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Developing Recipient Competence During Study Abroad

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Introduction

Previous studies of second language (L2) development in different learning contexts have shown a general advantage of study abroad over at-home study on overall oral proficiency, fluency, and sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences (e.g., Freed, 1995; Matsumura, 2001; Yang, 2016). However, the reality is more complicated, and greater development of L2 competences is not guaranteed (e.g., Collentine & Freed, 2004). Linguistic gains during study abroad are largely related to the amount of linguistic contact (e.g., Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004) and the quality of social interaction in which L2 speakers engage (e.g., Kinginger, 2009), and social interaction is in turn diversely shaped, not merely by the attitudes of the learners themselves or those of the host community (e.g., Iino, 1999), but also through the dynamic relationships between them (e.g., Wilkinson, 2002). Using conversation analysis (CA), Wilkinson (2002), for example, documented how L2 speakers of French and their host families relied on classroom interactional patterns of questions, answers, and corrective feedback, and revealed that their interactions did not provide the L2 speakers with adequate opportunities to learn to converse beyond those opportunities L2 classroom learners have in the role of “students.”

Following Wilkinson's CA study of social interaction during study abroad, this chapter uses CA to investigate how interaction with first language (L1) speakers of Japanese helps or prevents an L2 speaker's development of *interactional competence* (e.g., Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Young, 2011; henceforth, IC) in Japanese during a one-year study abroad sojourn. It specifically focuses on the L2 speaker's use of *receipts* (Jefferson, 1986, p. 162), by which I mean utterances that indicate receipt of the prior speaker's utterance. Since a recipient of a telling can indicate various stances toward the speaker's utterance through receipts (e.g., *soo desu ka* 'Really?'; *soo desu ne* 'That's true'; *soo soo* 'That's right') and thus steer the trajectory of the talk, this chapter regards providing receipts as an important aspect of an L2 speaker's IC. Partly as a response to Kinginger's (2009) call for studies that examine the interaction in which L2 speakers participate during study abroad and its relationship with long-term development, this chapter explores what features of social interaction might afford L2 speakers opportunities to "form new practices" (Pallotti & Wagner, 2011, p. 1), especially when using receipts.

CA as an approach to investigating affordances of interaction for L2 learning

Research on the role of interaction for L2 learning began with Hatch's (1978) proposal that interaction with native speakers of the target language is more valuable for L2 learning than merely providing an opportunity for practicing previously obtained knowledge. Since then, a variety of approaches have been taken to investigate the issue of how engaging in interaction helps L2 learning, including the *cognitive-interactionist approach* (Ortega, 2009), sociocultural theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006), language socialization theory (Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008), and situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Being the most long-lasting and prolific one within the field of second language acquisition (SLA) since the early 1980s, the cognitive-interactionist studies, motivated by Long's (1983, 1996) interaction hypotheses, have investigated the utility of modified input for comprehension and the effectiveness of corrective feedback on higher grammatical accuracy. However, there are fundamental problems with this approach due to its narrow view of "language" as an autonomous system, its conceptualization of language acquisition as cognitive processes, and its use of predetermined coding systems that dismantle language-mediated actions from their specific sequential contingencies (e.g., Firth & Wagner, 1997; Hauser, 2005). Moreover, because the approach focuses almost exclusively on lexical and morphosyntactic features and form-function mapping, other components of L2 speakers' competences, such as discourse, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and interactional competences, are programmatically

left outside the scope of its investigation. In addition, its data sets are typically taken in classrooms and (quasi-)experimental settings; thus, how L2 speakers develop their competences in naturally-occurring interactions is left to the hands of other approaches.

Meanwhile, based on the understanding of language as social action, CA-SLA (Kasper & Wagner, 2011) has offered valuable insights on how L2 speakers learn to use the L2 as a resource for engaging in interaction, based on meticulous analyses of naturally occurring interaction both inside and outside the L2 classroom. A number of CA-SLA studies have documented locally occasioned social practices of learning both inside and outside the L2 classroom (e.g., Koshik & Seo, 2012; Markee, 2000; Markee & Seo, 2009; Pallotti & Wagner, 2011; Seedhouse, 2004), where participants' "orientation to learning" (Gardner, 2008) is observable. There, participants engage in repair or "practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation" (Schegloff, 2000, p. 207), often focusing on linguistic matters, in which they "isolat[e] the correction, making it an interactional business" (Jefferson, 1987, p. 97). Meanwhile, there are other CA-SLA studies (e.g., Ishida, 2006; Kim, 2012), although still few in number, that address the issue of learning from a different perspective. They describe the details of interaction that appear to provide L2 learners with the opportunity to exhibit higher competence in the use of the L2 despite the absence of an orientation to L2 learning. The next two subsections will, in turn, review each of these two strands of previous CA-SLA studies on learning.

Social practice of learning where learning becomes an interactional business

A number of CA studies on L2 talk (e.g., Pallotti & Wagner, 2011; Sahlström, 2011; Theodórsdóttir, 2011a, 2011b) have documented ways in which "[t]he participants demonstrate for themselves and for each other that they 'do learning'" (Pallotti & Wagner, 2011, p. 4). Seo (2011), for example, delineates how an L2 speaker of English and her tutor engage in a long activity of recurrent repair in order to solve a lexical problem and arrive at an understanding as displayed by the tutee's *AH::: I: understand*. In Seo's study and others, the practice of *repair* (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), or recovering a trouble that arises in interaction, is identified and regarded as "a learning mechanism" (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015, p. 249) for both comprehension (Markee, 2000) and production of grammar (e.g., Eskildsen & Wagner, 2015; Hellermann, 2009; Hauser, 2013b; van Compernelle, 2011) and vocabulary (e.g., Kim, 2012; Lee, 2010; Markee, 2008; Seo, 2011; Theodórsdóttir, 2011a), including word searches as forward-oriented repair (e.g., Brouwer, 2003; Hosoda, 2006; Koshik & Seo, 2012). When one of the participants flags a problem during interaction (e.g., a problem with understanding and putting it into words for others to understand),

either the trouble-source speaker him/herself or another participant orients to the problem, and they attempt to fix it. This social practice of orienting to trouble and providing a solution to it is considered to provide an opportunity for learning.

However, repair is not a necessary condition or satisfactory condition for *learning as social practice* (Pallotti & Wagner, 2011). Theodórsdóttir (2011a) documented a case in which an L2 speaker of Icelandic, Anna, during her stay in Iceland, created a practice of learning by insisting on completing a turn construction units (TCU) even though intersubjectivity had already been achieved through her interlocutor's assistance. While Anna could have oriented to vocabulary learning when the L1-Icelandic clerk offered a word that was initially unavailable to her, she instead completed the previously cut-off TCU, and thus oriented to language learning, "to deliver a whole phrase in the second language" (Theodórsdóttir, 2011a, p. 204). This is a case in which the social practice of learning is achieved through diversion from a repair activity. Theodórsdóttir (2011b) also presents a case in which Anna counted her change aloud along with a baker, showing her orientation to learning how to count change in the target language. These findings illustrate that learning as a social practice is observable even without repair activities, when L2 speakers show orientation to learning the language.

L2 speakers' orientation to learning is, however, most frequently observed in repair. While self-initiated self-repair is preferred in naturally occurring mundane conversations, other-initiated repairs and other-repairs do occur with some features of reservation (e.g., Schegloff et al., 1977; Jefferson, 1987), and studies of interactions that involve L2 speakers (referred to as "L2 interactions" here) have detailed various circumstances and ways in which other-initiation of repair and other-repair are done. For example, Kurhila (2001) shows that while both the asymmetrical relationship between the L1 speaker and the L2 speaker and the kinds of trouble source (e.g., lexical, morphological) affect the occurrence of other-repair, L1 speakers tend to provide overt correction of morphological trouble that L2 speakers encounter, particularly when the trouble-source speaker displays uncertainty about morphology. In such cases, the L2 speaker indicates a change of state by saying *oh*, and sometimes displays his or her understanding. Such *exposed correction* is contrasted with situations in which the L2 speaker does not flag trouble: The L1 speaker discreetly makes a correction using *embedded correction* (Jefferson, 1987, p. 95) and the L2 speaker does not orient to it. Kurhila's finding of orientation toward exposed correction resonates with Hauser's (2001) finding that an L2 speaker of English orients to her L1-English interlocutor's provision of a grammatically correct version of her utterance as a correction when she has appealed for help.

