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Facilitating Participation: Communicative Practices in

Interaction Between Native and Nonnative Speakers of Japanese

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Facilitating Participation: Communicative Practices in

Interaction Between Native and Nonnative Speakers of Japanese

by

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Facilitating Participation: Communicative Practices in

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This dissertation presents microanalyses of interactional practices employed by native (NS) and nonnative speakers (NNS) of Japanese. Drawing on videotaped interaction among Japanese and international students enrolled in an intercultural communication class at a university in Japan, I investigate ways in which NSs facilitate NNSs' participation in interaction during various group activities. I focus on three communicative practices employed by NSs: (1) co-participant completion, a phenomenon in which a participant continues or completes a turn at talk initiated by another participant, (2) translation of another participant's utterance into talk or gesture for the third party, and (3) impromptu vocabulary lessons in which NSs utilize talk and gestures to display understanding of their NNS co-participants' troubled production

efforts and supply appropriate words or expressions while at the same time demonstrating their meanings gesturally.

Using the methodological frameworks of microethnography and conversation analysis (CA), I examine the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction, focusing on how participants with differential language expertise organize participation through talk and embodied action. I provide a detailed description of ways in which interactional resources such as syntactic structure, vocal features (i.e., perturbation), and certain features of embodied components (e.g., gaze shift and gesture) of the current speaker's turn afford the recognition of opportunities for co-participant completion. I also discuss how these resources provide opportunities for the projection of the next item in the turn in progress. In addition, I identify three specific actions accomplished by employing this practice: (1) providing lexical assistance, (2) joining another NS (i.e., a current speaker) in offering explanations to a NNS, and (3) proffering anticipatory agreement and displaying affinity.

Examination of the phenomena of translating and providing vocabulary assistance reveals the crucial role that embodied action plays in such vernacular teaching. Multifunctional sequences that constitute impromptu vocabulary lessons in particular point to the significance of gesture as a resource for speakers and listeners. These multimodal practices resemble communicative practices of language teachers. This suggests the ubiquity of opportunities for language teaching and learning in everyday situations. This dissertation presents being able to facilitate NNSs' participation in interaction as part of NSs' interactional competence.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation presents microanalyses of interactional practices employed by native and nonnative speakers (NS and NNS)[1] of Japanese in face-to-face interaction. Specifically, I investigate ways in which NSs, through certain practices of talk and embodied action, facilitate NNSs' participation in interaction. Drawing on videotaped interaction between Japanese and international students enrolled in an intercultural communication class at a Japanese university, I investigate three practices employed by the NSs: (a) collaborative turn-continuation or completion, (b) translating, and (c) impromptu vocabulary lessons. Collaborative turn-continuation or completion refers to a phenomenon in which one participant in interaction continues or completes a turn at talk initiated by another participant. The following is an English translation of an example taken from the interactional data gathered for the present study:

Speaker A: If two people love each other

Speaker B: cultural differences don't matter.

The second practice I examine (i.e., translating) is one by which a NS voluntarily explains, expounds, or paraphrases utterances produced by another participant for the third party. Finally, the "impromptu vocabulary lessons" refers to sequences in which

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[1] Recently, the notion of "native speaker" has been criticized (e.g., Cook, 1999; Kachru & Nelson, 1996; Rampton, 1990). Some scholars have abandoned the use of the terms "native" and "non-native" speakers in favor of "first" and "second" language speakers because the latter is "more neutral" (Wagner & Gardner, 2004, p. 16). While I recognize the problem of defining language users in terms of what they are not (cf. Kramsch, 1998), I continue to use the terms "native" and "nonnative" speakers because that seems to be the distinction used by the participants in my data when such categorization is relevant at particular moments in interaction. It is also to be noted that the term "second language speaker" does not apply to one of the nonnative speakers in the present data.

NSs utilize talk and gestures to display understanding of their NNS co-participants' troubled production efforts and supply appropriate words or expressions while at the same time demonstrating their meanings gesturally. I argue that these practices, as they are employed by the NS participants in the present study, constitute part of NS's competence in NS/NNS interaction. In other words, I consider being able to facilitate NNS's participation in interaction an important interactional skill for NSs. My analyses demonstrate how that competence is enacted in actual interaction rather than conceptualizing abstract constructs of intercultural communicative competence.

