more comprehensible to the NNS. When comprehensibility becomes an issue and the trouble source identified, further modification is applied in the meaning negotiation process. Finally, if IRF/E is applied to the resolved trouble source as an effort to practice newly learned concepts, then the NNS student produces *modified output*. According to Pica, et al. (1987) "NS-NNS interfunctional modification in the form of comprehension checks, confirmation checks, and clarification requests served as a mechanism for NS modification of input, either by encoding or, more frequently, by triggering repetition and rephrasing of input content, and thus played a critical role in comprehension" (p. 737). These related processes are delineated holistically in the graphic below:

Figure 1: Visual IRF/E Potential Including Repair Initiation and Modifications



2. Purpose of the Research

The goal of this research is to analyze the data transcripts of casual conversations between American English-speaking instructors and nonnative Japanese students speaking in the target language of English to understand more about the instructors' strategies of assistance. It utilizes conversation analysis (CA) to examine instances of scaffolding at the sites of repair to inform pedagogy. A dual approach is used because CA alone cannot demonstrate how learning takes place, but provides a tool through which it can be understood. Vine (2008) examined instances of scaffolding with CA to "reveal the multiple perspectives of how people organize conversations, institutional talk, and how teachers and learners jointly construct learning opportunities" (p. 673). Also, Waring (2008) has argued "by producing a CA account of EPA [explicit positive assessment] in the ESL classroom, this study further explores the

institutionality of SCT and contributes to the ongoing discussion on the various facets of IRF” (p. 579). In a similar vein, this research analyzes NS instructors’ (1) use of 3C’s to conduct repair of perceived trouble in the three knowledge systems (semantic, phonological, and morphosyntactic), and (2) attempts at scaffolding including different types of IRF/E as well as other modifications to produced speech. I investigate these quantitatively to measure frequency of occurrence, and then use the more qualitative tool of CA to discover some of the micro-level phenomena beyond the numbers. Although these conversations took place within the walls of an ESL institution, they also occurred within the space of a student lounge in a one-on-one, semi-casual format. This analysis seeks to understand which strategies are most prevalent as instructors attempt to facilitate comprehension and/or language acquisition in this semi-institutional context. It also calls for a new approach to the classification of IRF/E as being on a spectrum/continuum of applied assistance. Finally, it seeks to inform future research on institutional identities as well as discussions on the controversy between classroom interlanguage and authentic language use.

Research Questions:

1. How do native English-speaking instructors use confirmation checks (3C’s) to initiate the process of repair and assist students with perceived gap/holes in specific English knowledge systems?
2. How and to what degree is the IRF/E technique utilized by native English-speaking instructors in a casual, semi-institutional speaking context to scaffold students?
3. What other modification techniques do NS instructors use to enhance the comprehensibility of their input?

3. Method

3.1 Setting and Participants

The study is comprised of a single set of transcribed data collected from audio and video recorded conversations between 14 NS instructors of English (10 female, 4 male) and 14 NNS Japanese students (10 female, 4 male). The participating instructors all work for an ESL center which is located in the American southwest, and they all come from a variety of different regions in the United States. In terms of age, there were 2 instructors aged 20-29, 4 aged 30-39, 4 aged 40-49, and 4 aged 50-60. While the instructors in the 20-29 group only had a few years of experience teaching ESL/EFL at the time of the study, those in the 50-60 group had been teaching for decades. All instructors working at this particular ESL center are required to

possess a minimum of two years' experience working abroad and demonstrated proficiency in a foreign language. The student participants were all from the same private university located in the Kansai region of Japan. They were attending the ESL center's month-long, short-term American Studies Program which consists of daily intensive English language courses and culture courses held twice per week. The majority of these students were enrolled in low-intermediate to intermediate level English language classes, and only two in the group reported having prior experience abroad.

3.2 Procedure

As part of their American Studies Program goals, the students were required to attend weekly Student Help Hours which were held in the casual space of the Student Learning Center (SLC), a type of student lounge, once per week. They were asked to attend thirty minutes to an hour in the lounge conversing with the native English-speaking instructors on any topic of their choosing. All instructors at this ESL center spend one hour at minimum in the SLC lounge as part of their regular weekly office hours requirement. The instructors who agreed to participate in this study were trained on the operation of the recording equipment, and were given no other instruction except to "discuss any questions the students may have, and enjoy conversation with them."

3.3 Data Collection and Coding

The data consist of 13.9 hours of audio and video recorded conversations using a Canon VIXIA HF R500 Full HD Video Camcorder (16GB Class) to capture verbal, paralinguistic, and nonverbal aspects of communication. Recordings of the Student Help Hour sessions took place in the student lounge and were made outside of students' regularly scheduled class times. Each conversation was marked for NfM at the sites of attempted repair initiation including the use of confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks. These excerpts were then transcribed for micro-analysis using standard CA conventions (see Appendix A). Only those utterances which indicated problems with comprehension were marked as NfM moves. In other words, only those 3C's which were perceived to be attempts at repair *initiation* were considered. This study focuses on the instructors' language use in scaffolding sequences, so negotiation and assistance were coded in the following ways:

1. any negotiation move as defined by Long (1980) uttered as a repair initiator by the instructor, the student, or both;
2. within each of the three NfM categories, instructors' perceived sources of trouble by knowledge system (semantic, phonological, and morphosyntactic);
3. instructors' attempts at IRF/E near the sites of trouble/repair;
4. instructors' attempts to self-modify and modify students' productions throughout.

The following is an explanation of the quantitative data collation. Regarding (1), confirmation checks were marked when the recipient in the conversation repeated some word, phrase, or question which was uttered by the interlocutor with rising intonation. Clarification requests were marked as any statement or question made by the recipient with the intent to express a lack of comprehension or understanding. Comprehension checks were any question or tag question uttered by the interlocutor to check understanding of the recipient. Regarding (2), if a trouble source is identified and the instructor follows it up with an explanation they believe to be a solution to the problem, this is the *perceived* trouble source by the knowledge system. The semantic system was coded as attempts to repair lexis by providing/naming a term, a short/extended definition, a synonym for the word, or examples of the concept. The phonological system was coded as attempts to repair clarity of reception by slowing the enunciation of a word, breaking it down by its syllabic components, or providing additional stress. The morphosyntactic system was coded as a rewording of phrases, sentences, and questions to simplify grammar and also recasts of words to highlight morphological inflection, such as the providing of affixes.

Regarding (3), coding parameters were initially taken from Ohta's (1999) study, but were later revised to include IRF/E on a leveled spectrum. Initiate-only refers to an instructor's attempt at getting the student participant to demonstrate correct use of the trouble source under repair via repetition. At this point, it is necessary to distinguish the type of initiation which takes place in IRF/E from the initiation of repair sequences. In NS/NNS conversations, these often occur in the same turn space at or close to the same location, but their goals are fundamentally different. The initiation of repair refers to attempts by either the speaker of the trouble source or recipient to highlight a trouble source in talk, while initiation in an IRF/E sequence refers to the instructor's invitation for the student to practice a linguistic form or other semantic item. For coding purposes, if the student ignores this prompt, it remains a simple "I". However, if the instructor is indeed successful in initiating the student to repeat the utterance for reasons of semantic, phonological, or morphosyntactic practice, then the instructor has initiated a response,

or “IR”. Only if an IR sequence is followed by a direct evaluation by the instructor as to the accuracy of its production did the sequence receive the full IRF/E classification. Viewing IRF/E as a singular all-or-none entity fails to recognize the varying degrees of its application and its more covert roles in attempts at facilitating second language acquisition. Close attention is paid to the IR as well as the IRF/E categories because, as Swain (1985) argues in her comprehensible output hypothesis, learners must also be given an opportunity to *produce* new forms if they are to negotiate the new input and modify it to levels of comprehensibility they can manage.

Concerning (4), instructor’s attempts to modify both their own and the students’ language production was separately quantified by knowledge system category for the purpose of comparison. Several modifications exist depending on the instructor’s perception of the student’s *i+1* level. First, input can be pre-modified by the instructor’s attempt to decrease complexity and increase quantity and redundancy. Pica, et al. (1987) refers to this input condition as pre-modified input and did not find it to be a significant factor in NNS comprehension of directions. Their study found that interactionally modified input, which allowed opportunities for interaction with the NS, was the more effective form of assistance. Modifications can also occur as a result of inaccurate production by the NNS, and these were classified as other-modified input. Both pre-modified input, which is a form of self-modification, and other-modified input were marked for quantification under the following conditions: (1) rate of pronunciation is shifted (often to slow production); (2) repetition occurs (often incorporating (1) as well); (3) changes are made to the grammatical structure of a preceding utterance (often to reduce complexity of tense); (4) synonyms, antonyms, examples, and definitions are provided (often in an attempt to simplify or specify a previous item). Some cases of pre-modified input may only reflect (1) while cases of other-modified input may reflect use of all four simultaneously, but any modification involving at least one of these was marked for quantification in its specific knowledge system. At this point, it is important to note that while considerable overlap exists between categories of repair and modification, they are not exactly the same. This is most evident in extended sequences of IRF/E which may address an individual trouble source but consist of multiple self- and other- modifications within. Section 4.3 below provides a more extended discussion of these differences.

A qualitative analysis is also conducted on conversational excerpts via the three-perspective approach used in Vine’s (2008) study of a nine-hour social studies curriculum in a

New Zealand classroom. In that study, she used CA as a tool to examine how participants organize and manage conversation, Wood, et al.'s (1976) six functions of scaffolding to examine the IRF/E process to jointly construct meaning within the proximal zone of development, and an institutional talk perspective to examine how participants orient to some core goal, task, or identity associated with the institution. The six functions of scaffolding are as follows:

1. *Recruitment* - enlisting a learner's interest in and adherence to requirements of a task.
2. *Reduction in degrees of freedom* - simplifying the task by reducing numbers of constituent act required, and letting learners do what they can do while the tutor fills in the rest.
3. *Direction maintenance* - keeping the learner in pursuit of a particular objective, encouraging to keep the learner motivated, and making it worthwhile for the learner to risk a next step.
4. *Marking critical features* - accentuating features of a task that are relevant, providing information about discrepancies between learner production and what the tutor would recognize as correct production
5. *Frustration control* - face saving for errors, exploiting the learner's wish to please.
6. *Demonstration* - more than simply performing in the presence of a tutee, can involve 'idealization' of an act to be performed, can involve tutor completion or explication of partial performance by the learner, with an expectation that the learner will imitate it back in a more appropriate form. (Wood, et al., 1976, p. 98)

Examples of classroom conversation analyzed in Vine's (2008) study were considered through each of the three aforementioned perspectives because "you need conversational skills to engage in institutional talk, and you need institutional talk skills in order to participate effectively in understanding/learning" (p. 690). Since the present study is concerned with the aspects of institutional talk which occur between native English-speaking instructors and Japanese nonnative English-speaking students in the semi-institutional context of the Student Help Hours, qualitative analyses of conversational examples will be layered to understand more about the sequential organization of attempts at repair, the scaffolding strategies used to conduct IRF/E, and how aspects of institutional talk are utilized to orient to perceived tasks and roles.

4. Results & Discussion

4.1 3C to initiate repair of perceived gap/holes in specific knowledge systems

Table 4.1: Negotiation for Meaning Counts by Knowledge System

	Consolidated Knowledge Systems by 3C			Totals
	Semantic/Lexical	Phonologic	Morphosyntactic	÷ 402 = (%)
Confirm ✓	196	59	79	334 = (83.1%)
Clar. Req.	10	5	4	19 = (4.7%)
Comp. ✓	44	1	4	49 = (12.2%)
Totals:	250 = 62.2%	65 = 16.2%	87* = 21.6%	402

*78/87 (89.7%) of these were corrective grammar. See Section 4.3 for more information.

Table 1 shows several interesting findings, many of which are commensurate with other studies on NS/NNS conversation. The most frequent negotiations in these conversations between instructor and student participants were confirmation checks on trouble in the semantic/lexical category, which constitute nearly half ($196/402 = 48.7\%$) of all negotiations. Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) have noted that most trouble in conversation occurs because of semantic issues, and Gardner (2008) has warned that the greatest threat to communication is breakdowns due to semantic misunderstanding. Confirmation checks as used by instructors were also the preferred NfM strategy by a majority at just over 83%; however, this reveals two other unexpected results. Instructors rarely used the clarification request strategy. Also, at 12.2% of all 3C, the use of comprehension checks may seem low, but it is comparatively higher than the students' use of the same strategy ($12/504 = 2.4\%$). While issues in grammar were checked just over 21% of the time, nearly 90% of those moves used could be classified as "corrective grammar". In instances of grammar correction, the instructor uses other-modification to *shadow* what has been said by the student in a previous utterance, recasting it with what they believe is the structurally appropriate form of the utterance.

Let us examine in some detail a portion of conversation between one of the NS instructors and a NNS student participant which exemplifies the most frequently occurring type: the confirmation check. Each of the following examples use pseudonyms for the participants' names and will be analyzed using the perspectives of CA, institutional talk, and scaffolding theory in this respective order.

Example 4.1-1: Casey & Akira @ 17:12 - Confirm Check scaffolds (showing moderate repetition of lexical items) resulting in IRE

1. A: Uh, in the Student Union,
(2.0)

2. A: uh, there is my favorite food.
 3. C: What's your favorite food shop in the Student Union?
 4. A: **Uh, (.) I don't know, but I can ch\ choice the\ the ma\ material.**
 5. A: **((tilts head slightly to left))**
 (1.0)
I→ 6. C: The ingredients?
 7. A: **Yeah.**
I→ 8. C: The ingredients↓
R→ 9. A: Ingredients.
I→ 10. C: Ye::ah. The ingredients. So you can pick the ingredients.
 11. A: **So::. I can\ I can eat, uh: (.) healthy food.**
E→ 12. C: Oh, perfect.
 13. C: So: What kind of things do you eat\ like pasta::?

From a CA perspective, the first signs of trouble in the talk occur at lines 1, 2, and 4 where the student precedes each utterance with the filler “uh,” which indicates delay. This is further supported by the 2-second pause prior to line 2 and the multiple self-truncations exhibited in line 4. The nonverbal expression of confusion at line 5 causes a break in the interlocutor’s gaze. Kendon (1990) has noted that a wandering gaze signals an openness to interject. Combined with the subsequent pause, this opens the floor to the instructor to suggest a more appropriate alternative to the lexical item he provided. This prompts the side sequence of repair, which the instructor orients to by offering a more appropriate term in line 6, and affirming it again at line 8. Akira’s repetition of the item in line 9 signifies his understanding of its semantic appropriateness for the context. Casey provides additional repetitions of the lexical item at line 10, but Akira attempts to complete the statement he started at line 4. Following a brief, positive evaluation of his production, the instructor then closes the side sequence of repair at line 13 by returning to the original thread of talk with a new question.