These CA-SLA studies document learning as an *accountable practice* (Garfinkel, 1967). Learning is constructed as such in the actions of members themselves. Participants are considered to be engaging in the social activity

of learning when they initiate repair on linguistic matters, engage in insertion sequences on the repairable, and resolve problems. Here, learning is not about cognition that resides in one's head, but rather about cognition that is *socially shared* through the documentation of participant understanding (Kasper, 2009). That is, learning is about *socially shared cognition* (Schegloff, 1991; Kasper & Wagner, 2014). While CA is agnostic "as an analytical *policy*" (Kasper, 2006, p. 84, emphasis in original) concerning cognition, CA can document the social practice of learning that is locally occasioned and therefore made public.

Interactional contingencies that afford new practices without orientation to learning

Another view of learning

Although learning as socially shared cognition can be observed in the social practice of learning, it may not be a prevalent practice within L2 interactions outside the educational context. While L2 speakers are more likely to orient to linguistic issues, L1 speakers are often found not to initiate repair on linguistic matters in L2 speakers' talk (e.g., Kim, 2012) and instead "let it pass" (Firth, 1996), especially when they are outside an educational context, out in the target-language community or at work (e.g., Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Kurhila, 2001; Theodórsdóttir, 2011a, 2011b). Even when L1 speakers initiate repair, they usually focus on accomplishing intersubjectivity rather than on linguistic accuracy (e.g., Kim, 2012; Kurhila, 2001). A question arises here as to whether there can be any learning without repair or orientation to language form. Consider, for example, the following interaction taken from Kim's (2012) study of casual conversation between L1 and L2 speakers of English (In Excerpt 1, T is the L1 speaker and C the L2 speaker).

Excerpt 1. Attack (From Kim, 2012, p. 725)

964 C: I think (0.3) it will be very funny (.) if (0.6) he just
 965 (0.3) comes out of the restroom, (0.8) and (0.9) standing
 966 (0.8) in front of the stairs (0.8) and uh (.) cat jumps
 967 [(0.7) into him
 968 T: [mh heh heh ye(hh)ah atta(h)cks heh heh heh heh
 heh heh
 969 (2.7)
 970 C: I wanted to watch the movie meet the fockers,
 971 T: yeah

988 C: I thought (.) that (2.5) ((the sound of tap water
 989 running)) maybe uh (0.6) m the cat (0.9) this cat can be
 990 my side

- 998 T: how do you mean?
 999 C: uh when he attacks him, (0.6)
 1000 T: oh::

In line 968, while T affiliatively responds to C's telling of a funny situation with laughter, he uses the word *attack* as an alternative to the phrase *jump into*, which C used in his telling (lines 966–967). Although C does not show any immediate orientation to the word *attack*, in line 999 he adopts the word in his answer to T's question. Kim argues that, as evidenced in his use of the word in line 999, C must have registered the alternative word T used in line 968 even though he had not shown any immediate uptake. She regards this as an instance of learning, although she qualifies her argument by saying that “what he learned is to use that word in that particular context” (p. 725).

Here we can see a treatment of learning that is very different from that of learning as social practice: Learning is seen here not as socially shared cognition, but as forming “new practices” (Pallotti & Wagner, 2011, p. 1) through the “*adaptation of existing resources to mutating interactional contexts*” (König, 2013, p. 234). The formation of a new practice and adaptation of semiotic resources, including “linguistic resources that were not used on previous occasions to a particular context” (Hellermann, 2007 p. 86), constitute evidence of learning. In this chapter, I consider learning in this way. While *development* involves observable changes in competence demonstrated in samples of talk taken at different times, *learning*, as the formation of a new practice, occurs at a certain time and is reflected and manifested in developmental changes. Some CA-SLA researchers who track long-term development in L2 speakers' ICs (e.g., Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2007, 2008; König, 2013; Pekarek Doehler, 2010) define *learning* in a sense similar to what I call *development*, that is, changes over time. In contrast, I see learning as the formation of a new practice within interaction in one sitting, and in this chapter, I aim to delineate contingencies of interaction that provide an L2 speaker with the opportunity to form a new practice.

ICs as the objects of learning

CA sees language as social action, and is primarily “concerned with the analysis of the competences which underlie ordinary social activities” (Heritage, 1984b, p. 241). Such competences, or ICs, can be investigated by focusing on *interactional practices* and how *linguistic* and other *semiotic resources* are used to accomplish these interactional practices (Hauser, 2013a; Kasper & Wagner, 2014). CA-SLA researchers have investigated the development of interactional practices (e.g., Hellermann, 2007, 2008, on task opening and closing; Ishida, 2011, on engaging at another's telling closing; Nguyen, 2011, on pharmaceutical advice giving), linguistic resources (e.g., Eskildsen, 2012, on negation; Hauser, 2013a, on direct reported speech) and other semiotic resources (e.g., Mori &

Hayashi, 2006, on embodied actions, gaze). However, the issue of learning in relation to these features of ICs has largely eluded investigation. The targets of learning that participants orient to during *doing learning* found in previous studies are mostly about gaining knowledge of linguistic resources (as reviewed above), with the exception of Waring's (2013) study, in which the teacher engages the students in learning how to respond to how-are-you questions. Kim's (2012) finding regarding the adaptation of a new word afforded within interaction without public orientation to learning (as presented above in Excerpt 1) also concerns linguistic resources rather than interactional practices. If this tendency is not the result of a skew in researchers' methodological or analytical choice, but reflects participants' non-engagement in isolated activities of learning about their ICs (especially with regard to interactional practices such as turn-taking and preference organization), CA-SLA researchers need to direct more attention to what is going on within interaction that drives participants' IC development or that helps L2 speakers form new interactional practices even without an orientation to learning.

In my previous study (Ishida, 2006) of a 10-minute interaction during a communicative task assigned to an L2 speaker of Japanese (Erica) and an L1-Japanese interlocutor (Mariko), I outlined interactional contingencies in which Erica changed her ways of engaging in decision-making activities when deciding on a list of hotels to recommend to tourists. The sequential structure of a decision-making activity that they established can be presented as follows:

1. The participants are discussing a hotel
2. One provides a *ne*-marked positive assessment (e.g., *ii ne* 'That sounds good, huh?')
3. The other provides a verbal agreement token (e.g., final-falling *nn* 'yeah')
4. One makes a decision-proposal ('Let's decide on it.')

At the first occurrence of this sequence, after #2 by Mariko, Erica said *nn* (#3), but did not align with Mariko's decision-proposal (#4) and instead suggested that they continue discussing the hotel in question. In the subsequent occurrence of this sequential structure, Erica provided no verbal affirmative token in the place of #3, and thus prevented Mariko from proceeding to #4. A comparison of these two instances shows the development in Erica's action at #3 in this particular sequence, with evidence of learning; that is, the formation of a new practice in what to do at this sequential position, i.e., say *nn* in order to allow closure of the discussion and do not say *nn* to continue discussing the item. This learning occurred not simply because of repeated participation or "situated" learning, but also due to Mariko's display of understanding in #4: Mariko's display reflexively indicated that Erica's *nn* was an agreement to move onto a decision grounded on agreement and a favorable assessment, and informed Erica of the

procedural consequentiality (Schegloff, 1991) of a verbal agreement token (#3) in this particular context (after #1 and #2).

As Kasper and Wagner (2014) maintain, “[l]anguage, culture, and interaction are learnable because they are on constant public exhibition” (p. 194). Responding to a *ne*-marked assessment in that particular sequential context was learnable because the sequential consequentiality of a response was observable in Mariko’s next turn action. Cicourel states that “[t]he *interpretive procedures and their reflexive features provide continuous instructions to participants such that members can be said to be programming each other’s actions as the scene unfolds*” (1974/1999, p. 95, italics in original). Since people’s public displays of their understanding inform others how others’ actions are interpreted, interpretive procedures are the premise of “[t]he acquisition of language rules” (Cicourel, 1974/1999, p. 90). As seen in Cicourel’s argument (see also Kasper, 2009), CA-based understanding of the public nature of discursive practices, represented by the reflexivity of language, provides us with a theoretical and methodological framework within which affordances of interaction for L2 learning and development can be investigated.