My objective is to examine these aspects of interactional competence with respect to *how* participation in interaction is organized in ongoing activities in specific social contexts in which they occur. While the first practice introduced above has previously been studied for NS/NS interaction in both English and Japanese, it has received minimal attention in NS/NNS interaction in Japanese. Similarly, the other two practices have not been well documented. The present study begins to fill this gap. I offer insights for second language acquisition (SLA) research in general and "Japanese as a second language" (JSL) in particular, intercultural communication research, and add to the growing body of research on a multimodal aspect of SLA.

In this endeavor, I draw on the method of microethnography that "finds the foundations of social organization, culture, and interaction at the microlevel of the moment-by-moment development of human activities" (Streeck & Mehus, 2005, p. 381). I also adopt the methodological framework of conversation analysis (CA) to conduct fine-grained analyses of unfolding interaction. In order to understand how participants

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organize social actions in actual interaction, it is essential to look at its sequential development. CA provides powerful analytic concepts and tools for such analyses.

In what follows, I first provide the rationale for this project. The statement of the significance of the study also serves to situate this research in related fields of study. I then outline the two approaches to the study of human interaction that I draw on. This is followed by a re-statement of the purpose of the study. Finally, I lay out the organization of this dissertation.

1.1. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is important for several reasons. First, this study joins the growing body of microanalytic, qualitative studies of second or foreign language encounters in naturalistic settings, which sheds light on previously uninvestigated aspects of interaction between people who do not share a first language. While mainstream second language acquisition (SLA) research, which is the primary field where such encounters have been studied, has traditionally been concerned with the form of learner language as a product of individual cognition,[2] during the past decade scholars have started to turn their attention to actual interactive processes. In particular, CA-based studies have been conducted on various interactional phenomena such as repair (Egbert, 1996; Hosoda, 2000; Kim, 2004; Kurhila, 2001, 2004; Wong, 2000), delay in uptake (Wong, 2004), word searches (Ikeda, 2003, November; Jarmon, 1996), completion of a verbal turn by

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[2] Firth and Wagner (1997, 1998) criticized SLA's view of language acquisition and the learner from a CA perspective. Markee (2000) also advocates CA as an approach to the study of second language acquisition behaviors.

another participant's embodied action (Jarmon, 1996; Olsher, 2004, Mori & Hayashi, 2006), and ESL teachers' pedagogical practices (Koshik, 2002a, 2002b). Some studies have looked at the activation of categories such as NS and NNS by the participants themselves (Hosoda, 2001; Ikeda, 2005; Kurhila, 2004). Nevertheless, there is a vast range of interactional practices in NS/NNS encounters yet to be explored. Adopting the microanalytic perspective enables us to go beyond linguistic form within sentences and gain a holistic understanding of *actual* practices by which participants with differential expertise in language and world knowledge achieve (or fail to achieve) intersubjectivity and organize participation. The current study contributes to an enhanced understanding of NS/NNS interaction in general and NS/NNS interaction in Japanese in particular.

Second, this research is significant in that it focuses on the competence of NSs, as opposed to that of NNSs, in NS/NNS interaction. Traditionally, NNSs have been the focus of the studies of such encounters as in the case of communication strategies research (e.g., Færch & Kasper, 1983). Although native speakers' idealized language has been the model for NNSs to learn in language teaching, NSs have not received much attention except in research on "Foreigner Talk" (Ferguson, 1971, 1975), which rarely examines actual NS/NNS interaction in natural settings.[3] This imbalance is not compatible with the recent, increasing recognition of the co-constructed nature of

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[3] Since Hymes (1972) introduced the notion of "communicative competence," which consists of the rules that a speaker needs to know in order to function appropriately as a member of a social group, SLA researchers (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Bachman, 1990) have revisited the notion and proposed various models of communicative competence for L2 learners. These models propose components such as grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence to be possessed by NNSs, not NSs. Furthermore, since these are conceptual models, they do not investigate what people actually do in interaction.