From an institutional talk perspective, this example shows how the NS participant orients to their institutional role of language instructor. This is first displayed in the pauses which follow at lines 1 and 5. Teacher wait time has often been described as a strategy instructors use to allow students to come to a solution on their own (Rowe, 1986). When Akira shows after a few attempts that he cannot do this on his own, Casey initiates repair, which develops into a three-part IRE sequence she commands. Vine (2008) has noted that “teachers usually open and close sequences in classroom interactions” (p. 682). Casey opens this sequence by providing what she believes to be the most appropriate lexical form at line 6, and when Akira does not

engage in the repetition process at line 7, she repeats it with a falling intonation in line 8. Upon successful elicitation of the term from the student, the instructor closes it with her evaluation of “perfect” at line 12. It is worth noting that there is a degree of ambiguity over whether this evaluation is specific to the student’s display of accurate English use or to the student’s choice of eating healthy. Such cases, while rare in the data, were counted regardless because the instructor may be referring to both as a manner of encouragement. The instructor’s decision to employ the structured IRE strategy seen here is a strong display of orientation to her identity as a language educator and to the task of resolving the trouble source for the ensuing discussion.

Regarding scaffolding, Donato (2000) notes that learning is best conceptualized as a process of participation rather than one of acquisition. Part of this process involves specific displays of knowledge, which either exemplify what one knows or it can show what one does not know. The pauses and self-truncations between lines 1-4 begin to display trouble leading up to the utterance of “material” at the end of line 4. At this point, the instructor scaffolds by *marking the critical feature* of the task which is the contextual discrepancy of the word “material” by providing a replacement term: “ingredients”. As this has begun, Casey then utilizes *recruitment* to enlist Akira’s attention to the requirement of the IRE task by repeating the term, and implicitly nudging him to do the same. She then *demonstrates* the correct contextual usage of the term at line 10 by first restating the term, and then using it in a complete sentence which is a recast of his earlier utterance at line 4. Through this IRE, Casey effectively scaffolds Akira’s lexical use not allowing the focus on learning to be cast off at line 7, where he replies to her attempt at initiation with “yeah”. Repetition is a very important tool in conversation which helps participants focus on both sequences and side sequences, and this is symbolized in the high frequency of confirmation checks observed.

Clarification requests were not used frequently by the instructors across this data set. Their low level of occurrence may result from the potential threat to face they pose. The following example shows the difficulties which negative transfer causes to the progressivity of talk when it affects pronunciation. Saville-Troike (2006) describes this “*interference* as an L1 structure or rule used in an L2 utterance which results in ‘error’” (p. 19). Specific to Japanese, a negative phonological transfer describes the attempt to use katakana, the phonetic alphabet for foreign loan words, to pass in L2 conversation but which can result in misunderstanding.

Example 4.1-2 Partial: Casey & Akira 2 @ 3:45 - Clarification request scaffolds of pronunciation (showing considerable repetition of lexical items) resulting in IR

1. A: Mmm, kare:: (.) kare: raisu↓ →Kari raisu→
I→ 2. C: Curry?
R→ 3. A: Curry?
I→ 4. C: Kare: raisu?
R→ 5. A: Kare: raisu↓
I→ 6. C: I don't know what that is:
 (1.5)
I→ 7. C: What is that?
 8. A: What's\ Uh, very spicy. .h.h
 9. C: Ahh, it's a spicy dish?
 10. A: The original, it's food, eh:
 (1.0)
 11. A: uh, is↓ The food come from (.) Indo.
 12. C: Oh, from India?
 13. A: In\ eh in\ →eh no→ Indo.
 14. C: Indo↓ Where's Indu? (0.5) Indo↓
 ... (See Appendix B for full transcript)
 34. A: India.
I→ 35. C: Yeah. Like *curry* from *India*. (.) You have that in Japan as well?
 36. A: ((raises eyebrows, leans in))
 37. C: You eat that food in (.) Japan? -
 38. A: Yes.
 39. C: You eat Indian food there?
 40. A: *Yeah.*
 41. C: It's really good. I love *Indian food*.
 42. A: Very (.) spicy.
I→ 43. C: Yeah:: It's awesome. I\ I ma\ I'm\ I love *curry*?
R→ 44. A: Curry↓
I→ 45. C: Like the [curry::? The curry is so good
R→ 46. A: [Curry↓ Good↓
 47. A: I li\ I like it.
 48. C: So spicy food is your favorite?

A CA point of view reveals signs of trouble at the first line which are expressed through the student's use of spacer "Mmm" and multiple restarts with varying stress and intonation. The phonological trouble source is first confirmation checked by the instructor at lines 2 and 4, and when that is unsuccessful at initiating an expedited repair of the trouble, more overt requests for clarification are used in lines 6 and 7 with a brief pause in between. This point of trouble disrupts the contiguity of talk as evidenced in the consecutive turns. Akira then begins the process of multiple tries whereby he attempts to resolve the trouble source with descriptive

examples at lines 8 and 11, but this then surfaces at an additional trouble source also due to varied pronunciation of the name of the country. Following the clarification of this new trouble source, the instructor verifies by repetition and stress at line 35 that the lexical item the student has been trying to pronounce is indeed “curry”. Both phonological trouble sources (“curry” and “India”) are repeated by the instructor at lines 2, 35, 39, 41, 43, and 45, prompting the student to respond with certainty at lines 44, and 46. Casey then returns the conversation to the main thread of talk at line 48. Examples of repair such as this reflect just how complex side sequences can become in the effort to avoid the conversational breakdown which results from misunderstanding. In the case of this exchange, it appears that clarification checks were only used by the instructor when a more efficient attempt at repair, the confirmation check, was deemed insufficient.

Considering the institutional talk point of view, it is important that the instructor maintain the student’s sense of positive face. On the matter of mitigating potential threats to face, Foster (1998) has noted “indicating to others each time you fail to grasp meaning is a sure way to make yourself look incompetent” (p. 18). However, it is a common expectation of classroom behavior that instructors create a positive atmosphere in which learning can take place. The instructor’s initial attempt to avoid such overt statements (clarification requests) at line 2 with a more compact strategy (confirmation check) is one example of this. Further examples of this attempt at maintaining a positive tone can be observed in the connotation of the evaluative adjectives she ties to the topic near the close of this sequence (like = 45 & 47; good = 41 & 45; love = 41 & 43; and awesome = 43). Similar to the previous example, we observe Casey employing the strategy of wait time frequently following Akira’s utterances of lines 6, 10, 16, 20, 22, 24 and 27 (see Appendix B for full transcript). Here, we also witness the first case of reduced IRF/E, or IR. A more in-depth explanation of this will be provided in section 4.2.

When scaffolding, it is the responsibility of the expert to first probe the knowledge of the novice and then tie in relevance where possible. If this process goes smoothly, a joint construction of meaning follows. The above example shows Casey’s attempts to do this at lines 9, 12, 35, 37, and 39 as she asks the student multiple questions about the topic of curry to probe his understanding of the senses of the concept. This is a form of *frustration control*, which is designed to both save face for errors and to exploit the learner’s wish to please. In this case, the instructor’s multiple probing questions keeps the student focused less on the task, which he

doesn't seem able to resolve alone, and more on using circumlocution to discuss what he can. The related topics such as the origin of curry (India) and the quality of its flavor (spicy) also serve to tie in relevance to the overall topic of food while maintaining that diverted focus. This is what is meant by "joint construction" of meaning. In the process of repair, they have tied in relevance by applying numerous contextualizing senses to the topic, all of which were necessary to resolve the trouble sources before returning to the main thread of talk. As in the previous example, we also witness the instructor's *marking of critical features* in her attempts to accentuate the trouble sources in lines 2, 4, 6, 7, 12, and 14, and her *demonstration* of accurate contextual usage with stress for emphasis in lines 35, 41, and 43. It is worth noting at this point that many of the same scaffolding strategies can be employed in IRF/E sequences are also possible in its reduced form of IR.

The data collected on comprehension checks show that they are the second-most frequently preferred strategy to initiate repair. To this point, Pica, et al. (1987) has said, "an increase in the redundancy of teacher talk is not, of itself, enough to ensure comprehension; rather, teachers should check on how well their students have understood and should constantly encourage them to initiate requests for clarification of meaning or to check with the teacher that they have understood correctly" (p. 754). Comprehension checks also serve this purpose as the following example shows.

Example 4.1-3: Anna & Yuna @ 17:10 - Comprehension check scaffold of semantic/lexical item (showing mild repetition with definition and examples) attempt resulting in I-only

1. A: What about you. What are your hobbies?
2. Y: Um:, watching TV a::nd reading↓
3. A: Ok.
4. Y: I like staying at home, [so I do something
5. A: [Mmhm-
6. A: Ok
7. Y: to:., [(.) in my room.
8. A: [((nods))
- I→ 9. A: That makes sense\ →Yeah, I like to watch TV too. It's most likely→ an addiction::? Do you know the word addiction::?**
- 10. Y: No.
(0.5)**
- I→ 11. A: So an addiction is when (.) like you have a habit? →And it's not good for you\ It's like a bad habit.→**
- 12. Y: Oh, Yeah. [Heheh.**
- I→ 13. A: [So smoking is like an addiction.**
- 14. Y: Ye::ah.**

15. A: So watching like TV:::? is\ I watch (.) like (.) shows on Netflix (.) .h.h

16. Y: Heheh.

17. A: that go on forever and I'm like "Oh, this is nice." But watching too much is not good for you. *So I try to cut down on my pass.*

18. Y: ((nods))

19. A: Do you like to watch TV\ "What TV do you like to watch," I should say.

A micro-analysis of this brief exchange demonstrates how consciousness of the progressivity of talk can affect the speed and direction of the topic. At first, the instructor, Anna, opens a new topic for discussion, but frequently interjects to provide backchannels at lines 3, 5, and 6. Then, in line 9 she begins to provide her own explanation which gradually accelerates until she utters the word "addiction". The combination of sound stretching on the final syllable of the word combined with the initially rising intonation indicate a self-perceived source of potential trouble, which is confirmed when the student, Yuna, answers her comprehension check in the negative. At this point, there is a brief pause as the participants orient themselves to the side activity of repair, which Anna provides first as a defining synonym "habit" at line 11. When Yuna does not respond immediately, Anna self-selects to quickly provide the connotation of the synonym and the term it references. Other explications are provided by Anna through the examples of "smoking" at line 13, and "Netflix" at line 15. At this point, the preferred response is an acknowledgement by Yuna that understanding has been effectively achieved, and this second pair part is provided nonverbally by her nod at line 18. The side sequence of repair closes as Anna reinstates a more specific version of her earlier question about hobbies when at line 19 she asks about the kind of TV Yuna enjoys. In this example, Anna frequently controls the floor.

In terms of institutional orientation, the first and final lines of this excerpt reveal how the instructor regulates the direction of talk when she selects the topic of discussion in line 1, opens the side sequence of repair with her comprehension check in line 9, and then shifts orientation back to the main thread in line 19. As previously mentioned, instructors typically take responsibility for opening and closing sequences in classroom interactions. Unlike the previous two examples, however, Anna's attempts at eliciting a response from the student were unsuccessful. Anna works to modify her rate of speech at lines 9 and 13 as she first uses a problematic lexical item, and again as she works to define it. These numerous self-modifications reveal the instructor's attempts to increase the comprehensibility of the input she produces.

However, it does not seem that the student participant orients to these behaviors in quite the same way.

As the instructor attempts to scaffold the student, her shift to the position of knowledgeable participant also seems to adversely impact the student's level of participation in the conversation. Anna's probing of Yuna's knowledge was not just to identify the gaps or holes, but also to establish a shared referential focus. When her attempts at a shared focus are not met, she assumes authority over the topic. This is a notion which Shea (1994) has described as the perspective-production paradigm. Through negotiation, participants will attempt to establish a degree of intersubjectivity which exists as a mutually shared referential focus of the conversation. However, when one participant recognizes an asymmetry in their knowledge of the topic under discussion, another then controls the floor by flexing their interactional authority (p. 364). Once Anna has oriented to her role of authority in this sequence, she attempts to scaffold by first using the *recruitment* strategy. Her frequent use of a rising pitch surrounding the word "addiction" at lines 9 and 11 not only expresses an interrogative sense, but also indicates her attempt to elicit interest in the topic. She effectively *marks the critical feature* as she identifies the word with a comprehension check as well as a synonym. Her attempts to initiate a response from the student may have been deemed unsuccessful as the quality of the student responses move from a verbal agreement at line 14, to a short laugh at line 16, and eventually diminishing into a nonverbal nod at line 18. When the use of repetition at lines 9 and 11, the provision of a synonym also at line 11, and the added examples at 13 and 15 produce no response (R), it is clear the student has reached an understanding of the topic, no further attempts at initiation are made, and the conversation continues. As we shall discuss in the next section, this type of I-only exchange, while not particularly effective at facilitating SLA, occurs quite frequently in these casual conversations.

4.2 IRF/E techniques used to scaffold students in a semi-casual context

Table 4.2: IRF/E Counts by Knowledge System

	Consolidated Knowledge Systems by Scaffold Technique			Totals
	Semantic/Lex	Phonological	Morphosyntactic	÷ 402 = (%)
I	131	20	58	209 = (52%)
IR	118	36	20	174 = (43.3%)
IRF/E	1	9	9	19 = (4.7%)
Totals:	250 = 62.2%	65 = 16.2%	87* = 21.6%	402

Table 4.2 shows a breakdown of the IRF/E instructional technique by each of its three parts across perceived trouble in the knowledge systems. The majority of perceived trouble sources occurred in the semantic/lexical realm at 62.2%. In this category, the incidence of IRF/E was rare at only 1 in 19, and this isn't surprising considering the semi-casual context of the conversations. The majority of IRF/E which did occur in these conversations were evenly split between the phonological and morphosyntactic categories. This seems to suggest instructors' preference for overt, structured corrections when the trouble is sourced to issues in pronunciation or grammar. Although the number of IRF/E which occurred in this data set was quite small at only 19 occurrences, the fact that they occurred at all is interesting. Several researchers have noted that the three-turn sequence is not entirely relevant beyond the classroom (Hall, 1995; Ohta, 1995; Kasper, 2001; Mori, 2005), so this may reflect the influence of the semi-institutional context on talk. On this matter, when IRF/E is viewed as a spectrum, the IR category, while not in the majority, shows a high degree of occurrence at 43.3% of the total incidences. Because the response (R) portion of this sequence is considered modified output, and thus, relevant to SLA, a closer examination of these categories follows. Collectively, IR and IRF/E constitute 193 of the 402 total occurrences, or 48% which is nearly half of all marked sequences.