Although still few in number, some researchers have begun investigating how interaction affords L2 speakers’ greater ICs (e.g., Ishida, 2006, 2011; Nguyen, 2011). Nguyen shows how a patient’s response to a pharmacy intern’s advice giving necessitated the intern to *recipient-design* his advice on one occasion, and how this newly formed practice paved a way for him to recipient-design his advice on later occasions as well. In my previous study (Ishida, 2011) on conversations between an L2 speaker of Japanese, Sarah, and her homestay host mother, I documented how the host mother’s re-issuing of a turn completion point provided Sarah with the opportunity to present her opinion. Furthermore, Sarah’s development in her use of assessment at the closure of the host mother’s telling was observed after an occasion where the host mother’s agreement to Sarah’s assessment publicly indicated that the assessment was made at the right moment. Thus, CA analysis can delineate contingencies of interaction that help L2 speakers achieve greater ICs, and paves the way for future development.

Recepting as the object of learning

This chapter investigates the way an L2 speaker learns how to use *receipts*. When a speaker provides a *telling* (turns in which the speaker imparts information or proffers opinions; e.g., Pomerantz, 1980), the audience members, as *recipients*, signal that they are following the teller and that the teller may continue talking, using next-turn repetition (Greer, Andrade, Butterfield, & Mischinger, 2009) and short lexical and non-lexical tokens without syntactic structures (e.g., *yeah, oh, right, mm hm*; see Gardner, 1998; Mori, 2006, on *hee* ‘oh, wow’ in Japanese).

Through prosody and vocal qualities, recipients can even indicate their *epistemic stance*, or their position with regard to their knowledge of the delivered information or proffered opinion. In German, for example, although *achso* 'oh, I see' and *ach* 'oh' are both acknowledging receipts, they differ as to whether the receipt indicates understanding or not (Golato, 2010). Similarly, in Japanese, *soo na n desu ka* 'I see' indicates acknowledgment with understanding, while *soo desu ka* 'Is that so/Really' highlights the newsworthiness of the information found in the telling rather than claiming understanding.

The combination of the anaphor *soo* 'so' and other linguistic forms is used also to indicate agreement. However, the selection of linguistic forms that follows *soo* helps the speaker accomplish different actions through indication of differentiated epistemic stances. For example, *soo desu ne* 'That's true'—which indicates the speaker's *epistemic subordination* (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), or the subordinate rights to claim the knowledge—is used as weak agreement before showing disagreement, as found by Mori (1999). On the other hand, as Kushida (2011) shows, when the first speaker confirms the second speaker's *candidate understanding* (Kurhila, 2006), the first speaker in the third turn uses *soo soo* 'That's right,' which indicates the speaker's *epistemic authority* (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), or the epistemic rights to claim his or her authority on a proposition. Because the choice of receipt forms is crucial for indicating a particular stance toward the previous telling, performing a specific social action, and determining the trajectory of subsequent interaction, receipting is an important aspect of IC that L2 speakers of Japanese need to develop.

The Study

With the aim of delineating the contingencies of interaction that seem to either help or hinder the L2 speaker's learning of how to use receipts, the rest of this chapter reports on a CA-SLA study of conversations that feature an L2 speaker of Japanese during his one-year study abroad in Japan.

Methodology

The data

The main data consist of 10 video-recorded casual conversations that an American university student, Steve, took part in once a month during his study-abroad year in Okinawa, Japan. Most of his interlocutors were Japanese people with whom he regularly interacted during his stay in Japan, including his longtime friend from high school (Tsuyoshi), his friend from the Japanese university (Ken), and his student mentor (Ikuko). Steve recorded the conversations in a

variety of situations, including mealtimes and study sessions. The recordings are identified as SA1 through SA10.

An additional set of data consists of two 20-minute conversations Steve participated in at his home university in the U.S before and after studying abroad (April, 2005 and August, 2006), each with a Japanese person whom he was meeting for the first time. These first-encounter (FE) conversations, identified as FE1 and FE2, are deemed comparable in that in each conversation Steve was introduced to a Japanese university student and had to deal with first-encounter situations. Although the topics that the participants covered in their conversations and the ways in which they interacted differ, such contrasts make valuable objects for analysis.

Analytical process

After transcribing all the data, I made a collection of segments in which Steve was primarily the recipient of his interlocutors' tellings. Although I had the broad intention of studying the use of modal expressions as part of one's IC before carrying out the original study (Ishida, 2010), I had not decided on any specified set of modal expressions or any sequential structures in which those modal expressions are used. After I began analyzing the data through *unmotivated looking* (Psathas, 1995, p. 45), I realized the wide range of interactional functions that responses to tellings serve, and modal expressions used in receipts, in particular, caught my attention. Once an object for analysis is identified in the data, it is the standard approach in CA to make a large collection (e.g., Heritage, 1984a, on *oh*) for aggregate analysis. Following this practice, I collected segments where Steve was the recipient of his interlocutor's tellings, and analyzed Steve's use and non-use of receipts. Observations of learning emerged only after this analysis of receipts with unmotivated looking.

Findings

Long-term development

Steve's recipient actions in the two FE conversations (FE1 and FE2) were remarkably different in several ways. In general, the FE1 conversation consisted mostly of information exchanges and Steve rarely oriented to his interlocutor's tellings as topicalizable. Although there were a few instances of assessments, they did not develop into assessment activities in which the participants agreed or disagreed with each other's assessments. On the other hand, in the FE2 conversation, both Steve and his interlocutor frequently indicated agreement with each other and also supplied supporting evidence. This tendency is clearly captured in his use of receipts, as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Steve's use of receipts in the FE1 and FE2 conversations

Acknowledging receipt form			Agreeing receipt form		
	FE1	FE2		FE1	FE2
((Repetition)) 'I know that you said ~'	11	15			
<i>Soo desu ka</i> 'Is that so?'	3	7			
<i>Soo na (n desu ka)</i> 'I see'	2	—			
<i>Sokka</i> 'I got it'	—	4			
<i>Soo desu ne*</i> 'I see'	16	—	<i>Soo (desu) ne</i> 'That's true'	—	3
<i>Soo</i> 'Is that so?'	1	2	<i>Soo</i> 'Right'	—	2
<i>Soo soo*</i> 'Now I got it'	—	4	<i>Soo sooζ</i> 'That's true (afterthought)'	—	1
			<i>Soo soo</i> 'That's right'	—	6
			((Repetition)) <i>deshoo?</i> 'Isn't that right?'	—	1
			((Repetition)) <i>desu yo</i> 'That's how it is'	—	1
			<i>Soo desu yo ne</i> 'That's what I also knew/thought'	—	1

Note. Numbers indicate frequency of use. Translations in single quotes are based on the way Steve used each receipt in context. An asterisk (*) indicates inapposite' use of an agreeing form of receipt as an acknowledging receipt. A reversed question mark (ζ) indicates inappositeness in terms of indicated epistemic stance.

In the FE1 conversation, Steve used five receipt forms for indicating acknowledgment: bare repetition without the use of the proterm *soo*, *soo desu ka* 'Is that so?', *soo na (n desu ka)* 'I see,' *soo desu ne* 'I see,' and the plain *soo* 'Is that so.' Although *soo desu ne* 'That's true' is a form of agreement, he used it inappositely as an acknowledging receipt in a way similar to *soo desu ka* 'Is that so?,' as illustrated in Excerpt 2.²

Excerpt 2. Working for Skyline Airlines (FE1 23'38", 4/28/2005)

In response to Steve (SV)'s question about her plans for after graduation, Hiroko (HK) has answered that she wants to work for an airline company, and named Skyline Airlines as one example.