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communication (cf. Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). By bringing NS behavior to the foreground, the current study contributes to our understanding of the mutual shaping of actions during interactions in which both NSs and NNSs play crucial parts.

Furthermore, I argue that being able to facilitate participation by NNSs is part of NSs' interactional competence. Previous studies on intercultural communication competence (e.g., Ruben, 1976; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Wiseman, Hammer, & Nishida, 1989) have focused on the conceptualization of the competence, which typically subsumes dimensions that are applicable to both NSs and NNSs such as personal attributes, communication skills including "interactional management," psychological adaptation, and cultural awareness.[4] Various testing assessment indices and scales are developed and tested by having questionnaires completed. The present study goes beyond abstract constructs by focusing on NSs' competence as embodied in unfolding interaction. It seeks to provide a concrete picture of what actually constitutes intercultural competence on the part of NSs, whose conduct has not received the attention it deserves. It is particularly important to look at actual practices in the investigation of interactional competence because what constitutes competence is based on participants' evaluations of others' competence that take place as the participants assume a particular, situated view of the interaction (Duchan, Maxwell, & Kovarsky, 1999). If we turn our attention to the situation in Japan, we find another reason for the importance of this study in this respect. For the majority of Japanese people, speaking with NNSs, even when in Japan, has long meant speaking in English. As the opportunities for interacting with people from different

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[4] See Chen and Starosta (1996) for a review of intercultural competence.

parts of the world and the number of NNSs of Japanese who do not necessarily speak English increase, it is now critical for NSs of Japanese to be able to effectively communicate with NSs *in Japanese*. To understand the actual processes of such interactions and NS competence is the first step toward the development of enhanced communication skills.

With regard to the focus on NSs' interactional competence mentioned above, it is also to be noted that this study focuses on interactional competence, as opposed to incompetence, and facilitative aspects of practices employed by NSs. The vast majority of second language acquisition (SLA) and intercultural communication research on communication between language users with differential linguistic competencies and cultural knowledge has dealt with problems and failures that are believed to arise from one party's linguistic deficiencies. This is understandable to some degree because it is perhaps moments of difficulty that are most often remembered: as Firth and Wagner (1997) suggest, successful communication seems "less psychologically salient" (p. 289). While this may explain the relative disregard for cooperative and successful intercultural communication, exploring NSs' practices to scaffold (Cazden, 1992; Peregoy, 1991, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978) NNSs will enable us to gain a better understanding of NS/NNS interaction. It is to be noted, however, that the practices that NSs employ are not inherently cooperative and "pro-social." In fact, co-construction of utterances, one of the practices that I examine, can also be pre-emptive completion that serves to silence the other. Yet, how they are used in the current data points to other directions, yielding a rich source for investigating supportive aspects of the communicative practices.

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Another important contribution of this study is its attention to visual aspects of interaction. It is now widely recognized that language is one of multiple modalities through which actions are accomplished and that we need to examine nonvocal phenomena as well in order to fully understand the ecology of human interaction. As shown by past research (see Chapter 2.2. for a review of the literature), participants' visible displays such as hand gestures, head nods or head shakes, gaze direction, and body orientation play crucial roles in ways in which participation in interaction is organized. The current study explores not only language but also embodied action to investigate how people participate in ongoing interaction and achieve understanding and build competence. The videotaped interactions gathered for this research present rich data for this endeavor because they have more than two participants in them. Unlike previous research on NS/NNS interaction, which has predominantly dealt with dyadic encounters, the current data present more diverse possibilities for participation frameworks (cf. Goffman, 1981; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004) and configurations, and complex social organization brought by the increased number of participants. The multi-party interactions provide materials that serve to enhance our understanding of the complex social organization that one finds in real life encounters. In fact, some of the phenomena examined in this project only happen in multi-party interactions where a third party (i.e., non-speaking and non-addressed participant) can play a crucial role in the way the interaction unfolds. When tackling such data, it is even more important to investigate participants' bodily conduct in the physical environment in which the interaction takes place because visual displays by and towards the third party, which indicate the

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participants' orientations to the activity at hand, can influence the development of the interaction.[5] Microanalytic studies that look at both talk and nonvocal phenomena in an integrated manner are still scarce for NS/NNS interaction. Such research is especially in its infancy for NS/NNS interaction in Japanese. The present study seeks to fill that gap.