As in the preceding section, this section examines I, IR, and IRF/E sequences using a three-part approach of CA, institutional talk, and scaffolding theory. Since the initiation stage occurred most frequently across this data set, we begin there. Although initiations aren't considered effective at facilitating SLA, they often symbolize attempts at eliciting a response which go unanswered.

Example 4.2-1: Stan & Fuyu @ 30:01 - Trouble with morphosyntax (other-repair/corrective grammar) showing minimal repetition resulting in I-only

1. F: I have four cats.
2. S: Four cats?
3. F: Yes.
4. S: **Mmhm. So you like cats. You don't like dogs.**
5. F: **Yeah. I like\ I like eithe\ either.**
- I→ 6. S: **You like *both* of them.**
7. F: **Yes.**
- (2.0)
8. S: I love dogs. *I don't like cats.*
9. F: I like animals.
10. S: Me too. [Heheh
11. F: [Heheh.

From a conversation analytic perspective, this brief example shows a preference for progressivity over FonF in casual conversation. The trouble source begins at line 5 when Fuyu, the student, attempts to provide the second pair part to Stan's question of "cats or dogs," and she self-truncates twice. At first, her truncation of "like" is followed by a restart of the utterance from the subject, but then she truncates again at "either" which appears to signify some uncertainty in production. Stan immediately initiates other-repair by providing a recast of the utterance with the grammatically appropriate term "both" in line 6. Fuyu's verbal confirmation at line 7 and the subsequent pause which follows imply that repair has been completed effectively. In a possible attempt at minimization (Sidnell, 2007; Stivers, et al., 2009), Stan returns them to the main sequence of talk by providing his own opinion on the matter. In explanation of this, Hayashi (2005) notes "the 'tension' that speakers face between the orientation to solving referential problems by engaging in reference negotiation with recipients, on the one hand, and, on the other, the orientation to minimize disruption to the progressivity of the turn/TCU with which to execute the 'main action'" (p. 463). In other words, in cases where a quick fix will suffice, efficient repair is preferred over extended side sequences, and that appears to be the case here.

From an institutional talk perspective, Stan orients to his identity of instructor in a couple of different ways. First, in line 4 he provides what Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) have called an *and-prefacing* question. These types of questions are designed to provide the learner with a set of options about what happens next in a sequence, and they are often preceded by conjunctions like *and* or *so*. Setups such as these indicate an agenda or routine-based characterization of talk, which Stan uses to focus the topic of conversation. When Fuyu shows some difficulty selecting the grammatically correct terminology to express her response, he provides it effectively using a substitution technique. Vine (2008) has remarked that "teachers sometimes take the responsibility, not only for signaling that repair is needed, but also for showing how an appropriate repair might be achieved" (p. 686). While Fuyu does an excellent job at signaling the need for repair in this case, Stan uses his recast to model its execution. Also, the pause which follows Fuyu's affirmative response in line 7 is another example of teacher wait time, but in this exchange, only a brief amount is provided. Whether Stan is waiting for Fuyu's repetition of his grammatically appropriate recast or for her extended opinion on the topic, pauses such as this are rare due to the aforementioned preference for minimization. However, in the classroom teachers

often provide their students with ample time to submit their responses as opportunity for learning through engagement.

Unfortunately, this example shows little potential for scaffolding. While Stan, the instructor, does employ the strategy of *marking critical features* by highlighting a discrepancy between learner's production and the tutor's idea of correct production, this is accomplished minimally. In their discussion of second language learning, Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1995) outline a *regulatory scale* that describes options for evaluation that can explicitly provide corrections or implicitly indicate that something is wrong (p. 471). This case is slightly more implicit as correction takes the form of a recast. The conceptualization of IRF/E as a continuum connects well with this notion as those indications which occur at the lower end receive less overt treatment while those at the upper end often receive overt instruction on contextual application and practice. As we shall see in the next example, initiations which are followed by responses receive more overt FonF from the instructor participant.

At just over 43% of occurrences, IR two-turn sequences were the most successful scaffolding strategy in eliciting accurate production from students. It is possible that these results were driven by the semi-institutional, semi-casual context in which the conversations occurred. The following exchange shows how a student struggles preemptively with formulating a grammatical construction, and how the instructor provides correction.

Example 4.2-2: Justin & Kana @ 4:37 - Trouble in morphosyntax (other-repair/corrective grammar) showing some repetition resulting in IR

1. K: My mother:: is (.) protestant.
2. J: →Oh Really? *Wo:w.*→ But your\ Are you Protestant.
3. K: No:: ((Blinks twice))
(1.0)
4. J: **Why not?**
5. K: Eh:: .h.h Mhmhm .h.h
(2.0)
6. K: Eh\ When I
(2.5)
7. K: When I fir\ When I
(1.5)
8. K: When a\ I was (.) eh:: child?
9. J: ((nods))
(1.5)
10. K: I was not very interest in::
(2.0)
11. K: religion↓

- I→ 12. J: Ah::, you weren't interested in religion.**
(3.0)
- 13. J: But now you are!-**
- 14. K: I::m**
(2.0)
- R→ 15. K: am interesting in? ((nods))**
(1.0)
- I→ 16. J: You're *interested*-**
- R→ 17. K: *Yeah.* ←I'm interested in (.) eh (.) religion← Uh:: Uh::**
(2.0)
- 18. K: ((nods))**
- 19. J: Oh:: ((nods))**
(2.5)
20. J: And so:: (.) how long are you here (.) in Tucson for? How long?
(2.0)
21. J: For how much time?

In this case of repair, signs of trouble begin to appear at line 5 just after the instructor requests a response from Kana. At this point, Kana begins to make numerous delaying productions such as “*uh*” and “*eh*” with sound stretches and in-breaths in between. These are punctuated by lengthy pauses following lines 5, 6, 7, and 9. While this halts the progressivity of talk somewhat, it is to the advantage of the speaker who is using these delaying devices to construct a response. These *fillers* normally allow speakers to hold the floor while they simultaneously formulate an effective answer to the question asked. A morphosyntactic trouble source is spoken at line 10, and other-repair is initiated by the instructor at the subsequent turn in line 12. Similar to the previous example, Justin recasts the entire sentence using the correctly inflected grammatical form of “interested.” However, this student struggles with reproducing the correct form at line 15, and repair is initiated once more by the instructor at line 16 with increased stress. With extremely quick uptake at line 17, Kana replies in the affirmative, and then slowly pronounces the grammatically correct version of the utterance. This shows that while the instructor has corrected for the morphosyntax of the trouble source, the student is attempting to consolidate multiple knowledge systems simultaneously.

From the institutional point of view, the numerous pauses, truncations, sound stretches, false starts, and recasts symbolize participants' orientation to their identities of language learner and instructor. For example, due to the aforementioned concept of minimization, the number of pauses and the length of those pauses between turns is rare and uptake is usually quite fast;

however, in this example there is considerable wait time provided by the instructor as the student works toward producing their utterance. This is a sequence which the instructor has opened with questions at lines 2 and 4 and closes at lines 20 and 21 with additional questions. As a native speaker of English and an instructor, Justin has assumed control of the direction of conversation. Instructors exhibit a tendency to assume responsibility to ensure the accurate production of speech for clarity of meaning, so when the student produces an incorrect form for the second time at line 15, Justin does not let it go. This is also due to the rising intonation and nod which both serve as the student's confirmation check. Near the end of this sequence, there is another example of *and-prefacing* at line 20. While this example falls short of full IRF/E, the instructor orients to his identity through his strategies of providing wait time, assuming control of opening and closing side sequences, and providing repair which results in practice of the corrected form.

Several scaffolding strategies are applied in this IR sequence. Since participation is at the forefront of language learning, it follows that the instructor remained patient amidst numerous pauses and restarts. This is also due to the fact that Justin was unable to provide any type of feedback regarding the gap or hole in knowledge until the student displayed an incorrect form at line 10. Regarding scaffolding strategies, Justin employs *recruitment* in line 2 as he relates this topic of religion to the student personally, which is an attempt to enlist the learner's interest. He also uses *direction maintenance* to keep the learner motivated by not interjecting, allowing the student to complete their turn, and by providing encouraging feedback at line 13. There's a slight degree of *demonstration* here as the instructor first models the correct production in line 12, and then focuses the student's attention to practice in lines 16 and 17. Finally, Justin uses *frustration control* at lines 20 and 21 by shifting the topic of conversation away from the challenging topic of religion toward something more familiar. Once again, it appears that the use of these scaffolding strategies is possible despite the lack of an evaluative third turn in the IRF/E sequence. Let's consider how this example of IR differs from another full IRF/E exchange.

The next example shows a complete IRF/E exchange on a lexical trouble source specific to pronunciation. It was counted as a *perceived* phonological trouble source because Annie, the instructor, orients to the task of repairing that specific aspect of trouble while the semantic/lexical difficulty was partially resolved through the student's use of a cellphone.

Example 4.2-3: Annie & Yuri @ 4:05 - Trouble in phonology (other-repair/corrective pronunciation) showing moderate repetition resulting in IRF/E

1. A: Oh::: You walked a lot?

2. Y: Yeah.
3. A: **Oh yeah. Um:: What else did you do?**
4. Y: **Hmm? Umm,**
(2.0)
5. Y: **I saw, uh**
(3.0)
6. Y: ((checks cellphone)) **squ\ squa::re. Squ**
- I→ 7. A: **Hm?**
8. Y: **skwe:arl.**
- I→ 9. A: **Huh? ((leans in to see phone))**
(1.0)
- I→ 10. A: **Oh, *squirrel*. Oh, that is such a hard word to [say::: in English.**
11. Y: **[Mmhm**
12. A: **The pronunciation? [Heheh.**
- R→ 13. Y: **[Wha? Squ\ squirrel.**
- I→ 14. A: ***Squirrel*.**
- R→ 15. Y: ***Squirrel*. Heheh.**
- E→ 16. A: **Heh. [That's pretty goo::d.**
17. Y: **[It's difficult.**
18. A: **Uhuh. (.) They're so cute, huh?**
19. Y: **Mmm. ((nods))**
20. A: **They got the big tails?**
21. Y: ((nods))
22. A: **n:: (.) very fu::n. What else did you do?**

Indications of an approaching trouble source are first provided by the student in response to Annie's question at line 4 where she utters two delaying productions followed by a lengthy pause, and then an incomplete utterance followed by an additional delaying production "uh" and an even longer pause. It is not uncommon for fillers such as "hm," "um," "uh," "eh," and others to precede an interlocutor's word search. When the student realizes that she cannot rely upon her lexicon for an accurate production of the item, she uses her cellphone. At line 6 and again at line 8 Yuri attempts to pronounce the word with multiple tries. Although the process of repair has already been initiated with Annie's clarification request at line 7, an additional clarification request is provided at line 9 to emphasize that meaning has not been conveyed effectively, and the instructor leans in to read the word on the cellphone screen. Phonological repair is provided emphatically first at line 10 and again at line 14 after the student attempts pronunciation once more. At lines 14 and 15, the instructor and the student pronounce the word "squirrel" carefully, and they share a brief laugh over the challenge this term poses. Laughter has been described as one way that conversational participants align with each other through a sense of affiliative

accomplishment (Glenn, 2003). Following this laughter, the instructor provides an evaluation of the quality of Yuri's production as Yuri simultaneously remarks on its difficulty, which frames the preceding sense of accomplishment. Annie closes the side sequence of repair as she shifts the conversation toward descriptive senses of the animal in lines 18 and 20.

In this string of talk, IRF/E seems possible as both participants orient fully to the task of repair, which is largely due to the level of threat this term poses to the progressivity of talk. It is during interactions, such as the one shown above, that institutional identities are also oriented to most strongly, and the instructor does this through several of the previously mentioned moves. Annie asks open-ended questions in lines 3 and 22; she assumes responsibility for the opening and closing of the repair sequence. She also provides ample wait time for the student during word searches. In addition, she orients to her identity of language instructor as she scaffolds the student's pronunciation of a challenging term, providing FonF twice at lines 10 and 14, even to the point that she overtly discusses "pronunciation" as the source of trouble. Overt evaluations of knowledge systems are common in teacher talk. Her evaluation of the student's production at line 16 is also positive and encouraging despite the student's continued struggle with the word.

Annie does an excellent job of scaffolding the student in this example. She uses open-ended questions to *recruit* the student into continued discussion of the topic "What did you do at the Grand Canyon?" She *marks critical features* by highlighting terms she does not understand through the use of clarification requests; she uses *direction maintenance* to keep the learner motivated as she engages Yuri in practice; and she uses *frustration control* to save face for errors surrounding the difficulty by drawing the student's focus to descriptive senses related to the animal's tail and cuteness. The student is even successful in eliciting a *demonstration* from the instructor at line 13, which she uses to continue her practice consecutively via imitation of the more appropriate form. This technique is the most prominent feature which sets IR and IRF/E apart from I-only exchanges. For a more in-depth example of this process, see Appendix C, which is the most extensive IRF/E observed in these data. In review, the techniques of *recruitment*, *the marking of critical features*, *direction maintenance*, *frustration control* and *demonstration* observed in this example are the same as those observed in the previous IR sequence despite the absence of an evaluative "third turn". The evidence of multiple scaffolding strategies at the sites of both IRF/E and IR suggest that facilitation of SLA occurs in both overt and covert forms, but more frequently in a covert form in the context of casual conversation. To

better understand the effectiveness of these covert features, it is necessary to examine the micro-level exchanges of which they are comprised. The next section explores how modification strategies are utilized by NS instructors during scaffolding exchanges and what they mean for the orientation to institutional identities.

4.3 Modification techniques NS instructors use to enhance input comprehensibility

The following data reflect the number of self- and other-modifications made by instructor participants across the entire data set for the three categories of knowledge systems. In review, modifications refer to a native speaker's attempts to reduce or simplify their language by producing shorter utterances with low syntactic complexity using mild repetition and the avoidance of low frequency lexical items or colloquial and idiomatic expressions. Counts in each of these categories are higher than those observed in Tables 1 and 2 for two main reasons. First, as Long (1983) remarks, in NS/NNS talk, "native speakers appear to modify interaction to two main ends: (1) to avoid conversational trouble, and (2) to repair the discourse when trouble occurs. Modifications designed to achieve the first purpose reflect prior, long-range planning by the native speaker...and these are called conversational *strategies*" (pp. 131-32). Some of these conversational strategies involve moves such as relinquishing topic-control to native speakers, selecting salient topics, treating topics briefly, making new topics salient, and checking nonnative speaker's comprehension. As we shall see in the examples below, not all of these result in avoidance of trouble. Second, counts of IRF/E and NfM reflect the initiation of repair, and within those spates of repair multiple modifications may exist (more for IR and IRF/E sequences). In other words, both modifications designed to head off trouble before it occurs and modifications which occurred multiple times within a single sequence of repair were counted.