- 1 HK okaasan: ga:. (0.3) sukairain de:. (.)
mother S Skyline at
 ((looks at SV)) ((hand to chest)) ((finger on the table))
- 2 hataraitaim[as.
work-CONT
 My mother works for Skyline Airlines.
- 3→ SV [aa. soo. hai. soo desu ne,=
 CS so yes so CP IP
 ((a nod))((blinks, gaze away from HK))
 Oh, is that right? Yes. I see [that's true].
- 4 HK =nn. nn.
yeah yeah
 ((nodding))
 Yeah, yeah.
- 5 (0.6)
 ((HK looking down, smiling))
- 6 SV aa. (0.2) nihon kara
um Japan from
 ((looks at HK))
 Um, from Japan?

In response to Hiroko's informing, Steve first indicates a change of state by saying *aa* 'oh' (Heritage, 1984a) and acknowledges the information through *soo* 'Is that right?' and a nod. However, the form of the subsequent utterance *hai. soo desu ne* 'Yes, that's true' (line 3) seems incongruent with the epistemic stance previously marked with *aa*. A congruent alternative would be either *soo desu ka* 'Really?' or repetition-plus-*ne* 'I see, (you said) xx, right?' (e.g., *sukairain desu ne* 'I see, Skyline, right?'), which is a form of *registering receipt* (Schegloff, 1997; see also Morita, 2005 for Japanese examples). Although the form of Steve's receipt *soo desu ne* is inapposite here, it hearably functions as an acknowledging receipt. Steve's shifting gaze away from Hiroko when uttering *soo desu ne* (line 3) and his returning gaze back to Hiroko at the beginning of his question (line 6) suggest that the receipt acknowledges Hiroko's informing and thus closes the informing sequence temporarily before initiating a question-answer sequence related to the topic. Hiroko withdraws from her informing by

responding to Steve's receipts with nods and tokens *nn. nn.* 'yeah, yeah' (line 4) and by shifting her gaze away from him.

While Steve did not use receipts to show agreement in his FE1 conversation, he used as many as seven forms of receipt for indicating agreement in the FE2 conversation, including the apposite use of *soo (desu) ne*, as illustrated in Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3. Regions in Aichi Prefecture (FE2 6'43", 8/17/2006)

Steve (SV) and Miki (MK) have found out that they had lived in adjacent regions, Mikawa and Owari. Steve had lived in a part of the Mikawa region for three weeks and had been to Nagoya City in the Owari region on day trips. Miki had lived in Nagoya for four years.

- 1 SV mikawa to:. (.) na[go:ya. tottemo chiga:u °ne°
Mikawa and Nagoya very different IP
 ((hand to the right)) ((to the left)) ((wiggling hand))
 Mikawa and Nagoya are very different, aren't they?
- 2 MK [°nn.°
yeah
 ((a nod, gaze at SV))
- 3 [nn n:n. chigau n(e),
yeah yeah different IP
 ((looks down, nodding))
 Mm hh. Yeah, they are different.
- 4 SV [(docchi to-)
which both
 Both of them. . .
- 5 SV ahah hh
- 6 MK nn nagoya sugoi tokai da °(kedo ne:,)°
mm Nagoya very urban CP but IP
 ((a nod))
 Um, Nagoya is very urban but. . . ,
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 SV [°soo s ne,°]
so CP IP
 That's true.

Excerpt 5. ELS, not ISEC (FE2 13'42", 8/17/2006)

Steve (SV) has asked Miki (MK) if she had studied abroad before starting her graduate studies in the U.S., and Miki begins talking about her first study abroad after graduating from university.

1 MK *sotsugyoo shite-kara:. suguni:.(.) ano*
graduation do-and then immediately um
 2 *erusu tte shittemasu ka?[ano language school.*
ELS QT know Q um
 ((index finger upward)) ((index finger downward))
 Right after graduating, um, do you know ELS? Um, a language school.

3 SV [((opens mouth slightly))

4 (0.2)

5 SV *erusu. (0.3) oo okkee. aiseru ja-nakute*
ELS oh okay ISEL CP-NG-and
 ((looks down)) ((point finger extended))

6 *erusu (0.2) [to yuu*
ELS QT say
 ((hand at neck))
 ELS. Oh, okay. Not ISEL but (the one) called ELS?

7 MK [nn. nn. soo. aiseru:
yeah yeah so ISEL
 ((chin up)) ((a nod)) ((a nod))

8 [mitai-na kanji [no °er-° (0.2)
similar feeling LK EL-
 Yeah, yeah. Right. Similar to ISEL, EL-

9→SV [°(erusu,)° [soo soo
ELS so so
 ((nodding))

10 **so** [o
so
 ELS. I got it [That's right].

11 MK [erusu no hoo
ELS LK side
 ((nodding, looking down))
 ELS, not the other one.

((MK says that she studied there for nine months.))

Just after Miki starts talking about the English school she previously attended, she initiates an *insertion sequence* (Schegloff, 1972) in order to help establish intersubjectivity with regard to the identification of the school, and therefore suspends her telling until line 11. In response to Miki's question of whether Steve knows the school by its name (line 2), Steve indicates his non-recognition through repetition of the name and lowered eye gaze (line 5), without any acknowledging nods, any immediate acknowledging response tokens (e.g., *aa* 'ah,' *hai* 'yes'), or any claims of knowledge (e.g., *shittemasu* 'I know that'). His comparison between ISEL and ELS (lines 5–6) and the formulation *erusu to yuu*. . . '(a school) called ELS' also suggest his unfamiliarity with ELS, in contrast to his familiarity with another language school called ISEL. In response to Steve's formulation of the identification of the school, Miki says *soo* 'right' and reformulates Steve's utterance in lines 7 and 8. Thus, she acknowledges Steve's formulation as helpful for accomplishing intersubjectivity (see Kushida, 2011). This is the moment when Steve claims, through successive nods and repetition of *soo*, that he has achieved understanding of what ELS is. Miki's subsequent actions (from line 11) also reflexively construct Steve's *soo soo* as an indication of restored intersubjectivity: Miki begins withdrawing from the insertion sequence through nods and lowered gaze, and then goes back to the telling that has been suspended since line 1. Although Steve's receipt marks restored intersubjectivity here, such use of repeated *soo* (i.e., *soo soo*) is a non-standard use of the form.³ Restored intersubjectivity would have been better indicated with the combination of the change-of-state token *aa* 'oh' and an acknowledging receipt (e.g., *sokka* 'I got it').

Even if Steve already had the latent knowledge of *soo desu ne* and *soo soo* at the time of the FE1 conversation, he did not demonstrate his competence in appositely using them. Therefore, based on this comparison of the FE1 and FE2 conversations, I conclude that Steve showed development in using these two receipt forms, even though he was still developing competence in appositely using *soo soo* at the time of the FE2 conversation. In the next section, I will illustrate some features of interaction that potentially facilitate or hinder Steve's higher competence in using these receipt forms.

Contingencies of interaction for learning how to use receipts

In this section, I present three features of interaction that potentially foster or impede Steve's learning of how to use receipts: (a) the interlocutor's receipting actions in a particular sequential position, (b) the interlocutor's next-turn display of understanding, and (c) the interlocutor's non-orientation to inapposite receipt use. The selected examples are presented not for the purpose of claiming a general tendency, but for illustrating cases in which CA-based findings of interactional workings can address the issue of how interaction affords L2 speakers' greater ICs.

The interlocutor's receipting actions in a particular sequential position

Analysis of the SA conversations uncovered that the functions of Steve's interlocutor's receipting actions were identifiable in a particular sequential position and in concert with her embodied actions (C. Goodwin, 2000; M. H. Goodwin, 2007), as illustrated in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6. Translation search (SA3 15'52", 12/19/2005)

In a library study room, Steve's (SV) tutor, Ikuko (IK), is helping him with his homework for his Okinawan language class. There is a dictionary in front of Ikuko, and there are worksheets in front of Steve. They have been trying to translate a Japanese phrase, *boonenkai o shite* 'hold an end-of-year party and,' into Okinawan.