Finally, with increased international mobility and resultant opportunities for interacting with people who have varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds, I cannot overemphasize the importance of the study of intercultural communication today.[6] As Young (1996) states, it was once important for empire, or trade, but now it is a "matter of the survival of our species" (p. 1). The latest statistics show that more than 2,010,000 foreign nationals (1.57% of Japan's population) were registered as residents in Japan as of the end of the year 2005 (The Immigration Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, 2004).[7] While the percentage is by no means high in comparison with the figure for some other parts of the world, it is the highest in the history of Japan. If we look at the number of international students studying in institutions of higher education in Japan (i.e., the group of people that contains the non-Japanese participants in my study), it was approximately 110,000 in the same year (NPO ICPA, 2003). This figure is significant in that the goal of hosting 100,000 international students, which was set in 1983 by the then Prime Minister Nakasone, was finally achieved twenty years later. The overall number of learners of

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[5] Goodwin (1981) demonstrates how the use of gaze by a "knowing" recipient and an "unknowing" recipient is related a shift in the participation framework.

[6] I use the term 'intercultural communication' to refer to 'communication between people from different cultures.' It is individuals, not cultures, that actually interact with one another. Scollon and Scollon (2001) remind us that ""Chinese culture" cannot talk to "Japanese culture" except through the discourse of individual Chinese and individual Japanese people" (p. 138).

[7] Under the Alien Registration Law, foreign nationals scheduled to reside in Japan for 90 days or longer are required to register themselves at local government offices.

Japanese as a foreign language outside Japan has also been on the steady increase, reaching approximately 2,360,000 in 2003 (The Japan Foundation, 2005)[8]. Increased opportunity for intercultural encounters both in and out of Japan where the language of communication is Japanese makes the current project a timely and important one.

1.2. MICROETHNOGRAPHY AND CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

The present study situates itself in the tradition of microethnography, "the microscopic analysis of naturally occurring human activities and interactions" (Streeck & Mehus, 2005, p. 381). It also adopts the methodological framework of conversation analysis (CA) to conduct fine-grained, moment-by-moment analyses of interaction. In this section, I offer brief descriptions of these two approaches to human interaction that I draw on.

1.2.1. Microethnography

Microethnography was introduced by educational researchers investigating the social organization of classroom discourse and events (e.g., Erickson, 1975, 2004; Erickson & Shultz, 1982; McDermott, Gospodinoff, & Aaron, 1978; Mehan, 1978, 1979; Streeck, 1983). The research approach is known under several slightly different labels including "ethnographic microanalysis" (Erickson, 1996) and "constitutive ethnography" (Mehan, 1979). Erickson states that ethnographic microanalysis is "both a method and a point of view" (p. 282). Using videotapes of naturally occurring interaction, the microethnographers look very closely and repeatedly at what people do as they interact

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[8] This number does not include learners who are studying on their own.

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with one another. According to Erickson, the perspective emphasizes the situated character of communication in social interaction and the immediate ecology of relations between participants in particular situations.

Under the influence of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), these researchers studied the structural features of interactional processes to ultimately address such applied issues as social stratification, the labeling of students, and inequality in school. Another aspect of microethnography that can be attributed to the influence of ethnomethodology is that it is "concerned to show that, in communication, people are not just following cultural rules for style but are actively constructing what they do" (Erickson, 1996, p. 287).

1.2.2. Conversation Analysis[9]

Microethnography was also influenced by conversation analysis (CA), which emerged from ethnomethodology with a distinctive empirical focus of its own, namely, an emphasis on the examination of the sequential organization of talk and action. It was developed through an intensive collaboration of Harvey Sacks and his colleagues in the 1960's. Sacks (1984) argues that "the detailed ways in which actual, naturally occurring social activities occur are subjectable to formal description" (p. 21) and that actual, singular sequences of social activities are methical occurrences. Conversation analysts are aligned with Garfinkel (1967), the founder of ethno-methodology, in their

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[9] For extensive reviews of CA, see, for example, Drew and Heritage (1992), Goodwin and Heritage (1990), ten Have (1999), Hopper, Koch, and Mandelbaum (1986), Heritage (1984), Levinson (1983), Pomerantz and Fehr (1997), Psathas (1994), Schegloff (1996), and Zimmerman (1988). Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, and Olsher (2002) provide a review of CA in terms of past or potential points of its contact with applied linguistics.

conceptualization of language as a domain of competence that is intrinsically social and interactive. CA seeks to describe and explicate the "competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 1).