Table 4.3-1: Self- and Other-Modification Counts by Knowledge System

	Total Modifications Observed by Knowledge System Category		
	Semantic/Lex	Phonologic	Morphosyntactic
Self	171	72	48
Other	93	130	100
Total	264	202	148
Total Col	614		

The data in Table 3 reveal some interesting signs of speakership in the NS/NNS conversations. In the semantic/lexical category, the largest number of modifications made were

instructors' attempts at self-repair of their produced speech at 171 of 264 total occurrences in this category, or 64.8%. These often occurred in the form of self-adjustments for the purpose of correction, simplification, or specification of an immediately prior utterance. Kitzinger (2013) notes that "generally, the speaker who self-initiates repair also completes the repair by producing a repair solution. In self-initiated self-repair, then, a current speaker stops what s/he is saying to deal with something which is being treated as a problem in what s/he has said, or started to say, or may be about to say" (p. 230). This technique of self-modification then shifts to other-modification as instructors adjust NNS students' phonological and morphosyntactic productions. In the category of phonology, 130 of the total 202 occurrences, or 64.4%, were instructors' attempts to modify the pronunciation of their NNS students' speech. With regard to self-modification, instructors sometimes regulated their own pronunciation mid-utterance by slowing their rate of speech upon realizing the challenge a term or phrase they are using might pose. They also self-modified their own statements and questions following a student's indication of trouble by repeating the previous utterance word-for-word, but with more careful pronunciation. In addition, NS instructors used slowed speech with careful emphasis of syllables for names of perceived unfamiliarity such as names of restaurants, Spanish words, or Japanese loanwords. Other-modification was also high in the morphosyntactic category at 100 of the 148 total occurrences, or 67.6%. The lower numbers of self-modifications made in this category were mainly attempts to simplify the delivery of questions and statements. In the case of other-modifications, a range of repairs was observed from the micro-level (adding in a missing morpheme subsequently) to larger issues in syntax (recasting entire utterances for accuracy).

Table 4.3-2: Summary of Modification Functions Observed in NS/NNS Conversational Data

Instructor Moves	Semantic/Lexical	Phonological	Morphosyntactic
SELF-MOD	Pre- or Post-sequence to... ✓ clarify a word/phrase ✓ simplify a concept by replacement ✓ specify a concept in an attempt to avoid trouble	Pre- or Post-sequence to... ✓ break down longer, more challenging terms into syllabic components ✓ slow production/reception ✓ pronounce foreign/loan words more clearly	To simplify delivery of... ✓ Questions and statements... -which are too complex; -which are too great in number; -both.
OTHER-MOD	Post-sequence to provide... ✓ a word which represents a mimic or gesture ✓ the rest of a partial term	Post-sequence to... ✓ break down longer, more challenging terms into syllabic components	Post-sequence to... ✓ provide the correct verb tense; ✓ add a missing morpheme;

	✓ a definition or examples to define the concept ✓ a more/less complex synonym or antonym ✓ the most contextually correct term	✓ recast the accurate pronunciation of a partial or inaccurately produced word or phrase	✓ adjust POS so word will fit context.
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For trouble sources in the semantic/lexical domain, instructors employed various strategies to ensure that the shared understanding of meaning was sufficient to maintain the contiguity of talk. The following example is one which occurred quite frequently in the data, and it shows both self- and other-modifications of the semantic/lexical domain.

Example 4.3-1: Rose & Ako @ 4:05 - Self-modification of semantic/lexical question via specification and other-modification of semantic/lexical word search resulting from use of apologetic terms (I-only)

- SM→ 1. R: In your: family? Do you have a lot of pets? [Do you have**
2. A: [No:: no. no-
SM→ 3. R: Ever? (.) Did you ever have a pe\ a dog, or cat, or turtle, or fish::
(1.5)
4. A: Oh:: goldfish?-
OM→ 5. R: Goldfish.
6. A: Oh. He[heh.
7. R: [My sister had a goldfish quite a long time a-
8. A: Goldfish, I\ I got it
(1.0)
9. A: at summer festival
10. R: →Oh, great→
11. A: In Japan?
12. R: Yeah.
13. A: Summer festival↓ (.) and we s\ ((makes a scooping motion))
(1.0)
14. A: we s\ ((scooping motion continues))
(1.0)
15. A: wis: goldfish. Please (.) [please.
I→ 16. R: (((snaps fingers)) S:coop out [[the goldfish=
17. A: [[oh yeah, yeah.
I→ 18. R: =you picked. Did\ Could\ Did you choose
19. A: *Yeah*-
20. R: *→Yeah→ Which [goldfish::*
21. A: [*so::*
22. R: ←What was your goldfish's name?←

From a CA perspective, Rose's use of multiple questions with rising intonation at line 1 signals an intent to relinquish the floor to Ako by offering the first part of an adjacency pair which she

can complete. Despite the student's initially negative response at line 2, the instructor's reinstated questions followed by her use of specification emphasize her handing off the floor. This is also a form of self-repair in which Rose uses replacement terms such as the grammatical "do" to "did" tense shift and examples of animal types to specify the partially completed referent, "pe\`. With a new thread of talk underway at line 4, the student resumes her turn at talk until signs of trouble appear at line 13 when the progressivity is affected by the student's use of multiple pauses, self-truncations, multiple tries at restarting the utterance, and use of nonverbal gesturing. These actions signify a word search which the student is inviting the instructor to assist with. Ako's use of nonverbal gesturing is symbolic of her attempt to orient the instructor to the side activity of other-repair because the scooping motion which begins on the level of the table, ends at her face which draws the instructors gaze continually back to hers. Hosoda (2000) has referred to these multiple self-initiated attempts at other-repair as *appealing*. The appeal is further emphasized at line 15 where Ako employs the use of the apologetic term "please" twice. Following the micro-pause of the first "please", the instructor interjects with two quick snaps of the fingers where the student is performing her scooping gestures to offer the phrasal verb "scoop out". Immediately following the provision of this lexical item, the student agrees that this is indeed the word she has been searching for, and the sequence of repair closes as the instructor asks a new question in the same line of ongoing talk about pets at line 22.

From the institutional talk perspective, although this is an example of I-only teacher talk, the participants in this conversation orient to their roles through their use of repair. At line 3, Rose expresses disbelief at the student's negative response and then self-modifies her own question when she substitutes a number of specific pet types for "pet". This is an expansion technique which instructors often use to solicit their student's participation. Once the student resumes their turn at talk, the instructor allows ample wait time following the student's attempts at word searching at lines 13 and 14. When the student's signals of trouble grow stronger from lines 13 to 15, the instructor orients to the action of repair at line 16 when she enters the conversation with nonverbal gestures of her own and provides a lexical item with clear stress. After a few turns in which the student replies with positive acknowledgements, she submits another open-ended question to continue the conversation. As previously mentioned, instructors often assume control of the opening and closing of conversational sequences, and this is observed here as well. It is also important to note the student's diminished volume and length of

utterances following the execution of repair at line 19 and 21, and that this coincides with the instructor's closing of the side sequence of self-initiated other-repair.

During scaffolding sequences, instructors often self-modify their speech in an attempt to facilitate the joint construction of meaning. The instructor's multiple questions and self-repair to specify examples at lines 1 and 3 are examples of probing the student's knowledge of the topic, pets. Providing examples to expand the reference options available is one technique used to support comprehension and learning about the topic. These questions, many of which end with rising intonation, are types of *recruitment*, used to enlist Ako's interest in the task of discussing pets. The instructor also uses a slight degree of *frustration control* to face save for errors when the student struggles with her word search. She does this by providing quick alternate questions for the student to answer at lines 18, 20, and 22. These questions afford opportunities for the student to move on to aspects of the topic she can discuss which are slightly simplified (from the mechanism of retrieving the pet to the naming of it). Because this example is a case of I-only scaffolding, there are few other functions which facilitate SLA observed here, which mainly occur in IR and IRF/E sequences which involve a degree of focused repetition.

Collectively, instructors' use of other-modifications for perceived trouble in students' pronunciation and grammar was observed quite frequently. These findings symbolize their preconceived notion of role as language expert to FonF where necessary. The final example below shows that even when these potential trouble sources coincide, they are dealt with efficiently. It is also an example of how several modifications can occur within a single side sequence of repair.

Example 4.3-2: Mick & Ren @ 19:50 - Other-modification of phonological and morphosyntactic trouble via clarification checks marking critical features and modeling via repetition (IRF/E)

1. R: There (.) black people?
(0.5)
2. M: Mmhm-
3. R: **There black people? E:::::h**
(3.0)
4. R: **Black people, eh (.) lirves in New York, uh::**
(1.0)
5. R: **less than white people↓**
(2.0)
- I→ 6. M: **Say that again, that last part (.) I didn't understand the ←last sentence←**
7. R: →Last sent\ yeah→ **Black people?-**
8. M: **Mmhm.**
9. R: **lirves in New Y-**

- I→ 10. M:** ((leans in slightly)) →What's that word?→
(1.0)
- R→ 11. R:** Black people lirves-
- I→ 12. M:** *Live*?
- R→ 13. R:** Lirves (.) rives?
- I→ 14. M:** *Live* (.) [*They* (.) *live*
- R→ 15. R:** [They (.) live-
- F→ 16. M:** Got it.
- R→ 17. R:** *Yeah, sorry.* *Live*, uh: in New York (.) Less, uh,
(1.0)
- 18. R:** less tha::n (.) white people (.) Um\ A number of-
- 19. M:** So, so, (.) we would say (.) →I think this is what you mean→
(1.0)
- I→ 20. M:** ←There are more *white people* than *black people*←
- 21. R:** Yes-
- I→ 22. M:** ←in New York City.←
- 23. R:** →Yes, yes, yes→ *Sorry.*
- F→ 24. M:** Got it. (.) That's ok. (.) [Now I know what you mean.
- 25. R:** [→Yeah (.) Sorry. →
(0.5)
- 26. R:** Um, but (.) black people's crime rate (.) is (.) high.

The CA point of view describes this example as two trouble sources which occur almost simultaneously, but are addressed individually. Ren, the student participant who has the floor, provides the first signs of trouble from line 1. He uses multiple tries to repeat line 1 at lines 3 and 4, and these are punctuated by lengthy pauses and fillers. Pause and filler use are characteristic of attempts at delay, and simultaneously, a desire to relinquish the floor (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 239-40). These delaying productions continue until at line 6, the instructor uses two (rare) clarification requests to indicate trouble and open the side sequence of repair. The student then begins to repeat his utterance which the instructor cuts off immediately following the trouble source “lirves” in line 11 to both verbally and non-verbally request clarification. When it still isn't clear to the student what the exact source of trouble is, he restarts the utterance a fourth time, and the instructor interjects by reissuing the word, thereby isolating the phonological and morphosyntactic trouble source “lirves”. Reissued words and sounds are designed to frame the trouble and possible solutions for repair. After Ren's attempts at accurate pronunciation, Mick models while the student shadows his phonologically and grammatically accurate display. It seems that this repair closes at line 16 with Mick's minimum indication of comprehension “got it”, but then he sets up a complete repair of the utterance first with a pre-sequence at line 19 to

prepare the recipient, and then with a full recast of the student's attempted utterance in lines 20 and 22 using slow speech to emphasize clarity. This dual other-repair sequence closes when the instructor provides three additional evaluations at line 24 and the student resumes their turn at talk in line 26.

The modifications used in this brief-yet complex sequence show a strong orientation to institutional identity. As with other examples of teacher talk, the instructor allows for ample wait time following lines 1, 3, 4, and 5, but Mick's overt indication of trouble via clarification checks at line 6 provided clear signals of the need for repair. By line 10, the instructor has isolated the trouble source, but isn't pointing it out directly to allow the student opportunity to find it for himself. His question, "What's that *word*?" narrows the source of trouble for the student. Asking questions which you already know the answer to and using techniques that support the noticing of gaps and holes in knowledge are pedagogical strategies often used by teachers in classroom talk. In addition, when the student shows signs of difficulty isolating the particular trouble source in line 11, the instructor takes the turn to provide an answer to his own question at line 12, then modeling the accurate pronunciation. In typical IR and IRF/E sequences, instructors model a language form which is then repeated by the language learner, but here we see multiple other-modifications modeled by the instructor at lines 12, 14, 20 and 22, and repeated as practice by the student at lines 13, 15, and 17. Most prominent in this example is the instructor's use of the phrase "we would say" in line 19 to display his own orientation to the group identities of native speaker and instructor of American English. Such phrases would be rare indeed in conversations between native speakers. The IRF/E techniques which occur in this casual conversation incorporating multiple modifications hardly seem commonplace in the context of even semi-casual conversation, especially given the numerous evaluations provided by the instructor at lines 16 and 24. Perhaps this is why IR sequences were so much more frequent across this conversational data set; trouble sources can be repaired and even practiced without affecting the near-casualness of the context to a great extent.

Several functions of scaffolding are used to assist the student, and modification played an important role in that effort as well. First, the instructor offers *direction maintenance* by providing the encouraging backchannels "Mmhm" at lines 2 and 8. He overtly *marks critical features* by expressing his lack of understanding at lines 6, 10, and 12. He also provides adequate *demonstration* which is an idealization of the phonological and grammatical use of

language at line 14 which is then imitated by the learner. The multiple other-modifications in this line are key to the IR and IRF/E strategies which serve as effective scaffolds. This is because one repetition of “*live*” by itself may not effect demonstration, but it is sufficient to orient both participants to the task. The consecutive modification invites the student to participate via imitation, which he does on his own in a display at line 17. Multiple repetitions, the use of slowed production, and simplification that are characteristic of modifications play an important role in the scaffolding of students.

5. Conclusion

This research has examined native English-speaking instructors’ use of IRF/E to varying degrees in semi-casual conversation with Japanese nonnative speakers of English at an American ESL center, and how side sequences of repair and scaffolding are conducted at the micro-level by exploring their use of self- and other-modifications. It calls for future research on the topic of classroom talk and NS/NNS conversation to consider IRF/E not as a rigid, 3-turn sequence, but as an extreme point on a continuum of scaffolding. This research suggests that attempts at facilitating SLA achievable and widely used by instructors even in casual conversational settings. These discoveries were further supported through the examination of modification techniques across the three knowledge systems of semantic/lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic domains. These findings are made possible only through the intricate application of multiple strategies to a single data set. Applying multiple perspectives to a single issue allows for a more complete picture of how certain aspects of talk occur both within and beyond the institution. Several recent bodies of research have found CA particularly useful when applied in tandem with other theoretical approaches such as language socialization theory (Duff, 2007), cognitive approaches (Foster & Ohta, 2005), communities of practice theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991, 1998), and others (Kasper, 2006; Vine, 2008). The combination of theoretical approaches to examine social issues signifies our attempts as researchers to broaden our understanding of language use and acquisition. Social interaction is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, and as a result, the examination of it requires various intricate tools.