- 1 SV o shite? (.) shite wa
 O do-and do-and TP
 ((turning a page))
 How about "shite"? What's "shite"?
- 2 (1.1)
 ((IK looks at SV's worksheet))
- 3 SV suru wa °shite, shite, shite,°
 to do TP do-and do-and do-and
 ((moving fingers around over the pages))
 "To do" becomes "shite," "shite," "shite."
- 4 (1.1)
 ((SV moves fingers away from the worksheet))
- 5→ SV °nai yo,°
 none IP
 It's not here.
- 6 (0.7)
- 7→ IK haa:n. nai ne,
 ah none IP
 ((narrowing eyebrows))
 Ah. There's none, yeah.
- 8 (2.8)
 ((SV turns the page))
 ((IK looks at her dictionary))

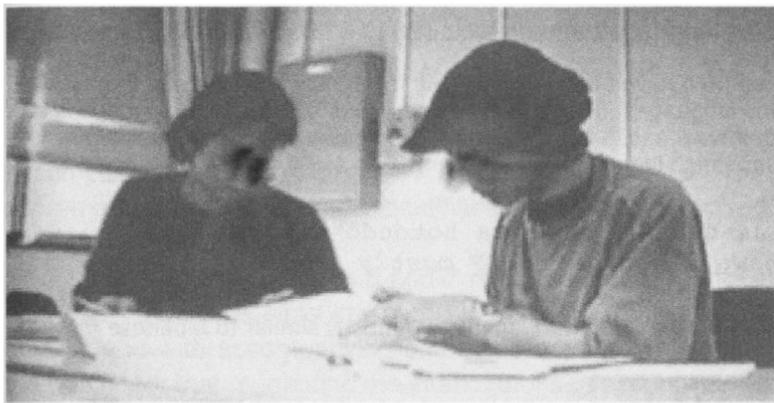


Figure 1. Steve runs his finger over the sheet at line 3.

Steve initiates a translation search in line 1 and finishes it in line 4. Although Ikuko joins in the search in line 2, she is a secondary participant in the activity, since Steve leads the search, as indicated via his embodied actions: Steve turns a page of the worksheet (line 1), runs his fingers over the sheet (line 3; see Figure 1), and marks the end of the activity by moving his hand away from the paper (line 4). By using the interactional particle *yo* 'I'm telling you' when reporting on the search result (*nai yo* 'There's no entry,' line 5), Steve indicates an assumption that he holds *epistemic primacy* (Raymond & Heritage, 2006), or in other words, the primary rights to claim knowledge on the content of the message (*nai* 'there's none') relative to the other person in the conversation (see also Hayano, 2011, on *yo*). Ikuko, who agrees with Steve's conclusion by repeating the word *nai*, aligns with this epistemic assumption. By adding *ne*, Ikuko accepts her epistemic subordination. Such indication of epistemic subordination is also evidenced through her subsequent actions: When Steve turns the page (line 8), Ikuko simply follows the completion of the search on that particular page and begins a new search in her dictionary. Through these embodied actions, she accepts Steve's proposition, *nai* 'there's none,' without contesting to his claim to epistemic primacy. Although Steve does not take any verbal action in response to the receipt, the action of turning the page demonstrates his understanding of her receipting.

Another example of Steve's interlocutor's use of a *ne*-marked receipt in response to Steve's *yo*-marked telling is shown below in Excerpt 7.

Excerpt 7. Similar languages and dialects (SA10 21'59", 7/2006)

Steve (SV) and Ken (KN) have been talking about the similarities between the Japanese and Ainu languages.⁴ Steve (SV) has asserted that the Ainu language is a little different from the Japanese language. Then he begins comparing the Okinawan language to the Japanese language.

- 1 → SV *uchinaaguchi de wa hotondo niteru yo.*
Okinawa language in TP mostly resemble IP
 ((looking sideways)) ((looks at KN))
 I'm telling you, the Okinawan language is mostly similar to Japanese.
- 2 (0.5)
 ((SV and KN looking at each other))
- 3 → KN *niteru ne,*
resemble IP
 ((gaze away from SV, slightly nodding twice))
 Yeah, it's similar.
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 SV *sugu iku wa ichun toka.*
right away go TP go etc.
 ((gaze away from KN))
 ((KN looks down, fiddling with his fingers))
 "To go right away" in Japanese is "ichun" in Okinawan, for example.
- 6 (1.0)
 ((SV looks at KN))
 ((KN grins before saying "sore"))
- 7 KN *so↑re wa↓: (.) tada no (0.4) namari sa.*
that TP only LK accent IP
 That's just an accent.

Steve, in line 1, proffers his opinion that the Okinawan language is similar to the Japanese language. Having taken a course on the Okinawan language at the university in Okinawa, he indicates his epistemic primacy concerning the close proximity between the two languages through his use of *yo*. In response, Ken indicates agreement through his repetition of the word *niteru* 'similar' followed by the interactional particle *ne* (line 3), while nodding. However, the fact that his gaze shifts away from Steve immediately after beginning the receipt and that this is followed by a subsequent 0.5-second pause suggest a lack of commitment to this agreeing action. Moreover, Ken's critical comment (line 7) about the example Steve gave in line 5 suggests that Ken does not have any

evidence to support his agreement on the comparison. Such subsequent actions by Ken reflexively indicate that his utterance of *niteru ne* was not a wholehearted agreement, but a pro-forma one in response to the *yo*-marked proposition. With these indications of his epistemic subordination, Ken thus aligns with Steve's assumption of epistemic primacy. This example showed how the function of a *ne*-marked receipt is made identifiable by means of embodied actions and subsequent actions.

The analysis of Excerpts 6 and 7 revealed that the function of Ikuko's and Ken's *ne*-marked receipts are made identifiable within a particular sequential context and with accompanying embodied actions. This observation points to the possibility that monitoring the interlocutor's use of *ne*-marked receipts helps Steve learn, that is, form a new understanding of, how these receipts can be appositely used to indicate agreement while implying epistemic subordination.

The interlocutor's next-turn display of understanding

Another feature of interaction that potentially fostered Steve's learning of how to use *soo soo* is found in the interlocutor's turn after Steve's receipt use, as illustrated in Excerpt 8.

Excerpt 8. Reading comic books (SA1 11'25", 10/30/2005)

Sitting side by side on the bed in his dorm room, Steve (SV) has told Tsuyoshi (TS) that it is still difficult and a little tiresome to read Japanese. In response to Tsuyoshi's question of whether it also applies to reading comic books, Steve agrees and continues after saying *tanoshii dakedo* 'it's fun, but.'

- 1 SV chotto manga aru,
a little comic book exist
((turns to the right))
I have some comic books,
- 2 (0.9)
((SV and TS both turning gaze to the right))
- 3 SV miseta:?
show-PST
((turning to TS))
Did I show them to you?
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 TS et[to: tabun::: takahashi rumi[ko
umm probably- Takahashi Rumiko
((looks at SV)) ((hand on the head))
Mm, probably, Rumiko Takahashi

- 6 SV [tabun sono (>onna no<) [takaha-
probably that female LK Takaha-
 ((raises chin))
- 7→ **soo soo soo.**
so so so
((a nod)) ((a nod))
Probably that woman. . . Takaha- That's right.
- 8 (0.6)
((TS nodding))
- 9→TS aa a[aa. >aa yuu yatsu wa yomeru n da.
oh oh oh that kind stuff TP read-POT N CP
((nodding) ((looks at SV)) ((opening and closing hands))
Oh, oh, I see. You can read that stuff.
- 10 SV [tomodachi ga (
friend S
((hand at chest))
My friend. . .
- 11 SV soo. (0.6) aa:. (.) yonda koto ga nai kedo=
oh read-PST experience S none but
((a nod) ((looks away)) ((looks at TS))
Right. Oh. I haven't read them, but...
- 12 TS =aa[:.
oh
((nodding))
Oh.
- 13 SV [tabun (.) yomitai,
probably read-want
((gaze away from TS))
I probably want to read them.