According to Heritage (1984), the basic outlook of CA can be summarized in terms of three fundamental assumptions:

> (1) interaction is structurally organized; (2) contributions to interaction are contextually oriented; and (3) these two properties inhere in the details of interaction so that no order of detail can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant. (p. 241)

The first assumption refers to the notion that interaction can be analyzed so as to exhibit organized patterns of identifiable structural features. To elaborate on the second assumption, "any speaker's action is doubly contextual in being both *context-shaped* and *context-renewing*" (Heritage, p. 242), meaning that a participant's action cannot be adequately understood except by reference to what has preceded in the on-going sequence, and the action will itself form the immediate context for some next action. The present study draws on the methodological framework of CA grounded on these assumptions.

1.3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This project is ultimately concerned with ways in which people with differential interactional expertise organize participation in interaction. The "differential expertise" in

this case is one held by interactional participants with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds: native and nonnative speakers. While a body of research on various interactional practices used in NS/NNS encounters is growing, there is still much to be explored. In this project, I identify and describe interactional practices that NSs of Japanese employ to facilitate participation by NNSs. I consider the successful uses of these practices part of NSs' interactional competence. Through fine-grained, sequential analyses of multiparty interactions, I attempt to shed light on ways in which the competence, which is currently not well documented or understood, is embodied.

In keeping with the view of participation as "temporally unfolding, interactively sustained embodied course of activity" (Goodwin, 1996, p. 375), I also examine interactional environments in which the practices in question emerge as well as ways in which the participants monitor each other's talk and bodily conduct and utilize them as the activity in progress unfolds. Facilitating others' participation involves continually tracking what is going on and making competence judgments about co-participants (cf. Duchan, et al. 1999). I examine interactionally relevant resources (e.g., syntactic structures, lexical items, visual displays) that the interactants utilize in these processes.

1.4. ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. In Chapter 2, I survey research that has informed my investigation in the current project. Chapter 3 provides a description of the research site and participants, and the methods I employ. Chapters 4 and 5 provide empirical analyses of the interactional practices. In Chapter 4, I first

provide a detailed structural description of the practice of co-participant completion by

NSs, which is recurrently found in the present data, and ways in which it is employed. I

then discuss specific actions accomplished by employing this practice. Chapter 5 presents

two sets of phenomena that are more reminiscent of communicative practices employed

by language teachers than co-participant completion. They are NSs' voluntary translation

of another participant's utterances and NSs' "impromptu vocabulary lessons" offered

through talk and gestures designed for NNSs. In Chapter 6, I present a summary of my

findings, acknowledge limitations of the project, and offer implications for future

research.

Chapter 2. Participation and Support in Interaction Between Native and Nonnative

Speakers: A Review of the Literature

In this chapter, I survey research that has informed my investigation in the current project. This dissertation examines communicative practices employed by interactional participants with differential access to resources such as linguistic and cultural knowledge. In this analytic endeavor, the notion of participation has particular importance. While there has been a heated debate in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) research between an individual/cognitive perspective on language acquisition and a more socially situated view of language acquisition, the latter is increasingly finding favor (Larsen-Freeman, 2002). It is now widely recognized that language acquisition is achieved through social activities (Ochs, 1988). An increased level of participation in interaction is crucial to second language acquisition and learning. It is also important that NSs build interactional competence to facilitate NNSs' participation. Therefore, we need to study NS/NNS encounters through the lens of participation and its multiple forms. Insights obtained from past research on participation are particularly valuable for the current project.