The findings in this study are attributed to a three-pronged approach which combines scaffolding theory with CA and institutional talk. This pedagogical focus questions whether ESL teachers employ structured strategies of teacher talk even in a semi-casual, semi-

institutional setting of an ESL center's student lounge. Using CA as a tool for analysis has shown that even in the context of casual conversation between NS American instructors and Japanese NNS students of English, the process of other-repair is an essential function to maintain the progressivity of talk. At the sites of repair, trouble sources are often indicated through a careful negotiation for meaning including the use of confirmation checks, clarification requests, and comprehension checks. It was discovered that instructors most frequently initiate repair on trouble in semantic or lexical domains using a careful combination of confirmation checks for other-repair and modifications for self-repair. However, it was also found that trouble sources in the semantic/lexical domain rarely receive in-depth treatment often found in extended side-sequences of repair. More intricate, extended side-sequences of repair were often discovered at the sites of structured focus on form (FonF) scaffolding, which instructors used not only to repair trouble sources, but also to turn them into "teachable moments" in which learning and discovery of new and challenging features of the L2 can be practiced.

Perhaps the most salient finding of this research was the discovery that the initiation-response-feedback/evaluation (IRF/E) instructional technique, which is a characteristic of institutional classroom talk, is best examined on a continuum that begins with an attempt at initiation and spans to extended sequences of practice and evaluation of the language learner's productions. The data in this study show that ESL instructors, who are conscious of the semi-casual atmosphere of conversation, adjust their instructional techniques during spates of repair to dial down the overtness of their corrections by often dispensing with the final component: evaluation. Nearly half of all the repairs observed in the data were successful in eliciting some degree of response from the student participants, and it is this practice through imitation which allows for facilitation of SLA. These findings are verified through the lens of scaffolding techniques, the most prominent of which (*recruitment* of learner's interest, *marking of critical features* for correct production, *frustration control* to save face, and *demonstration* of the idealized language act) were observed in both IR *and* overt IRF/E techniques. Not only does this suggest that these teachers continue to orient to their collective identities as native-speaking language experts and trained instructors when in semi-casual conversation with nonnative English-speaking Japanese students, but it also uncovers an important gap in the research. Occurrences of overt IRF/E in these data were quite low (at just under 5%), and if, as a researcher, I were only searching for absolute examples of IRF/E, then I might be led to

conclude, as other researchers have, that it is unique to the classroom environment. Using a single limited approach to explore this linguistic phenomenon fails to recognize the agency of the language user to make subtle adjustments to the strategy while simultaneously achieving a similar purpose: facilitating language use and acquisition.

The combination of these analytical perspectives also allowed certain micro-features of talk between the instructors and students to be observed *in situ*. Through this study, we were able to examine the modifications which NS American English instructors use to adjust their own speech in an effort to bring it within students' perceived *i+1* level of learning. While it was found that the instructors focused much of their attention on adjusting their own lexical choices for the purpose of increasing simplification, specification, or redundancy of topics, it was also discovered that they tended to focus on modifying the speech of others when it comes to matters of phonological and morphosyntactic concern. This may be due to, as Waring (2008) argues, "our belief that learning occurs only when problems arise. In other words, when a correct response (especially one in the microdomains of syntax and phonology) is given, very few learning potentials are left to be explored" (p. 579). These instructors' use of modification techniques embedded in sequences of repair and IRF/E to FonF allows them to surface gaps and holes in the learners' language use and provide opportunities for scaffolded practice. However, because instances of other-initiated repair are found to be rare in NS/NS conversation, they have been criticized as "less authentic", and as a result, somehow less relevant to the experiences language learners might encounter in the "real world". These criticisms are problematic because, as Ohta (1999) notes, "clearly, the interactional routines of the classroom have a profound impact upon the acquisition of the *adult* learner" (p. 1509). This suggests that "natural" conversation for NNS language learners can and should incorporate an overt FonF because, as adults, we don't acquire language as "naturally" as children.

Controversies of authenticity have long surrounded discussions on institutional talk, particularly in the case of classroom and teacher talk, which implicates FonF structured approaches to instruction. However, the question remains whether SLA and/or pragmatic competence can be achieved in adults without an overt FonF that occurs in NS/NNS interaction. In her paper on "Can Pragmatic Competence Be Taught?" Kasper (1997) argues that we should attempt to teach pragmatic competence because "without pragmatic focus, foreign language teaching raises students' metalinguistic awareness, but it does not contribute much to develop

their metapragmatic consciousness in L2...[and] without some form of instruction, many aspects of pragmatic competence do not develop sufficiently” (p. 108). The side sequences of repair, scaffolds, and students’ exposure to instructors’ use of modification strategies is arguably an effective model which supports this paradigm. In addition, Wilkinson (2001) has argued that “Indeed, it seems to be virtually impossible to gain pragmatic competence without at least some explicit, overt instruction” (p. 527). Understanding how to effectively use one’s L2 involves more than just classroom instruction; it involves application of knowledge through exposure to proficient speakers of the language who can provide opportunities for practice and models for its accurate use. Even though the surface goal of these interactions is the use of knowledge systems in context, automatized performance through practice is still realized to a degree.

Considerations for future research which were not addressed in this study relate to matters of gender and experience of instructors. Since ten of the fourteen student participants were female, and ten of the fourteen teacher participants were female, a large proportion of conversation observed in this data set was female-to-female. Although attempts were made to provide a variety of gender-based pairings in this teacher-student format, little attention was paid to the subtle differences in strategies specific to certain pairings, or whether this affected orientation to the task of repair with consideration to power dynamics. More importantly, the range of instructors who participated in this study varied greatly in terms of their age and experience in the field of ESL. This was also accounted for by providing samples of conversation in which both experienced and newer instructors were represented. However, while the IRF/E technique was applied by instructors in each of the experience categories, a proportionally larger amount of IR (the higher frequency strategy) were used by older, more experienced instructors. Future research on the topic of IRF/E as a continuum should explore in greater detail the background experience of the instructor participants and whether or not the application of strategies is commensurate with experience in the field.

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Appendix

APPENDIX A

CA Transcription Key; Modified slightly from Goodwin (1981)

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
11	Line number: Each line of transcribed talk is numbered to facilitate reference
Yuki	Denotes the speaker. Discussants are referred to by pseudonyms
Other/s	Refers to an unidentified speaker/s
[]	Indicates overlap in speakers' talk
(0.5)	Indicates a pause in speech, in this case of 0.5 seconds
(.)	Indicates a micro-pause of less than one tenth of a second
=	Indicates continuation of a previous utterance amidst an interjection
-	Indicates no pause between speakers
\	Indicates a speaker's self-truncation and subsequent restart
<i>word</i>	Indicates speaker's <i>stress</i> on a particular word or phrase
word/s	Indicates the environment in which the target language behavior begins, occurs, and is completed.
word	Indicates a quietly spoken word or phrase
word	Indicates a whisper. Anything quieter such as mouthing a word is enclosed by double-parenthesis
(word)	Indicates a transcriber's uncertainty about what was said
((nod))	Indicates non-verbal moves used in context of talk; transcriber's description
wo::rd	Indicates an extension of the word or sound preceding. Indicates a lengthening of the sound preceding the colon. The more colons, the longer the length.
word↑	Indicates a rise in intonation occurring in the sound preceding the symbol. May also be used ↑word↑ to indicate an entire word or phrase produced as such.
word↓	Indicates a fall in intonation occurring in the sound preceding the symbol. May also be used ↓word↓ to indicate an entire word or phrase produced as such.
.h.h	Indicates an out-breath
h h	Indicates an in-breath
←word←	Indicates a word (or phrase) spoken more slowly than the surrounding text
→word→	Indicates a word (or phrase) spoken more quickly than the surrounding text
.?,	Indicates a speaker's intonation
aha	Indicates laughter immediately preceding and or bubbling through a word or phrase as indicated by its position in the transcript

APPENDIX B

Example 4.1-2 Full: Casey & Akira 2 @ 3:45 - Clarification request scaffolds of pronunciation (showing considerable repetition of lexical items) resulting in IR

1. A: Mmm, kare:: (.) kare: raisu↓ →Kari raisu→
- 2. C: Curry?
3. A: Curry?
- 4. C: Kare: raisu?
5. A: Kare: raisu↓
- 6. C: I don't know what that is::
(1.5)
- 7. C: What is that?
8. A: What's\ Uh, very spicy. .h.h
9. C: Ahh, it's a spicy dish?
10. A: The original, it's food, eh:
(1.0)
11. A: uh, is↓ The food come from (.) Indo.
- 12. C: Oh, from India?
13. A: In\ eh in\ →eh no→ Indo.
- 14. C: Indo↓ Where's Indu? (0.5) Indo↓
15. A: Indo, I\ i\ in\ indo? Eh::, Indo↓
16. A: ((takes out cellphone and searches))
(2.0)
17. C: Is it in Japan?
18. A: No. Uh: other country. Eh:: h h
- 19. C: It's not India?
20. A: No.
(2.0)
21. C: Indonesia?
22. A: No::.
23. C: .h.h Heheheh.
(4.0)
24. A: Eh:\ india\ indo. *Indo.*
(3.0)
25. A: Indian. Eh\ h h, Eh::to (1.0) ne::ar the (.) Nepal. *Nepal*
- 26. C: Near Nep[al?
27. A: [pal a::nd
(3.0)
28. C: Maybe we can look at it on a map? ((picks up phone from table)) *Let's see.*
(14:00)
29. C: Mm\ mm\ m::aps-
30. A: India. India.
- 31. C: India?
32. A: India.
- 33. C: India?
34. A: India.

35. C: Yeah. Like *curry* from *India*. (.) You have that in Japan as well?
 36. A: ((raises eyebrows, leans in))
 37. C: You eat that food in (.) Japan? -
 38. A: Yes.
 39. C: You eat Indian food there?
 40. A: *Yeah.*
 41. C: It's really good. I love *Indian food*.
 42. A: Very (.) spicy.
 I→ 43. C: Yeah:: It's awesome. I\ I ma\ I'm\ I love *curry*?
 R→ 44. A: Curry↓
 R→ 45. C: Like the [curry::? The curry is so good
 R→ 46. A: [Curry↓ Good↓
 47. A: I li\ I like it.
 → 48. C: So spicy food is your favorite?

APPENDIX C

Example 4.1-2 Full: Rose & Ako 1 @ 1:54 - Multiple scaffolds of pronunciation (showing considerable other-modification of phonology) resulting in complete IRf/E

1. R: Do you know, of course, what color is your shirt?
 2. A: Red.
 (1.0)
 → 3. R: One more time?
 4. A: Red. R\ R\ Huh? -
 I→ 5. R: There is a::
 (2.0)
 6. R: Um:: (.) metal called *lead*.
 R→ 7. A: Lead?
 I→ 8. R: And if I take you by the hand and *lead* you today?=
 R→ 9. A: *Lead.* -
 I→ 10. R: =yesterday I *led* you.
 R→ 11. A: Led?
 12. R: So we'll\ we'll work on red and led, and some other sounds like that (.) When you do R? ((points to mouth in circular motion)) at the beginning of a word, make your lips *Round*.
 (1.0)
 13. R: →So try it\ First try it. → ((purses lips and points in circular motion))
 (0.5)
 14. R: R::[ound.
 R→ 15. A: [R\ r::ound.
 I→ 16. R: *Round*.
 R→ 17. A: *Round*.
 18. R: A:nd (.) the American: R↓ (.) the tongue curls but it doesn't touch.
 19. A: ((nods))
 (1.5)
 I→ 20. R: But if you make your lips *round*, (.) it will help you

(1.0)

21. R: curl your tongue, and=

22. A: *Yeh.*

23. R: =touch it

R→ 24. A: *Round.*

I→ 25. R: maybe. Round, red.

R→ 26. A: Red.

I→ 27. R: Red.

R→ 28. A: Red. .h.h

29. R: Yeah.

R→ 30. A: Red.

(2.0)

31. R: And so, (.) when you make the L, your tongue touches.

32. A: Lread.

I→ 33. R: Led?

R→ 34. A: Led.

I→ 35. R: *→And your lips aren't rounded→* *Led*.

R→ 36. A: Led.

I→ 37. R: Um, Let?

(1.0)

38. R: *look*.

R→ 39. A: Look.

I→ 40. R: So let's try *look*.

R→ 41. A: Look.

I→ 42. R: Rook.

R→ 43. A: Rook. ((smiles)) Heheh.

I→ 44. R: So no touching and rounds\ →Look, rook→

R→ 45. A: →Look, rook→ .h.h Hnn-

I→ 46. R: Rook.

R→ 47. A: Rook.

I→ 48. R: *It's rook.*

R→ 49. A: Rook.

I→ 50. R: Red.

R→ 51. A: Red.

(1.0)

I→ 52. R: *Red*.R→ 53. A: *Red*.

E→ 54. R: Huh::. Very good.

55. A: Heheheh. Very difficult .h.h

56. R: And difficult. It doesn't have to be perfect though. If you are speaking about something and you say, "The sh::irt is red." Even if you use an L, we kno::w=

57. A: Yeah

58. R: =what you mean.

59. A: Yeah.

APPENDIX C: ARTICLE 3

The Efficacy of Student Help Hours at a US ESL Center:
An Analysis of Semi-Casual Tutoring Sessions on Short-Term Program Participants.

By

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Doctoral Candidate

Dissertation Article 3 of 3

March 12th, 2017

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Abstract

This article presents the results of an investigation into the success of a relatively new type of tutoring program required for short-term special programs at an American ESL institute. Using a combination of conversation analysis of audio-recordings and an exit survey questionnaire, it explores college-aged Japanese students' perceptions about the program's impact on their language proficiency through access to native English speakers. The study reveals a mostly positive conception of the help hours and suggests a particular effectiveness when required of short-term study abroad program participants. It also makes recommendations for improvements in the continued implementation of this program as a roadmap for institutions considering similar ones. Access to native speakers can be challenging for short-term programs because of tight, pre-determined schedules which often require group participation and decrease the likelihood of L2 English use. However, scheduled access to native English-speaking instructors offers students individual opportunities to enhance their linguistic and cultural repertoires through casual one-on-one conversation.