After Steve mentions that he has Japanese comic books in his dorm room (line 1), he and Tsuyoshi, in line 2, begin looking for those presumably stored on the bookshelf to their right. Although Steve asks whether he has shown them to Tsuyoshi before (line 3), Tsuyoshi does not directly answer the question, but instead offers a candidate name of the cartoonist (Rumiko Takahashi) whose book Steve might have. Overlapping with the reference to the cartoonist, Steve repeats the first part of the name, and says *soo* three times while nodding (line 7). This *soo soo soo* is hearably confirming the name, which he was trying to recall in the first half of line 6 (see Kushida, 2011, on *soo soo* for acknowledging another person's assistance with a formulation). Here, Tsuyoshi's utterance in his

turn after Steve's *soo soo soo* reveals that Tsuyoshi regarded it as a confirmatory action and also demonstrates how he interpreted the relevance of the cartoonist within Steve's telling: That is, Tsuyoshi makes an inference (line 9) that Steve is capable of reading her comic books. Although Steve spontaneously confirms Tsuyoshi's inference by saying *soo* 'right' (line 11), he immediately indicates his realization of the trouble with *aa* 'oh' and enacts self-repair, saying that he has not read her books—disconfirming Tsuyoshi's inference. Continuing his turn onto line 13, Steve further clarifies that reading her books is something he hopes to do in the future, rather than a past experience. His post-*soo* actions in lines 11 and 13 exhibit Steve's higher competence in clarifying the action suggested with *soo*. Having realized a misunderstanding revealed in Tsuyoshi's understanding-display that stemmed from the ambiguous action indicated with the repetition of *soo* in line 7, Steve now competently offers a post-*soo* clarification, built in repair.

Another example of the interlocutor's next-turn display of understanding is shown in Excerpt 9.

Excerpt 9. The timing for job hunting (SA9 23'42", 06/26/06)

Tsuyoshi (TS), who is in his third year at a Japanese university, has been telling Steve (SV) about his plans to find a job: He will begin looking in his fourth year in order to start working immediately after graduation. Steve shows confusion about the year in which Tsuyoshi's job search will begin.

- 1 TS *nihon no daigaku* (.) *wa soo >da* (kara)< *sa*, (.)
Japan LK university TP so CP (because) IP
 ((moving hand vertically))
- 2 *sotsugyoo suru mae: ni >shiken ukeru °wake°<*
graduation do before in test take that's why
 ((moves hand to the left))
 Universities in Japan are like that. We take job-qualifying exams
 before we graduate. That's why.
- 3 SV *hontoo.=*
really
 Really?
- 4 TS *=amerika de wa (yappa) sotsugyoo shita*
America in TP as expected graduation do-PST
 ((hand toward SV))
- 5 *↑a↓to ja nai.*
after CP NG
 ((swiftly moves hand vertically))
 In the U.S., you guys do so after graduation, don't you?

- 6→SV aa:. °soo soo°
uh so so
((raises head)) ((a nod, looking in the midair))
Uh. That's right.
- 7 (0.2)
((SV looks at TS))
- 8→TS da yo ne,
CP IP IP
That's how it is, right?
- 9 SV (moo.) (.) [°nn. (soo.[]°
already yeah so
((a nod)) ((a nod))
(Already)... Yeah. Right. ()
- 10→TS [[sotsugyoo shita ato ni:.
graduation do-PST after in
((hand down)) ((hand up)) ((rightward))
- 11 shigoto sagashiteru [(°desho°)
job search-CONT CP-probably
((hand toward SV)) ((a nod))
You guys usually look for jobs after graduation, (right?)
- 12→SV [soo soo.
so so
((two nods, looking at TS))
That's right.
- 13 (0.2)
- 14 TS bokura wa: (0.2) sotsugyoo suru
we TP graduation do
((hand at chest))
- 15 mae ni shigoto sagasu (wake)
before in job search that's why
((hand leftward)) ((hand at chest))
In Japan, we look for jobs before graduation.

When Tsuyoshi talks about the Japanese practices of job hunting, he makes public his epistemic authority through the use of *sa* 'that's that' (line 1),⁵ and *wake* 'that's why' (lines 2 and 15). In contrast, when he talks about the American practice, he assigns epistemic authority to Steve by making a confirmation as the relevant next-turn response (*ja nai* 'isn't it?', line 5; *da yo ne* 'right?', line 8).⁶ Steve's actions are in alignment with Tsuyoshi's epistemic indications. In response to Tsuyoshi's informing about the Japanese practices (lines 1–2),

Steve indicates that Tsuyoshi's informing provided new information by using the news-marker *hontoo* 'Really?' (line 3). Further, Steve says *soo soo* 'That's right' (lines 6 and 12) about the American practices, indicating that he has accepted epistemic authority. Although the employment of this receipt form (*soo soo*) is in exact alignment with Tsuyoshi's assignment of epistemic authority to Steve, the action that Steve takes by uttering *soo soo*—with his unfocused gaze and without a confirmatory *nn*. 'yeah' in line 6—is not clear enough for Tsuyoshi to return to the contrastive case in Japan, and thus Tsuyoshi initiates repair in line 8. Tsuyoshi projects an affirmative answer as the relevant next-turn response by saying *da yo ne* 'That's how it is, right?' (line 8), and elaborates on his earlier proposition *sotsugyoo shita ato* 'after graduation' (lines 4–5) by adding *shigoto sagashiteru* 'you look for jobs' (line 11). Such repair initiations from Tsuyoshi suggest that, even though he can tentatively regard Steve's utterance of *soo soo* as a confirming action, he still needs to ascertain its function before proceeding with his telling.⁷ As Pomerantz (1984) notes, one of the options that participants can take for pursuing a response is to make sure the other party has comprehended the prior utterance. Through the reformulation of his prior proposition, Tsuyoshi makes himself better understood by Steve. In line 12, Steve firmly says *soo soo*, nodding twice while directly looking at Tsuyoshi. These coordinated actions clearly indicate that Steve is now making a confirmation. Tsuyoshi's next-turn continuation of his contrastive telling reflexively indicates that he now takes this *soo soo* as a satisfactory confirmatory receipt.

The analysis of Excerpts 8 and 9 illustrated how an "understanding-display device" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) works in interaction: By making publicly visible his understanding of Steve's previous turn and what was going on at the moment, Tsuyoshi's post-*soo* action informed Steve how Steve's *soo soo* would work, not in the abstract, but at the very moment in that particular interaction. Thus, the action served as feedback both on the appositeness of the form choice and the ambiguity of its action. Moreover, Steve was provided with an interactional space in which he was able to perform a clearer action of confirmation.

The interlocutor's non-orientation to inapposite receipt forms

While Steve's Japanese interlocutors occasionally initiated repair when the exact meaning of his receipt was ambiguous, this rarely occurred. They usually did not orient to such ambiguous receipts or inapposite forms of receipt from Steve. Excerpt 10 illustrates a case of this non-orientation.

Excerpt 10. Unfairness of the Winter Olympics (SA5 29'29", 2/27/2006)

While watching the Winter Olympics on TV, Tsuyoshi (TS) begins talking about his opinion of the Winter Olympics to Steve (SV).

1 TS fuyu no orinpicu wa:. (1.7) a:no::: (0.5)
winter LK Olympics TP well
 ((facing the TV))

2 okane kakaru jan.⁸
money cost IP
 (((looks at SV)) ((a nod))
 The Winter Olympics are, well, costly, y'know.

3 (0.8)

4 SV hontoo?
really
 Really?

5 (0.7)
 ((TS turns back to TV))

6 TS datte: s:sukeeto toka (0.4) sa:.
because skate etc. IP
 'Cuz, like skating,

((43 seconds of transcript omitted. TS gives examples of expensive sports goods and practice fees. SV says *dakedo* 'but' and refers to the availability of sponsors. TS says *dakedo* and states that sponsors are available only in rich countries. SV says that some countries are probably rich and adds *kedo* 'but.' Latching onto this connective, TS says *dakara* 'therefore' and states that only developed countries participate in the Winter Olympics.))

7 TS afurika toka katenai jan.
Africa etc. win-POT-NG IP
 ((looking at SV))
 Places like Africa can't win, right?

8 (0.3)

9→SV ee soo soo.
mm so so
 Mm, yeah yeah [That's right].