I situate my study in a body of research based on a perspective that views participation as a "temporally unfolding, interactively sustained embodied course of activity" (Goodwin, 1996, p. 375). This perspective is in line with a recent, widely accepted view of human interaction as intrinsically multimodal. The multimodality of interaction is particularly relevant to the kind of communicative practices that I focus on in this project, namely, native speakers' actions that are designed to facilitate their

nonnative speaking co-participants' understanding, and hence participation (e.g., Ellis, 1985; Ervin-Tripp, 1986). The greater importance of the visual cues in NS/NNS interaction (Hosoda, 2000)[1] further necessitates the examination of embodied action. Another requirement in an endeavor to understand ways in which participants employ particular communicative practices in situ is to look at sequentially organized actions. Sequential analyses are important because a participant's action cannot be adequately understood except by reference to what has come before in the on-going sequence, and the action will itself form the immediate context for some next action (Heritage, 1984, p. 242). Conversation analysis (CA) provides us with tools for such inquiries.

In what follows, I review previous research that has direct relevance to the current project under four categories: (1) representative approaches to the study of participation in interaction, (2) embodied action related to the organization of participation, (3) native speakers' talk addressed to nonnative speakers ("Foreigner Talk"), and (4) conversation analytic research of NS/NNS interaction.

2.1. APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PARTICIPATION

Participants in interaction display to one another what they are doing, their understanding of what their co-participants are doing, and how they expect others to engage in the activity of the moment through various resources such as language and embodied action. The notion of participation has been widely studied under similar but

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[1] In her study of self-initiated other repair in NS/NNS conversations in Japanese, Hosoda (2000) found that all instances of other repair occurred after a speaker displayed a nonverbal signal (which may co-occur with a verbal signal) that seemed to self-initiate the repair.

different names such as "participant structures" (Philips, 1972), "participation framework" (Goffman, 1981), and "participant framework" (M. H. Goodwin, 1990). In this section of the literature review, I selectively review research on face-to-face interaction in which the notion of participation plays a central role, with an emphasis on the contrastive views on participation held by the authors mentioned above. I will not discuss studies whose core ideas, settings, and kinds of participants being studied are not relevant to those of my project.[2] I start with Philips's structural approach, followed by Goffman's model, which encompasses different kinds of participants, and a perspective represented by Goodwin and Goodwin that treats participation as action. In addition, two core ideas of CA, namely, the turn taking system for conversation and recipient design (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), are briefly discussed under the last perspective mentioned above since these are directly related to ways in which participation is organized.

It is to be noted that the use of the term "participation" here does not refer to membership in larger social groups. Another point to note is that I treat participation both as a dimension of human interaction and as a perspective of analysis, as in Duranti's (1997) treatment of the notion of participation.

2.1.1. Philips's "Participant Structures"

Philips's (1972) early study of "participant structures" in American Indian classrooms examined how some of the norms governing verbal interactions in the classroom differ from those that govern verbal participation and other types of

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[2] These works include Hanks (1996) and Irvine (1996).

communicative performances in the students' Indian community. Within the basic framework of teacher-controlled interaction, Philips introduced the term "participant structures" to refer to "possible variations in structural arrangements of interaction," or "ways of arranging verbal interaction with students" (p. 377). Four types of participant structure Philips identified are the structures in which (1) the teacher interacts with all of the students, (2) the teacher interacts with only some of the students in the class at once, (3) all students work independently at their desks, but the teacher is explicitly available for student-initiated verbal interaction, and (4) the students are divided into small groups that they run themselves. Through comparative observations of all-Indian and non-Indian classrooms, it was found that Indian students failed to participate verbally under certain participation structures used by non-Indian teachers. Philips concluded that Indian children's "poor" school performance could be attributed to discontinuities between social conditions for participation (i.e., ways in which children are socialized to participate in interactions with adults and other children) at home and those at school. Indeed, participant structures emerged as a central analytic concept in her investigation of cultural contexts for students' learning experiences and were found to have important consequences.[3] The next section discusses a model of participation that goes beyond educational settings; the model developed by Goffman (1981), whose earlier concepts such as "social encounter" influenced Philips.