1. Introduction

Internationally, the number of short-term study abroad programs (STSA) is on the rise as a low-cost, high-value option to their lengthier alternative (Engle and Engle, 2003; Dwyer, 2004; Clark, et al., 2009). Such programs afford students exposure to a foreign language and culture and can be accomplished during their home institution's break periods, so students miss a minimal amount of coursework. While U.S. institutions often do their best to accommodate incoming special programs, they are also faced with the unique challenge of helping students meet their linguistic as well as cultural and practical needs. Due to compact scheduling issues, special programs must often require students to remain with their group for classes, meetings, ceremonies, and various special events, which have the effect of limiting students' opportunities to converse in English with native speakers. To mitigate this problem, one U.S. ESL institution has launched a program which requires STSA students to attend weekly "help hours" with native English-speaking instructors in the student lounge. The purpose of this study is to examine the efficacy of the Student Help Hours program and determine how well it met the goal of supporting Japanese students' language use in scheduled meetings with native English-speaking tutors. This group of students was chosen because Japanese students comprise one of the largest numbers of annual STSA programs at this ESL institution. Transcribed audio recordings of their conversational exchanges and an exit survey were used to determine students' perceptions about the effectiveness of the program.

Why short-term study abroad programs?

The consistent belief about study abroad programs is that the longer students study in a foreign country, the greater the impact to their academic, cultural, and personal sense of growth. However, as Dwyer (2004) notes, “during the past 16 years, due to a variety of academic, social, college policy, and economic reasons, national study abroad enrollment trends have been moving toward significantly fewer students studying abroad for a full year” (p. 151). While students face the pressures of completing their degree on time and the ever-rising costs of tuition, the traditional “junior year abroad” has shrunk to semester or even summer abroad. While long-term study abroad remains the ideal for reasons of linguistic development and improving intercultural competence, there are also discernable benefits of STSA programs. For example, Anderson, et al., (2006) has claimed that “STSA programs can have a positive impact on intercultural sensitivity” (p. 11), and Chieffo and Griffith’s (2004) study found that “short-term programs, even as short as one month, are worthwhile educational endeavors that have significant self-perceived impacts on students’ intellectual and personal lives” (p. 174). Acquiring significant aspects of a language and culture while achieving academic and personal growth in only four weeks may seem like a lofty goal on the surface, but for many students who still wish to study abroad and cannot afford an entire year, it is the most practical option available. Unfortunately, shorter terms of study may impact students’ expectations of their own linguistic development.

One issue of concern for STSA programs is the challenge of sustaining motivation. In long-term programs, second language students have increased opportunities to establish social circles, make friends, exchange with host families, and apply knowledge learned in their language classes. In addition, they have more points of assessment which would serve as indicators of linguistic advancement. This range of linguistic, social, and personal benefits has led many to describe study abroad as a form of investment. Peirce (1995) claims that “an understanding of motivation should be mediated by an understanding of learners’ investments in the target language--investments that are closely connected to the ongoing production of a language learner’s social identity” (p. 20). Under this conception, social interaction is a currency of investment, and study abroad is the mechanism by which one maximizes opportunities for shaping identity. Although participants of short-term programs may have a similar desire to get the most out of their study abroad experience, the very length of such programs tends to limit exposure to and permeability of these social communities.

The Institutional Response

In spring of 2015, the Center for English as a Second Language (CESL) in Tucson, Arizona began offering a free language service to its students which it calls the Student Help Hours (SHH). These are scheduled office hours which faculty are required to participate in weekly as an aspect of their professional service to CESL. The goal is to have trained language instructors present in the students' space to answer academic questions, offer help on homework, and engage in casual conversation. The belief is that exchanges with instructors would improve faculty-student relations while simultaneously increasing opportunities for students to have contact with native speakers beyond the classroom. Over time, the SHH were utilized by oral communication teachers for interview projects, pronunciation practice referrals, and other creative tasks. It was also used by the American Studies Program, which is a special program designed for short-term study abroad programs like those CESL hosts for students from Japan.

American Studies is a month-long program which integrates students in CESL's leveled IEP classes and provides a course in American culture. In addition, program coordinators organize social events, field trips to locations like the Grand Canyon, and other weekend outings. While many of these events enhance exposure to local culture, they tend to keep the group together for long periods of time, and this was viewed as constraining to social engagement. As a result, in summer 2015 the SHH were made a mandatory aspect of the American Studies Program. Students were asked to keep notebooks of questions they had about American English and culture, which they would use to start conversations with the NS instructors in the student lounge. Beyond the asking of questions, students were instructed to enjoy conversation for half an hour to an hour once per week, but there was no predetermined structure to these discussions.

One of the concerns of this study is the efficacy of the SHH program in meeting the needs of STSA students in the context of the student lounge. More specifically, it is concerned with the impact that help hours have on Japanese students' language use through one-on-one exposure to NS English instructors in a format similar to tutoring. This research is useful to administrators considering the implementation of similar programs at their own institutions.

Research Questions:

1. How successful was SHH in meeting Japanese students' perceived linguistic and cultural goals while in the US on a short-term program?
2. How did students view the overall quality of SHH, and what improvements are recommended for its ongoing implementation?

2. Method

I investigated answers to these questions through an analysis of both exit survey responses and transcriptions of audio-recorded conversations. This study is part of a larger body of research which examines social interaction between NNS students and their NS English instructors. First, it quantifies the results of each survey question as a measure of program effectiveness. The results are limited to the number of student participants in the American Studies Program, which in the summer of 2015 was fifteen (five males and ten females). The number of participating instructors, who possess varying degrees of experience in the field, was fourteen (four males and ten females). Second, it explores each question from a more qualitative perspective by studying references made to the SHH program during conversation between NS/NNS participants. This portion uses conversation analysis (CA) as an approach to understand more detailed aspects of NS/NNS student-instructor exchanges. These types of conversations were selected because, as Pica, et al. (1987) describe, they are “opportunities for NS/NNS interaction in which both parties modify and restructure the interaction to arrive at mutual understanding. Until recently, this environment has been found mostly outside of instructional contexts” (p. 739). This mixed-methods approach should provide a more complete picture of program efficacy at the time of the study and changes necessary in its implementation.

2.1 Data Collection

In the survey, all questions were presented in both English and Japanese, and responses used Likert scale, frequency, and open-ended comment box options. They were administered electronically using the web-based survey tool, Qualtrics. I first collected responses to questions about level to calibrate students’ self-perceptions of proficiency. These questions asked about self-determined level of English ability and their assigned CESL levels. Questions about SHH attendance were also asked, considering the possibility that not all students would have attended their weekly scheduled hours. Reasons for potential non-attendance were also requested. The subsequent questions were designed to understand more about students’ perceptions of instructor’s effectiveness in answering questions, assistance with language/culture learning goals, and language use in general. The remaining questions asked about the SHH impact on confidence using L2 and about the program’s overall effectiveness. Each of these questions was designed to analyze the students’ perceptions about program quality from multiple perspectives.

The second source of data was a series of excerpts taken from the 13.9 hours of audio-recorded conversations between students and instructors during SHH. Each time a conversational participant made overt reference to the SHH program in terms of purpose, length, timing, and/or quality, that segment of talk was transcribed for analysis and discussion. In addition, a few instances of talk which exemplify varying degrees of scaffolding were analyzed to enrich statistical data on the efficacy of instructors' techniques. These more covert examples of the program's design and implementation were helpful in calibrating survey responses by providing more in-depth illustrations of social interaction which the survey alone could not.

2.2 Data Analysis

Once the responses and excerpts were collected, I calculated percentages of each to show averages. These averages were considered against the outliers in order to separate patterns from idiosyncrasies. The results were also compared to comments made by students and instructors in the conversations. Standard CA conventions were used in the transcription process to highlight relevant aspects of talk and turn-taking such as micro-pauses, hesitations, and other indicators of trouble. Discussion of these exchanges draws upon CA as an approach because "CA also deals with the ways in which social order is jointly established and shared cognition is continuously generated, maintained, and transformed" (Mondada and Doehler, 2004, p. 503). It is important to note that the responses analyzed here are specific to this group of Japanese NNS students and American English instructors and provide only a snapshot of the efficacy of a program in evolution. This article attempts to shed light on the execution of STSA programs and on the systems in place which are designed to help students meet their linguistic and cultural objectives while abroad in the U.S. It is viewed through the lenses of motivation and communicative competence.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Level and Attendance

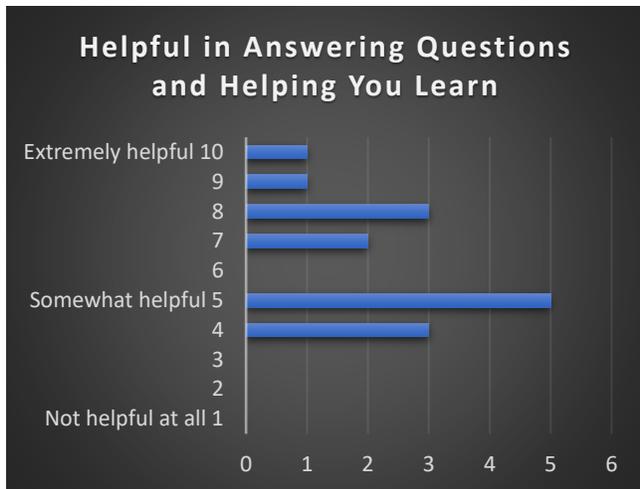
The majority of students who participated in this study self-identified as low-intermediate (8) to intermediate (5) in proficiency with one student self-identifying as high-beginner and another as high-intermediate. These findings were commensurate with their assigned CESL levels which had two students at level 2, three at level 3, eight at level 4, and two at level 5. Levels 4 and 5 are considered to be divisions of the intermediate level at CESL. This is relevant

because it suggests a degree of reliability between the students' self-ratings and their actual classifications. It is also important because low-intermediate to intermediate level students would be likely to identify multiple aspects of their shared conversations with the NS instructors as trouble sources. *Trouble* is defined as "misarticulations, malapropisms, use of a 'wrong' word, unavailability of a word when needed, failure to hear or to be heard, trouble on the part of the recipient in understanding, or incorrect understanding by a recipient" (Schegloff, 1987). Clear displays of trouble by the students could create occasions to focus on form (FonF) (Long, et al., 1998) and negotiate for meaning (NfM) (Long, 1980) on unfamiliar aspects of English. Indeed, the quantification of NfM strategies, known as 3C in the literature, revealed 502 instances across the entire data set. As a result, there were several opportunities for co-participants to shift the topic of conversation to language.

During their month of study in the U.S., the students were expected to attend SHH once per week for between thirty minutes to an hour for each of the four weeks they attended classes. Unfortunately, due to a misalignment in their schedule of stay and CESL's regular IEP session schedule, help hours were only attended for three of those weeks. Seven students attended all three of their sessions, three students attended twice, and five students only attended one session for the duration of the program. Students' inability to attend often resulted from scheduling conflicts with special events and with logistical issues of getting all instructors to attend their scheduled hours early in the session. Upon completion of the program, there were 13.9 total hours of recorded conversational data at an average length of attendance of 59.64 minutes per student (29.17 minutes per meeting). A few students reported attending their help hours but did not actually meet with an instructor during that time, either because the instructor was busy helping another student or because an instructor was called upon to substitute teach. No-shows due to vacation, illness, and other reasons were also an unfortunate administrative reality.

3.2 Helpfulness and Topic

Students were somewhat divided in their opinion of the usefulness of the conversational exchanges, and this seems to be tied to the purpose of SHH. On the question of the "program's usefulness in answering questions and helping you learn," the average rating was 6.3 or 63%



approval. Interestingly, the group was somewhat divided in their opinion of SHH with nearly half (7/15) giving it a rating of 7 or above, and the other half (8/15) giving a mid-range rating of 4-5. This question made no direct mention of the participating instructors, so it is assumed that these numbers address the program's broader pedagogical implementation. Since students

received little-to-no direction in terms of their preparation for conversation with instructors beyond listing questions in advance, there may have been a perceived lack of organization.

Some students admitted that they were unprepared for lengthy discussions in English with a native speaker. The following example¹ between an instructor, Kathy, and her SHH student, Yuna, raises this issue. This exchange occurs early in the conversation when the topic has yet to be established. At this point, the student has already asked her prepared questions about greetings and grammar (modals), and the instructor has also asked a few questions on the topics of slang, writing, and local travel. It follows a five-second pause in talk.

Example 3.2-1: (Kathy & Yuna's admission of confusion over purpose of SHH

1. K: Do you have any other (.) questions for me?
(4.0)
2. Y: No.
3. K: No?
- ➔ 4. Y: Some of my (.) classmates from XXXXXXXX? (.) They don't know what to say in (.) this *student help hours*
5. K: Heheh. .h.h
(2.0)
6. K: I think it's just (.) like (.) if you need help? (.) with your classes↓
7. Y: Can you help me with a grammar question?
8. K: Yeah (.) I can totally help you with grammar. ((nods))

In this example subsequent to line 1, the student exhibits a lengthy pause lasting four seconds, which seems to indicate think time or even a possible trouble source. However, it doesn't appear that the student participant has misunderstood anything that the instructor has said. Instead, Yuna appears to be displaying a dispreferred response to Kathy's question. Preference

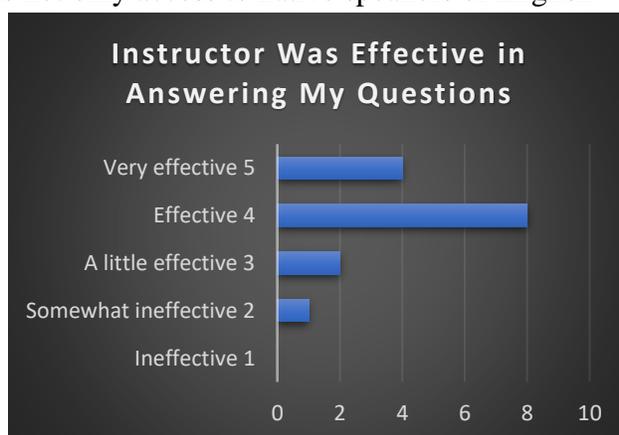
¹ The name of the students' home institution has been removed to protect anonymity and pseudonyms were used in place of all participants' names.

organization is essential to the smooth flow of talk in conversation. While preferred responses involve providing expected answers (second pair part) to questions (first pair part), thus completing an adjacency pair, dispreferred responses are “responses of disagreement, challenge, and demand for justification” (Mori, 2005, pp. 265). According to Heritage (1984) “dispreferred format responses are largely destructive of social solidarity...[and] disaffiliative action can potentially threaten the face of either the recipient or the first speaker, and even the relationship itself” (p. 302). While the use of a dispreferred response here does not appear to be threatening on the level described above, it does warrant a confirmation check from the instructor at line 3 which indicates some surprise. This is followed by Yuna’s complaint at line 4 where she admits that she (and others) are uncertain about the purpose of these conversations. After some laughter and a brief pause at line 5, Kathy launches a brief explaining sequence to define her idea of the purpose of SHH. This appears to be accepted by the student, who directs the topic of conversation to a question about grammar.