10→ (1.1)
 ((TS turns to TV))

11→TS >dakara< (0.3) ore wa hontoni
 so I TP really
 So, I really feel,

((TS goes on to say that the Winter Olympics have failed to become a worldwide competition in the real sense.))

By using *jan* 'y'know' in line 2, Tsuyoshi indicates an assumption that Steve shares his knowledge about the cost for participating in the Winter Olympics. However, by saying *hontoo?* 'Really?', Steve indicates that this is new information to him. From line 6, Tsuyoshi begins pursuing agreement on his view that participation in the Winter Olympics highly depends on the economic situation of a country. During the 53 seconds of talk from line 1 until Steve says *soo soo* in line 9, Tsuyoshi makes an agreement as a relevant next-turn action through repeated use of self-justification (e.g., *datte* '(be)cause,' Mori, 1999) and modal expressions *jan* 'y'know' (6 times) and *deshoo?* 'Isn't that right?' However, Steve disagrees each time. It is only after recurring exchanges that he indicates agreement in line 9. Although the agreeing action is in alignment with Tsuyoshi's *jan*-marked utterance 'y'know' (line 7), the form of the receipt (*soo soo*), which is associated with a claim to epistemic authority, is epistemically inapposite in this sequential environment: It is Tsuyoshi that is entitled to claim his epistemic authority over his arguments, not Steve. A form of receipt that implies the speaker's epistemic subordination (e.g., *soo da ne* 'That's true') would be more suitably used by a person who concedes to an opposing argument after iterated persuasion (Mori, 1999; Saft, 2001).⁹ However, Tsuyoshi does not orient to such epistemic inappositeness: He treats Steve's action simply as a satisfactory indication of agreement, as reflexively indicated by his discontinuation of the persuasion sequence and the resumption of his telling in line 11.

This is clearly an example of the "let it pass" practice (Firth, 1996). This practice is frequently observed in the present data, as can be seen in Excerpts 2 and 5, as well as Excerpt 10. Without orientation to inappositeness of the agreeing forms of receipts, the interlocutors' subsequent turn suggests their acceptance of Steve's receipt as satisfactory, and thus might prevent Steve from overcoming his inapposite use of those forms.

Discussion

The analyses above illustrated contingent features of social interaction that potentially have either facilitative or debilitating roles for learning how to use receipts. Although the present data set precludes a microgenetic analysis of how a new aspect of IC emerged, I will discuss in this section how these contingent

features might have contributed to Steve's learning and long-term development in the use of *soo desu ne* and *soo soo*.

Identifiability of the interactional function of the interlocutors' use of receipts

The analysis of Excerpts 6 and 7 revealed that the function of the interlocutors' *ne*-marked receipts is made identifiable even in an untroubled interaction. *Ne* is a versatile particle that can be used for a variety of functions in diverse sequential contexts (Morita, 2015; e.g., in weak agreement as in *soo da ne* 'That's true'; as part of a filler, *soo ne*: 'let me see'; marking an intonation boundary as in *sore de ne* 'then'). Therefore, it is difficult for L2 speakers to learn the whole range of its usage (e.g., Masuda, 2011; Ohta, 2001; Yoshimi, 1999) by applying a single inclusive functional characteristic such as "display[ing] some interactional concern at that moment in terms of establishing or maintaining alignment to the ongoing activity" (Morita, 2005, p. 97). Nevertheless, when Steve's interlocutors (Ikuko and Ken) used *ne*-marked receipts, they make it public that they were agreeing to Steve's *yo*-marked assertion while indicating their epistemic status as subordinate to Steve's by (1) placing the *ne*-receipt in a particular sequential context (in this case, in response to Steve's *yo*-marked assertion), (2) initiating subsequent actions that do not indicate their strong commitment, and (3) using embodied actions that indicate retrieval from the current sequence. Steve was thus authorized to choose his subsequent action based on the understanding that his assertion received agreement.

By observing his interlocutors' use of receipts in such interactional contingencies and by responding to their actions, Steve plausibly developed an understanding of when and how he could use a *ne*-marked agreeing receipt, even without engaging in repair activities or social practice of learning. However, I am not intending to claim that Steve's long-term development of *ne*-marked receipts is the immediate result of these instances of interaction. Although Steve did show development in his use of *ne*-marked agreeing receipts between the FE1 and FE2 conversations, he had already stopped using *soo desu ne* inappositely as an acknowledging receipt and begun using the receipt form for indicating agreement in his first study-abroad conversation (SA1, 10/30/05). This suggests the need for future research to investigate the very early period of study abroad for microgenesis of receipt use. Nevertheless, the excerpts here illustrate that the sequential positioning of a receipt and associated embodied actions carry important clues to understanding the interactional function of a receipt.

In previous CA-SLA studies, L2 speakers were found to initiate repair on trouble sources concerning their understanding of the meaning of unfamiliar words that their interlocutors used (e.g., "cheese is *blowing*" in Firth & Wagner, 2007; *sneiða* 'cut' in Theodórdóttir, 2011a). Even when L2 speakers do not explicitly request assistance, L1 speakers may enact repair when L2 speakers

show signs of uncertainty or trouble, by providing translation or circumlocution of the word at stake (e.g., Theodórdóttir, 2011a). CA-based analyses of these repair activities detail what cognitive-interactionist (e.g., Long, 1996) research would regard as *negotiation for meaning*,¹⁰ in which *interactionally modified input* that L1 speakers provide solves L2 speakers' problems with understanding. In the present data, however, there is no instance in which Steve engaged in negotiation for the meaning of his interlocutors' receipts of his tellings.¹¹ Nonetheless, as shown in the analysis of Excerpts 6 and 7, important information that helps identify the meaning of the receipts is embedded in the sequential structure of the interaction and the interlocutors' embodied actions, and this is reflexively indicated via their subsequent actions.

Candidate understanding and repair

In the findings of previous CA-SLA research, repair activities (including word-search activities as forward-oriented repair) are largely considered to be an important site for L2 learning. L2 speakers are often found to initiate repair on problems with the choice of words and their meanings, the correctness of grammar, and other linguistic matters, to orient to the linguistic expertise of L1 or more advanced speakers of the target language (e.g., Hosoda, 2006), and to get help from these speakers on correct alternatives. Repair activities on these problems include what cognitive-interactionist research has narrowly focused on as *confirmation checks* and *corrective feedback*. However, there are other kinds of repair: For example, by challenging the validity of the previous speaker's assertion, one can display a disaffiliative epistemic stance. Kasper and Prior (2015), for example, illustrate such cases, in which an interviewer displays a disaffiliative affective stance by saying *You said that?* in response to the interviewee's narrative reports of their own and others' speech. Furthermore, repair activities found in Excerpts 8 and 9 deal with the specific actions made with Steve's *soo soo*. I would like to argue here that these repair activities provided Steve opportunities for learning in ways different from the repair activities documented in previous CA-SLA research on learning.

In Excerpt 9, Tsuyoshi initiated other-repair on the ambiguity of the action made with Steve's *soo soo*. Since this repair was accomplished through re-doing the confirmation-seeking turn, Steve was offered the opportunity to re-do his confirming action. Furthermore, Tsuyoshi's display of his candidate understanding informed Steve that *soo soo* was, even tentatively, taken as an act of confirmation, and gave Steve a warrant to use the same linguistic resource (*soo soo*) as a form of confirmation. Steve thus used this receipt in the second instance with more clarity through prosody and direct gaze. Meanwhile, in Excerpt 8, the candidate understandings displayed in Tsuyoshi's post-*soo* turn informed Steve of a gap in understanding. After his realization of the misunderstanding, Steve initiated repair and specified what his previous *soo*

soo confirmed—that the name Tsuyoshi referred to is the name of the cartoonist whose books Steve wants to read, even though he has not read them yet.

Although we have seen the contingencies of interaction that afforded Steve's improved response to a confirmation-seeking turn, I am reluctant to claim that this provides an illustration of a microgenetic developmental process, since Steve had already started using soo soo for confirmation in his first study-abroad conversation (Excerpt 8, taken from SA1). Nevertheless, it does illustrate how the normal feature of talk-in-interaction that Sacks et al. (1974) call an "understanding-display device," in contrast to *learning as social practice*, helped Steve recognize the locally constructed meaning of his prior action, and further provided him with the opportunity for exhibiting his competence in formulating a clearer action.