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[3] Participation has also been studied as a major analytic focus by other scholars who examine interaction in school and other educational settings (e.g., Erickson, 1979; Erickson & Shultz, 1982; Keating & Mirus, 2000; McDermott & Gospodinoff, 1979; Mehan, 1979, 1996).

2.1.2. Goffman's "Participation Framework"

Of all the works that take participation as the starting point for the study of face-to-face interaction, perhaps the most influential is the concept of "participation framework" proposed by Goffman (1981) in his essay on "footing." Footing refers to the alignment that an individual takes in the way s/he manages the production or reception of an utterance. Goffman finds the traditional model of talk as a dyadic speaker-hearer exchange inadequate and unable to provide a structural basis for analyzing changes in footing. His alternative framework identifies different forms of subcommunication, namely, byplay (communication between a subset of ratified participants), crossplay (communication between ratified participants and bystanders), and sideplay (hushed words exchanged between bystanders). It attempts to decompose "global folk categories" such as speaker and hearer into "smaller, analytically coherent elements" (p. 129). According to Goffman, the notion of "speaker" can be decomposed into multiple roles that the pronoun "I" could refer to. These roles include animator ("sounding box," or the person who actually produces the utterances), author (the person who is responsible for the selection of the words and sentences), and principal (someone whose position makes him or her socially responsible for what is said). Together, these distinct roles constitute the "production format" of an utterance (p. 145). The remaining element of the conversational paradigm, the notion of "hearer," is also deconstructed. Goffman distinguishes between "ratified participants" and "unratified participants," and further discusses different types of ratified and unratified recipients (e.g., bystanders, eavesdroppers, addressed and unaddressed recipients).

In order to better capture the complex nature of face-to-face interaction, Goffman (1981) introduces the concept "participation status" which refers to the relation of any one individual in a gathering to the current speaker's utterance. "Participation framework" refers to the "total configuration of such statuses" (Duranti, 1997, p. 297) at a particular moment. In other words, Goffman's concept of participation framework "embraces the relationship, positioning, or total configuration of all participants relative to a present speaker's talk" (M. H. Goodwin, 2000, p. 178).

Goffman's concern with the differentiation of participation statuses can be traced back to his earlier emphasis on the situation as an object of analysis in its own right. In his essay "The neglected situation," Goffman (1964) states that one of the features of social encounters is that "it is possible for two or more persons in a social situation to jointly ratify one another as authorized co-sustainers of a single, albeit moving, focus of visual and cognitive attention" (p. 135). This kind of ongoing joint orientation creates a range of possibilities for participation statuses. In sum, Goffman's (1981) model of participation provides an array of different types of participants.[4]

Although Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) recognize the power of analytical tools provided by Goffman's (1981) model, they find that there are serious limitations to this approach to the study of participation. Goodwin and Goodwin contend that the way in which a "speaker" is analyzed using the concept of "production format" is not coherent with another model that Goffman uses to describe all other kinds of participants. According to Goodwin and Goodwin, this has the following consequences: (1)

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[4] The categories offered by Goffman were further expanded by Levinson (1988).

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"Speakers" and "hearers" are treated as inhabiting separate worlds; (2) a set of static categories is used to investigate participation, leaving no room for the investigation of the ways in which participation is interactively organized; (3) the analytic frameworks used to describe "speakers" and other actors are asymmetric, privileging only "speakers" to receive rich descriptions; and (4) speech is privileged over other forms of embodied practice that might also be constitutive of participation in talk.

2.1.3 Goodwin & Goodwin and Others: Participation as Action

There is a range of research that presents a notion of participation which differs from the ones presented in the structural model introduced by Philips (1972) and the taxonomical model proposed by Goffman (1981). Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) contrast two perspectives of participation, one of which is well represented by Goffman's approach. Various works by Goodwin and Goodwin are exemplary of the other perspective. Goodwin and Goodwin summarize their notion of participation as:

> one focused not on the categorical elaboration of different possible kinds of
> participants, but instead on the description and analysis of the practices through
> which different kinds of parties build action together by *participating* in
> structured ways in the events that constitutes a state of talk. (p. 225)

The alternative Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) advocate attempts to overcome the weaknesses of Goffman's (1981) model, viewing participation as engagement in temporally unfolding action; therefore it is referred to as "participation as action." In fact, Goodwin and Goodwin define the term *participation* as "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk" (p. 222).