During the short-term American Studies Program, students took classes in both English language and American culture, but these were not the only topics discussed in SHH. Three students reported discussing the topic of “language” while ten reported discussing “culture-related questions.” Twelve students reported discussing topics of “general conversation.” This majority suggests a preference for casual, less academic topics, but as Example 3.2.1 above illustrates, their conversations often turned to the topic of language regardless. The students’ perceptions of helpfulness may have been wrapped up in their pre-existing expectations of these topics and opportunities to focus on their own linguistic development.

3.3 Access to NS as an Instructor

One of the defining aspects of the SHH is not only access to native speakers of English outside of class, but access to trained language instructors. Overall, participating teachers were rated as having been effective at answering students’ questions about language and culture with an average score of 4/5, or 80%. In fact, most of the participating students (12/15) felt that their instructor was



either “effective” or “very effective” while only one rated their instructor as “somewhat ineffective” at answering their questions about language and culture. What these numbers don’t show is why students viewed their instructors as being effective.

Instructors often provided a welcoming atmosphere in which students were permitted to make mistakes as part of the learning process. Linguistic trouble sources were often treated as a natural part of conversation and encouragement often followed. The following example illustrates the close of a SHH session where the instructor stresses the central function of these conversations with the phrase “practice speaking.”

Example 3.3-1: (Casey &) Akira’s repetition of morphosyntactically modified correction

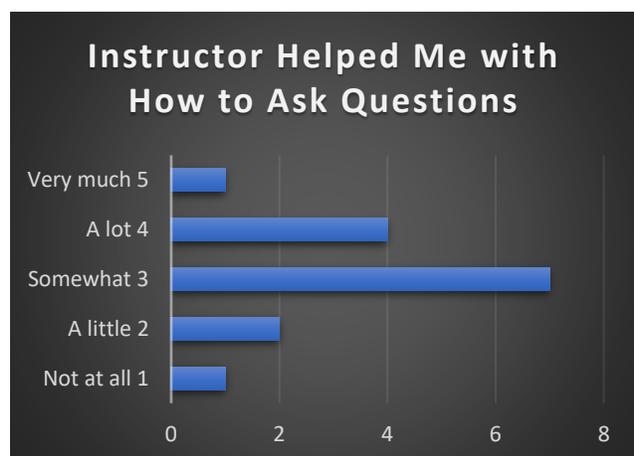
1. C: Um\ Was this helpful (.) for you::? To practice speaking with::\ with me? Was it helpful?
2. A: Hm? ((leans in sharply))
3. C: I\ is it helpful:? (.) to practice speaking? (.) with\ [with me?
4. A: [Yes. Bery (.) Bery (.) Practice]
- 5. C: **Ye:::ah. Good prac[tice (.) Right? Yeah.**
- 6. A: **[*Good practice***
7. C: Well, I’m always here in the SLC-
8. A: Ah.
9. C: I’m here very often-
10. A: Ah.
11. C: s::o you can:: come talk to me-
12. A: Ah.
13. C: whenever you want to::: Ok?
14. A: Ok. ((smiles)) Yes:[::.
15. C: [I hope that this has been helpful::
16. A: Uhuh.
17. C: a:nd I’m sorry that uh:: (.) that uh:: (.) that Nicky didn’t come=
18. A: Uh. ((nods slightly))
19. C: =but there will *always* be someone here (.) in the future.
20. A: Ok.

This spate of conversation shows several interesting conversational moves. First, the instructor offers an adjacency pair of self-evaluation at line 1 in the form of a yes-no question. At first, it appears that the student is having difficulty understanding when he uses a verbal-nonverbal blended clarification request at line 2. The instructor then self-modifies as she deconstructs the grammatical complexity of her previous question and slows down her delivery of it using micro-pauses. At line 4, the student finally gives a positive response, but his utterance is somewhat ungrammatical as it contains an intensifier “bery” without an adjective (good) to modify. In line 5, the instructor indicates a slight degree of trouble with her vowel stretch on the word “yeah,”

and she then provides other-repair on the grammar of the student's utterance, which he quickly self-modifies via repetition at line 6. Some trouble source identifiers of repair include cut-offs (sound stretches, delaying spacers), frames (reissued words or sounds), silences and delays (pauses), apologetic terms, repair prefaces (words like "well" or "I mean"), repeats, multiple tries (returns to trouble source), and self-talk (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 239-41). Although several of these trouble source indicators are observed here, repair is conducted quickly and the talk progresses without breakdown.

Based on the example above, instructor effectiveness can be measured on several dimensions. The instructor's tendency to self-modify both before and after indications of trouble suggest a degree of measured delivery often observed in classroom teacher talk. The act of providing other-repair, while rare in NS/NS conversations, is also commonplace in discussions between NS and NNS (Kitzinger, 2013). Perhaps most importantly, the student actually practices the instructor's model for repair when he says, "good practice" at line 6. The conceptualization of these conversations as opportunities for practice of their L2 English is a form of modified output (Long, 1980, 1983) which supports SLA. The remainder of this conversation (lines 7-20) is the instructor's commentary on the usefulness of their exchange and invitation to future exchanges, and this reflects the instructor's simultaneous support of the program's efficacy and the student's efforts at learning English. This notion is supported by the student's affirmative responses and smile at line 14. In fact, Akira was one of the students who attended all three of his SHH sessions.

While most of the students approved of the instructor's methods of answering their questions on language and culture, there was also evidence that there was little assistance with their questions. This survey question asked whether the instructor "taught you *how* to ask



questions in English," and it received one of the lowest scores of 2.86/5, or 57%. This may be due to a misinterpretation of the question, which was found to be somewhat ambiguous in its reference after the fact. While it was designed to address students' spontaneous questions about language during the conversation, it may have been perceived to

reference their pre-conversation questions. Concerning preparation for their shared conversations, instructors and students alike were only given prior instructions to “enjoy conversation together” as the central purpose of their SHH discussions. This approach was used to increase the “naturalness” of talk and adhere to CA’s practice of *unmotivated looking*. With casual conversation as the goal of exchange, lengthy side-activities were emphasized less than maintaining the progressivity of talk. Progressivity is “the observation that the relationship between most components of the organization of interaction (e.g. sounds within words, words within TCU, TCU within turns, turns within sequences of action, etc.) is generally that each component progresses to the next relevant component immediately after, or contiguously with (Sacks, 1987) the prior component. Repair halts progressivity” (Kitzinger, 2013, pp. 238-39). In this sense, progressivity refers to the smooth flow of talk from one topic to the next with few interruptions. If instructors were to interrupt the ongoing flow of conversation to overtly focus on the form of a student’s question, progressivity would be affected, and in casual conversation, this is often avoided.

The following example shows how opportunities for practice in conversation can be passed over in favor of continuing an ongoing thread of talk. In this discussion, Stan is contrasting the coexistence of different belief systems in America and Japan when he offers a term unfamiliar to the recipient, Fuyu. However, her attempt at initiating repair on this source of lexical trouble via confirmation check is ignored.

Example 3.3-2: (Stan & Fuyu’s shared maintenance of progressivity)

1. S: But in Japan? sometimes people::
(3.0)
2. S: can\ can be differen\ different. →Like they can say→ uh (.) I’m Buddhist
(1.0)
3. S: but also Shinto=
4. F: →Yes, yes→
5. S: =and also (.) maybe Con←fucius?←
- 6. F: [*Confucius?*
7. S: [Confucian?
(1.5)
- 8. F: ((tilts head slightly, looks off to side))
9. S: So\ so they can (.) um (.) mix different things::.
10. F: Yes. Japan has many religions.
11. S: Mmhm.

In this example, the trouble source begins at line 5 where Stan, the instructor, begins to self-modify his pronunciation of the word “Confucius” as he slows down his enunciation of it and

ends with a rising intonation. This signifies his cognizance of the word as a potential source of trouble. Fuyu then uses a confirmation check at line 6 where she repeats the word with rising intonation, but Stan only repeats the word with a slight modification to its morphological ending. The continued existence of trouble is emphasized by Fuyu in the pause subsequent to line 7 and her nonverbal moves at line 8. Without any attempt at explanation, Stan attempts to continue the ongoing thread of talk at line 9, and this move is supported by Fuyu in line 10. Despite both conversational co-participants indicating the source of potential trouble, closer analysis of it through repair is abandoned in favor of advancing the progressivity.

The overt process of pausing an ongoing thread of conversation to FonF and practicing some grammatical or pronunciation-based aspect of language can be both complex and time consuming. Consider the following examples which contrast instructors' decisions to either advance the progressivity of talk or focus on phonetic form extensively.

Example 3.3-3: Annie's treatment of Yuri's pronunciation of L in conversation

1. A: Wha\ What made you afraid of gymnastics?
2. Y: Uh (.) huh (.) hmm?
(3.0)
3. Y: Barance beam↓
- 4. A: The *balance* beam (.) was *scary*? You were scared to do it?-
5. Y: Ah, yeah.
6. A: Ok:: Interesting. Um::
(1.5)
7. A: So:: gymnastics was *scary* (1.0) like whoa: scared
8. Y: ((nods)) *Yeah*

In the example above, the student, Yuri, displays trouble at line 2 with a series of delaying devices and a lengthy pause which follows. The student is eventually successful in her word search at line 3 where she says, "barance beam" albeit with a slight mispronunciation of the "L" in the word. The instructor subsequently repeats the word once with stress providing a more accurate pronunciation of the "L" and continues the ongoing thread of talk which is Yuri's dislike of gymnastics due to fear. Minimal treatments of mispronounced items such as this were found frequently in the data possibly due to their high rate of occurrence. On the other hand, the next example shows a case where the instructor considers FonF critical to the clarity of their shared conversation, so she addresses it overtly in a mini-lesson.

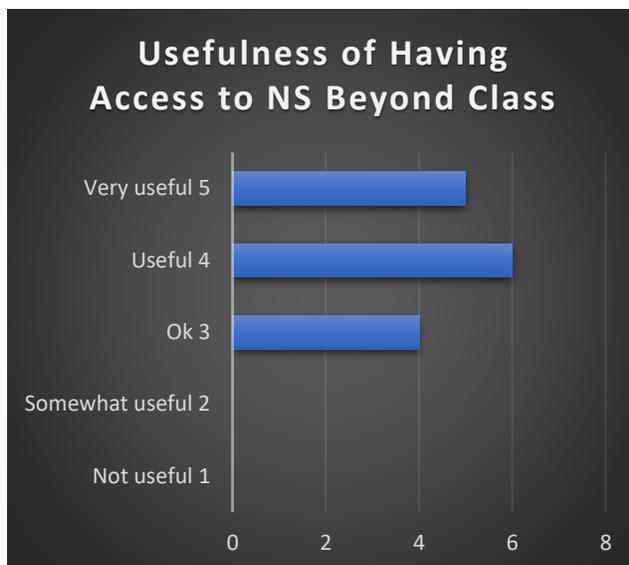
Example 3.3-4: Rose's overt FonF to assist Ako's Pronunciation of R and L (2 mins)

1. R: Do you know, of course, what color is your shirt?
2. A: Red.

- (1.0)
 3. R: One more time?
 4. A: Red. R\ R\ Huh?=
 5. R: There is a::
 (2.0)
 6. R: Um:: (.) metal called *lead*.
 7. A: Lead?
 8. R: And if I take you by the hand and *lead* you today?=
 9. A: *Lead.*=
 10. R: =yesterday I *led* you.
 11. A: Led?
 12. R: So we'll\ we'll work on red and led, and some other sounds like that (.) When you do R? ((points to mouth in circular motion)) at the beginning of a word, make your lips *Round*.
 (1.0)
 13. R: →So try it\ First try it→ ((purses lips and points in circular motion))
 (0.5)
 14. R: R::[ound.
 15. A: [R\ r::ound.
 16. R: *Round*.
 17. A: *Round*.
 18. R: A:nd (.) the American: R↓ (.) the tongue curls but it doesn't touch.
 19. A: ((nods))
 ... (truncated due to length)
 52. R: *Red*.
 53. A: *Red*.
 54. R: Huh::. Very good.
 55. A: Heheheh. Very difficult .h.h
 56. R: And difficult. It doesn't have to be perfect though. If you are speaking about something and you say, "The sh::irt is red." Even if you use an L, we kno::w=
 57. A: Yeah
 58. R: =what you mean.
 59. A: Yeah.

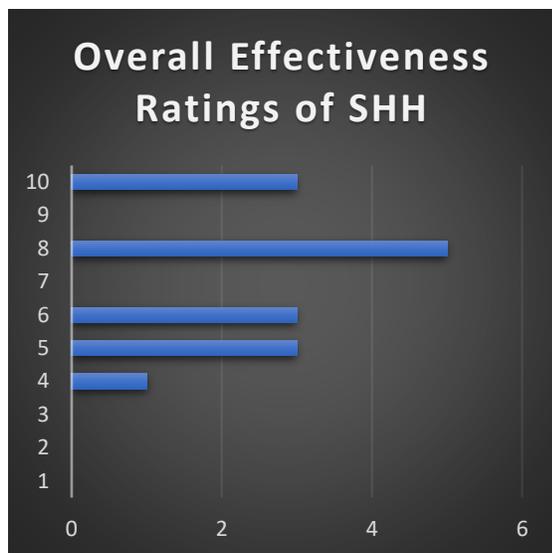
This example reflects the conflict between sequences of overt FonF and the progressivity of topic-based modes of conversation. While engaged in sequences of repair and modified practice, there is little room for discussion of content. Instead, there are treatments of word stress (lines 8 and 10), enunciation (lines 12 and 13), restarts (line 4), repetitions (line 17), modified input (line 14), modified output (line 15), evaluations (line 54), and many other controlled aspects of talk more commonly found in highly structured instances of classroom talk. It is important to note that extensive sequences of scaffolding such as the one observed above were rare in the data; more subtle forms of FonF were observed in instances of reduced initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequences.

While the amount of overt focus on students' language production was point of concern, most agreed on the usefulness of having native English speakers available outside of their regular classes. The average rating on this question was 4.06/5, or 81.33% approval, with the majority of students rating the idea of access as either 4, useful, or 5, very useful. None of the participating Japanese students gave a negative score of 1 on this question, and this suggests a strong response in support of SHH foundational concept. The help hours provide a space where classroom learning can be transferred into the realms of practical application through contextualized use.



3.4 Program Efficacy & Topic/Linguistic Knowledge

Over half of American Studies students perceived that the SHH was useful to them beyond the basic exchange they shared in the moment with NS instructors. When asked “Did you feel that the SHH helped you to participate in regular classes more actively or confidently?” 9/15 (60%) answered “Yes” while 6/15 (40%) answered “No.” Following this question, students were asked to justify their answer. Some of the negative comments addressed the length of their program (“because my studying abroad is only one month,”) and other logistical issues (“I do not have a chance to talk in the class what I talked about in help hour.”). In contrast, some of the more positive comments addressed practice (“improve English skill!” and “I can speak English with relaxing.”), access to NS (“because I had little time to talk with native speaker.”), and other practical issues (“I can know about campus map so I can go to classroom gym food court exactly,” and “She taught me many things I likely to be interested so I enjoyed that on my free time.”).