Orientation to progressivity

As we observed in Excerpts 8 and 9, Steve and his interlocutor engaged in repair when intersubjectivity was threatened. However, as seen in Excerpt 10, along with Excerpts 2 and 5, Steve's interlocutors did not orient to the *incongruence* (Hayano, 2011) between the epistemic stance assumed in the particular sequential position and the epistemic stance indicated by the receipt form that Steve used. This practice of "letting-it-pass" (Firth, 1996) seems to be a consequence of the participants' orientation to the *progressivity* of talk (Lerner, 1996). Rather than repair matters irrelevant to the current trajectory of talk, they build on what has been achieved to move the talk forward. However, the indexical nature of receipting actions should also be taken into account when providing possible explanations for the rarity of repair on receipts. First, next-turn repair-initiation on receipts by the interlocutors is sometimes impractical because they cannot judge the aptness of a receipt at the time of its utterance. The meaning of a receipt can be made clear only in subsequent turns. By the time the interlocutor detects incongruence between the form of a receipt and its subsequent actions, the course of interaction has already proceeded and the interlocutor may find initiation of repair to be out of place. Furthermore, the choice of receipt forms indexes not only the speaker's epistemic stance, but also certain identities the speaker wants to project (e.g., Raymond & Heritage, 2006). Soo soo is an important linguistic resource with which an L2 speaker can claim equal or higher position on a matter at hand despite their conceivable linguistic disadvantage, and its use can enable an L2 speaker to engage in meaningful activities and claim certain identities (e.g., Ishida, 2010). Steve's interlocutors could have been being cautious not to threaten Steve's face by challenging his claim to higher epistemic status.

That being the case, how might such non-orientation to epistemically incongruent use of a receipt form have affected Steve's development of IC? In his FE2 conversation, there were still many cases of inapposite use of soo

soo even though his use of this receipt form became more natural over time. Steve's difficulty in overcoming its inapposite use could have been affected by his interlocutors' non-orientation to its unexpected sequential placement, which informed him that his use of this receipt was acceptable. However, his lingering overuse of *soo soo* could also be due to the demand for prompt receipting: It is possible that the presence of a wide variety of similar receipt forms involving different combinations of modal expressions overburdened him when choosing a particular receipt, and tempted him to rely on this particular receipt form as a convenient to-go form. If so, we can consider that the receipt form *soo soo* became an important linguistic resource for interaction, enabling him to participate in "expedient interaction" (Firth, 2009, p. 140). In addition, the interlocutors' non-orientation to epistemic incongruence allowed Steve's prompt receipting and "accomplishment of normality" (Firth, 1996), and contributed to Steve's "doing *not* being a language learner" (Firth, 2009). Thus, the present analysis has documented one aspect of interactional contingences that worked for learning a language in and for social interaction, rather than for learning a language as acquisition of linguistic knowledge.

Conclusion

For L2 speakers who study abroad, the ways in which they engage in conversations highly affect the kinds of L2 competences that they develop (e.g., Wilkinson, 2002). The present study has focused on one L2 speaker's use of two receipt forms and explored, through ethnomethodological CA, affordances of social interaction for developing his IC when in the role of a recipient. Cognitive-interactionist research has shown findings that interactionally modified input and corrective feedback provided during negotiation for meaning help L2 speakers pay selective attention to linguistic forms and thus facilitate acquisition. However, this scenario is considered for the learning of language as a self-contained system, and does not directly apply to the learning of how to use receipts. In the present CA-SLA study, interactionally modified input was not available with regard to Steve's interlocutor's receipts. The functions of their receipts, however, were made identifiable in a particular sequential position with accompanying embodied actions, and without interactional modification. Moreover, corrective feedback was not provided on Steve's use of receipts due to the indexical nature of receipting, although Steve's interlocutors did pursue clarification of his *soo*-marked actions. The interlocutors' understanding-display is "a vehicle of intersubjectivity" (Kurhila, 2006, p. 173), which helps Steve recognize threatened intersubjectivity and seems to provide an opportunity for him to be a competent participant in the social interaction.

Over the past decade, a growing number of CA-SLA studies have contributed to our understanding of the trajectories in which L2 ICs develop over time, both inside and outside the classroom. However, the explanations offered for the observed development of ICs—drawn on from exogenous theories of learning such as the theory of situated learning, sociocultural theory, and language socialization—tend to be general ones that relate to overall developmental paths rather than the specific instances analyzed. Only a handful of studies have examined contingencies of interaction that situate the formation of new practices. While such interactional contingencies have been extensively studied with regard to discrete linguistic features such as vocabulary, morphology, and syntax, this does not apply for ICs. The present study was aimed at filling this gap in research and unveiling affordances of social interaction for learning that help the development of ICs. Although this study revealed only some features of interaction that potentially help L2 speakers to learn how to use receipts and did not explore microgenesis of ICs, I hope this research has paved the way for future studies of ICs to explore this issue of learning in interaction.

Notes

- 1 I use the term *appositeness* (e.g., Kasper & Kim, 2007) to describe when one's receipting action fits the sequential context. Since *appositeness* is about situational timeliness and properness, this adjective aligns well with CA's stance on sequential positioning.
- 2 All excerpts in the remainder of this chapter are taken from the data collected for my doctoral dissertation (Ishida, 2010). All names are pseudonyms.
- 3 My interpretation of *inappositeness* does not go against CA's analytical approach. In a CA study on the use of *that's right* by a person with aphasia, Barnes (2012) writes, "The identification of the restored intersubjectivity *that's right* also suggests that recipients can exploit the epistemic and actional characteristics of *that's right* to employ it in unexpected (and perhaps ad hoc) ways" (p. 258). His interpretation also suggests that a set of linguistic resources, instead of those that are sequentially expected, can be impromptly drawn on to deal with the immediate necessity to respond.
- 4 Ainu are the people native to northern Japan.
- 5 Morita (2005) argues that the turn-final particle *sa* indicates the *non-negotiability* of the utterance that precedes it.
- 6 Tsuyoshi's assignment of epistemic authority to Steve would also be indicated with *desho* 'isn't it?' in line 11. Although this part is inaudible because of the overlap, the video shows the movement of Tsuyoshi's mouth, which ends with an "o" sound.
- 7 Tsuyoshi's turn in line 5 ending with *ja nai* 'isn't it?' makes a confirmation a preferred response in the next turn. Therefore, Steve's *soo soo* is not a receipting action. My analysis, however, shows what epistemic stance is assumed in Steve's use of this linguistic form, which can be employed as a form of receipt.

- 8 *Jan* is one of the colloquial variants of the negative question form *de wa nai ka* 'isn't it,' along with *ja nai*, widely used throughout Japan. As such, it acts as a tag question.
- 9 Mori's (1999) excerpts contain many instances in which the recipient uses *soo da ne* 'That's true' after the teller pursues agreement with the use of "self-justification" (p. 168) and the modal expression *jan* 'isn't it.'
- 10 I use Long's (1996) term *negotiation for meaning* instead of the widely-used term *negotiation of meaning*. The former term is suitable for the cognitive-interactionist view of negotiation, which sees it as the process of communication for the purpose of identifying the meaning that one of the interlocutors intended to encode. The second term can be interpreted, if used in a discursive practice approach, as the process of discursively accomplishing shared meaning.
- 11 There are, however, many instances of other-initiations of repair when Steve's interlocutors answer his question, using the forms often drawn on as receipts (e.g., *soo soo* 'right,' *kamo shirenai* 'it could be true'). Steve requests they confirm their answers and they sometimes modify their initial answers. This finding suggests two points: (a) Steve's challenge against his interlocutor's response implies that he already understood the action that the interlocutor took; that is, the repair he initiated is not about a comprehension problem; and (b) Repair was called for because the validity of the interlocutors' response was relevant for the subsequent trajectory of the talk-in-interaction.

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