The final questions of the survey asked students to “rate the overall effectiveness of the Student Help Hours program” on a scale of 1 to 10. This category received an overall approval rating of 7.13/10, or 71%. Several factors contribute to this average score. For example, scheduling-related conflicts resulted in some missed opportunities for conversation. Also, due to the loose structure of the SHH, some instructors had different expectations about how the time should be used. While most

took the opportunity to enjoy conversation as advised, some teachers pressed their student participant to ask them multiple questions or do most the talking. Some students were asked to do homework for their next SHH session even though this was never part of the stated objectives. Whatever the students and instructors agreed to talk about, interest in Japanese language or culture was a critical factor in establishing a positive social relationship.

The final question of the survey asked students for “additional comments,” and while most students responded with a simple “nothing” or “thank you!” two comments stood out clearly. One student stated, “Some teachers are not really interested at Japanese culture so it was little difficult to chat,” and another wrote, “She was very good person and she was interested in Japan so I could enjoy our talking. I enjoyed this program very much!” These opposing comments bring to the surface a significant reality about talk in interaction, namely that opportunities to speak are dependent upon one’s claims to knowledge. According to Tyler (1995), *territories of knowledge*, or *epistemic domains*, refer to an inequality of topic knowledge, and the role of teacher/expert assumed by NNS can result in a status gain that is reflected in the features of the exchange (p.132). This concept was later revised by Hosoda (2000) as three types of *territory* in which “(a) information is obtained through the person’s internal or external direct experience; (b) information embodies detailed knowledge which falls into the person’s professional or other expertise; or (c) information is about persons, facts, and things close to that person, including information about that person” (p. 42). In NS/NNS exchanges, this sheds light on two important realities. The first is that NNS can assume control of the floor when it is perceived that they have claim to the topic domain (Japanese food, culture, language). Whether

this becomes problematic or empowering is contingent upon the NS level of expressed interest, as the comments above suggest. The second issue relates to the existence of multiple domains of knowledge for NNS participants. For a NNS participant to claim a domain of knowledge and retain the floor for their turn at talk, they must possess both knowledge of the topic itself and the linguistic capacity (lexicon, grammar, and phonology) through which they will discuss it. This places the NNS at a distinct disadvantage for claiming their right to speak, especially at lower proficiency levels. This is particularly true as co-participants orient to their institutional roles of teacher and student as they prepare to resolve issues related to language, the NS's domain.

At the time of this study, the Japanese students possessed a proficiency of low-intermediate to intermediate, and this made the discussion of more specific or technical issues challenging for them. The following example shows how, even though the student participant has claim to the floor for her story telling sequence, it necessarily shifts back to the instructor as the student's linguistic domain knowledge causes difficulties for progressivity.

Example 3.4-1: (Rose &) Ako's shifting domains of knowledge in story telling sequence

1. A: One day he go: to:: (.) riva::
(1.0)
2. A: **To za:: (.) to\ to pick up za (.) um (.) maron? ((gestures picking up motion))**
(1.5)
- 3. A: ***Maron?***
4. R: →Ya::h?→ ((nods))
5. A: **wiz (.) za:: (.) animaruz↓**
6. R: **Mmhm. ((nods))**
7. A: **But (1.0) on\ on za\ on za way?**
8. R: ((nods))
- 9. A: **Uh::, za: ((gestures downward slopes with both hands)) Mmm?**
(4.0)
- 10. A: ***What do you, uh: (.) Za gake* ((gestures drop-off with left hand))**
(2.0)
- 11. A: **Ahah .h.h (.) Uh::: (.) za mountain and cutting ((gestures cliff with hands))**
12. R: **Mmhm.**
13. A: **So:: riva::?**
14. R: **Mmhm.**
- 15. A: ((gestures downward slopes with both hands)) **Wha-**
16. R: **So (1.0) this is either a canyon↓ (.) like the Grand Canyon?**
- 17. A: **Yeah, yeah, yeah. Canyon izu here. ((motions inner canyon with hands))**
18. R: **or this:: is a cliff.**
19. A: **Cliff?! A::h! ((points to R)) Cliff! Cliff! ((nods deeply)) Cliff!**
20. R: **Ye::ah.**
21. A: **So cliff? a::nd there is cliff (.) but za (.) uh:: ((gestures bridge and looks to left))**
(1.5)

22. A: bridge was broken?

23. R: Uhuh.

In this example, Ako, the student, has claim to a topic-based domain of knowledge and to the floor as she shares a Japanese traditional story ('mukashi banashi') with Rose. However, she expresses difficulty with several lexical aspects of the story in English. At lines 9, 10, 11, 15, and 17 she employs a variety of hand gestures to outline the size and shape of the item she wants to talk about but doesn't have the word for it. She even uses the Japanese term of the trouble source at line 10 when she says, "gake." In this sequence, Ako has exposed a hole in her own lexical domain of knowledge and she is requesting assistance from the instructor in this effort. This process of requesting help in a word search from another participant in conversation is known as *appealing* (Kasper, 1985; Hosoda, 2000). This appeal is successful as Rose provides the desired term at line 18, and Ako's ensuing reaction through exclamations and repetition indicates the close of this repair sequence as she uses it to continue her telling of the ongoing story.

As Example 3.4-1 shows, access to the floor equates with access to opportunities for linguistic development. When NNS student participants make claims to specific domains of knowledge, they must take the floor in a display of both topic-based and linguistic knowledge. Ako's heavy repetition of the term "cliff" at lines 19 and 21 above are an example of why this is relevant to SLA. Gaps and holes in knowledge may be surfaced through input alone; however, when students display their communicative competence via language use in conversation, the identification of those gaps and holes is far more rapid and overt. Hattie and Timperley (2007) have noted that "feedback is a 'consequence' of performance," and that "gaps may be reduced through a number of different cognitive processes, including restructuring understandings, confirming to students that they are correct or incorrect, indicating that more information is available or needed, pointing to directions students could pursue, and/or indicating strategies to understand particular information" (p. 81-82). The process of performance in this sense involves productive displays of knowledge through which gaps and holes can be resolved with the assistance of the native speaker.

3.5 Areas for Improvement of the SHH Program

Through the analysis of survey and conversation-based data, this study has explored the benefits of the SHH while also considering its potential for improvement. This section makes

suggestions for the enhancement of its ongoing implementation. It benefits TESOL professionals and administrators who are considering the design of similar programs at their own institutions.

The first recommendation for improvement to the SHH program is to limit the length of time based on students' level of proficiency. While students were initially encouraged to attend between thirty minutes to a full hour once per week, most students were only able to sustain conversation in English for between twenty to thirty minutes. Those who spoke for longer were rarely able to maintain the same degree of attention to the task. The following example reflects how conversation length affects both student and teacher:

Example 3.5-1: Stan & Fuyu: "An hour's a long time."

1. S: An hour is a lo::ng time.
2. F: Ye::s .h.h ((laughs))
(1.0)
3. S: You're the only one that I\ You're the only student that I talked to for an hour.
(0.5)
4. S: The other students I talked to for half of an hour↓
(1.0)
5. F: ((smiles, laughs silently))
6. S: a::nd then (1.0) y\ when it was time to stop=
7. F: ((nods))
8. S: =we were still talking *a lot*.
9. F: Heheh .h.h
10. S: But an hour's kind of lo::ng.
11. F: *Ye::ah*

As Stan indicates at line 3, this particular excerpt was taken from minute fifty-five of a full SHH session. This was one of three total sessions that made it to the full hour, and in each of the three, the student's level of participation was greatly diminished at the end. This is evidenced in Fuyu's minimal responses at lines 2, 5, 7, 9, and 11, which are only a series of nods, out-breaths, backchannels, and laughs.

Another improvement I recommend for the SHH program is to make greater allowances for periods of structured FonF. The survey responses to the question of whether the "SHH instructors taught you how to ask questions," suggest that there's potential for more direct discussions on form-based aspects of the English language. Similar to expected length of attendance, this should shift depending on the students' proficiency level. While higher proficiency students may be able to sustain general conversation for greater lengths of time, lower proficiency students will need to prioritize analysis of the language itself. Instructions for

the process of drafting SHH session questions should also be revised because, as Skilton and Meyer (1993) argue, “student questions are important to study not only because of the lack of research on their role in classroom discourse, but also because of their potential in promoting negotiation and interaction, and possibly enhancing language acquisition” (p. 95). This could be accomplished through clearer directions on the number and types of questions the students are expected to bring to each session. Instead of being asked to “bring two or three questions about language or culture to your discussion,” students could be asked to prepare, “one question you have on pronunciation, one on grammar, and one on a new word you’ve heard recently.” It could also be accomplished through more specific directions for the participating instructors by making them aware of students’ questions and expectations in advance. The problem here, of course, is risking losing the conversational authenticity of the SHH exchanges for the sake of a more structured approach which students might already have access to through their everyday classroom experiences. In other words, where the ESL classroom provides a venue for both FonF and focused practice, the SHH are designed to emphasize naturalness by placing conversation as the central goal. The latter serves as a step between classroom talk and everyday conversation with native speakers beyond the context of the institution.

On the matter of instructor training, it would be beneficial to have instructors ask more student-centric questions. As we have seen through the survey results, student comments, and observations of student-teacher interaction, participation was often tied to the domains of knowledge under discussion. The occasion to discuss topics which they are more familiar with creates chances to exercise productive skills. By asking more student-centric questions, instructors would be creating an environment conducive to student performance while simultaneously showing interest in their background. Instructors should be made aware of the potential for relative silence these students may exhibit, and that “behind their reticence are multiple, interrelated issues, including not only language related issues but also issues of culture, identity, curriculum, pedagogy, and power” (Morita, 2004, p. 596). In helping their students build confidence in their L2 of English through these one-on-one discussions, they will be assisting in the co-construction of learner autonomy. As many of the examples we have observed here show, this is not a clean or simple process; it is rife with struggle between competing realms of knowledge which are influenced by macro-social issues.

Finally, it necessary to re-examine whether the exchanges that take place within the SHH are viewed as “practice” or authentic interactions. On one hand, an argument could be made for their institutionality through the participants’ frequent orientation to their respective identities whenever trouble occurred in conversation. We have observed how instructors tend to modify their own produced speech for the purpose of simplification, and how they modify the speech of students to provide adjustments to form. Likewise, we have seen how students are relegated to more passive roles during IRF/E sequences, which are constraining due to their structure. However, both students and instructors have shown a lack of willingness to follow through to the end of these three-part sequences in their SHH conversations, and this raises an important issue relevant to identity. The institution, replete with all its structures and constraints, is but one aspect of identity, and “a person is 95% conversationalist before entering an institutional setting: Persons interact using largely the same set of interactional resources in institutional talk as they do in everyday conversation” (Heritage, 2005, p. 107). This means that the definition of authenticity in conversations should be widened to include consideration of subtypes, such as those between native-speaking instructors and their NNS students. Segments of talk which occur within the institution are natural to the contexts in which they occur in the sense that the conversational co-participants are the ones creating and recreating them through their own multiple identities and evolving competencies.

4. Conclusion

Using a combination of survey results, student comments, and analysis of conversational exchange, this research has examined the efficacy of the SHH Program. In particular, it examined NNS Japanese students’ perceptions of their discussions with trained NS English instructors in the semi-institutional space of the student lounge. Based on those perceptions of the SHH, it was found that the program was successful in making trained native speakers available to students for L2 use beyond their language courses. This access is deemed critical for participants of STSA programs, who have limited access to NS of English due to their compact weekly schedules. While the availability of NS was viewed positively overall, students expressed some frustration with the lack of structural organization. Suggestions for the improvement of its design include a shorter predetermined length of conversational exchange for low-proficiency students and more specific parameters for discussion question design. Most

important, perhaps, is the need for instructors to encourage student participation by showing interest in topics which the students possess the topical and linguistic knowledge to discuss, affording them opportunity to flex their productive skills in English. These overt displays of production help to expose the gaps and holes in students' linguistic knowledge more extensively and increase chances for learning through error correction and assisted practice.

Several factors contribute to a student's successful use of their second language, but laying claim to a specific domain of knowledge was found to be a critical factor that determined whether these Japanese students played the role of active participant in conversation. This study has shown that familiarity with the topic of conversation, possession of the linguistic resources with which they could discuss it, and instructor interest in the student's own understanding of that topic all serve to encourage participation. Even if all of the aforementioned factors align, production may be impacted adversely by the instructor's preconceived notions of the purpose of help hours or by the student's willingness to expose those very gaps and holes in their linguistic domains of knowledge. Of course, age, proficiency level, and other macro-social factors, such as gender, influence how interaction unfolds at the micro-social level. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges that low-intermediate language learners face while attempting to display their knowledge territory is that the exposure of errors will likely result in a higher frequency of corrections, consistently shifting the focus of conversation from substance to form and from student to instructor. While many students may view such corrections as opportunities to enhance their linguistic domain of knowledge, other students may perceive it as potentially face-threatening. Morita's (2005) study on Japanese graduate students in a Canadian university revealed one student's concern: "I didn't want to make English mistakes in front of other students. I wanted to say something, but at the same time, I didn't want to say because I didn't want to let them know my English wasn't perfect, so I really hesitated to speak in class" (p. 585). Fortunately, the format of one-on-one conversation may help to alleviate some of that apprehension and better prepare them for larger speaking situations.

The controversy surrounding FonF is embedded in discussions of whether certain aspects of language, such as grammar, should be taught to adult learners inductively or deductively. This study revisits this contentious topic because although the conversations which took place between NS American English instructors and Japanese NNS students were somewhat casual on the surface, considerable FonF was necessary to conduct repair on trouble sources in students'

understanding of English lexicon, pronunciation, and grammar. While some of the students' responses seem to suggest that they desire a more overt FonF in SHH to help them with their linguistic development, there are potential problems with this approach. First of all, students receive a lot of exposure to overt FonF in their regular English language classes in the Intensive English Program. Furthermore, while students may have opportunity to practice their L2 English use in those classes, it is often limited to interaction with other NNS. The help hours provide a venue in which these Japanese students gain contact with native English-speaking language experts for the purpose of applying the knowledge they have gained in their language classes. As a result, it is not recommended that instructors receive direction or training in FonF for use in the SHH. In fact, it is better that students gain exposure to the more natural ways this occurs in NS/NNS talk through everyday conversation. It provides a necessary bridge between the more formal institutional context of classroom talk and the types of conversations they will have with native speakers of English beyond the institution. This type of approach is one which supports autonomous learning while still providing a space where making mistakes is not only expected but accepted as a natural part of the process of language acquisition.

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