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In her study of African American girls' and boys' play talk, M. H. Goodwin (1990) introduces the notion called "participant frameworks."[5] Although influenced by Goffman's (1981) "participation framework," Goodwin's perspective departs from Goffman's by placing an emphasis on the integration of participants, actions, and events that constitute key resources for accomplishing social organization within face-to-face interaction. The term "participant frameworks" refers to an "entire field of action including both interrelated occasion-specific identities and forms of talk" (Goodwin, p. 286) and encompasses two slightly different types of processes. First, "activities align participants toward each other in specific ways" (p. 10) (e.g., a certain activity differentiates participants into speaker and hearer[s]). Second, in addition to being positioned vis-à-vis each other by the activity, relevant parties are frequently depicted in some fashion as characters within talk. By utilizing the notion of a participant framework that encompasses both a speaker and a hearer as actors actively involved in the process of building context, Goodwin demonstrates that children can strategically invoke a different speech activity in the midst of another activity to rearrange a social organization. For example, a speaker can switch from a dispute to a story, which leads to the reshaping of a dyadic form of interaction into a multi-party one.

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[5] Although M. H. Goodwin introduces the term "participant framework" in her book *He-Said-She-Said,* she occasionally uses "participation frameworks," the term introduced by Goffman, in the same book. In this dissertation, I use the term "participant framework" to refer to her notion for the sake of consistency and to make clear the analytical difference between the two approaches. It seems that M. H. Goodwin has now abandoned the term.

The line of research that focuses on participation as action and looks closely at the detailed organization of actual interaction includes studies that do not explicitly attempt to introduce terms such as "participation framework" or "participant framework." One such study is C. Goodwin's (1981) research on conversational organization. It reveals that turns at talk are indeed constituted through the mutual interaction of speaker and hearer who are reflexively orienting toward each other in the ongoing processes of participation. More specifically, he demonstrates that participants orient to each other's particular states of gaze, which serve to shape the structure of an emerging sentence (e.g., the speaker's self-interruption and a restart).

Story-telling in conversation has also been investigated in terms of the organization of participation (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1984, 1986; M. H. Goodwin, 1990; Hayashi, Mori, & Takagi, 2002). Through the demonstration of how various nonvocal activities of both the teller and the recipients of a story are finely coordinated with particular stages in the course of the storytelling (C. Goodwin, 1984; Hayashi et al.) and how audience members with different types of access to the story-related knowledge can shape the ways in which a story is to be interpreted (C. Goodwin, 1986), this line of research reminds us that "participation is intrinsically a situated, multi-party accomplishment" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

Similarly, the activity of searching for a word, which may be thought of as an individual cognitive process, has been shown to be a "visible activity that others can not only recognize but can indeed participate in" (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986, p.

52). Nonvocal cues play a crucial role in this collaborative process between the original speaker and the co-participant.

In examining teacher-student interaction and orator-audience interaction, Lerner (1993) takes the distinction between different units of participation (i.e., individual persons and collectivities) as the starting point and describes "practices of speaking to a collectivity and practices of speaking (and acting) for and as a collectivity" (p. 214). While the units of participation and forms of interaction Lerner investigates make his study look similar to Philips's (1972) study of "participant structures," Lerner's approach differs from Philips's in that it seeks to demonstrate, through the examination of *unfolding* interaction, how the achievement of a particular form of participation (i.e., conjoined participation in this case) is interactional. Lerner (2002) further shows that the units of participation in conversation can be broadened from individual participants to broader social entities by choral co-production (i.e., simultaneous co-production of speech) and gestural co-production.

The works I have presented in this sub-section (2.1.3.) exemplify the approach to the study of participation that views participation as a temporally unfolding process through which participants display to each other their ongoing understanding of the activities they are engaged in and their orientation to possible courses of action that the interaction can take. This line of research shares the assumption made by conversation analysts that the way in which talk is structured is itself a form of social organization. Claims made from this perspective are based on sequential microanalysis of talk, and in many cases, embodied action as well.

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We now turn our attention to two important contributions of CA that are particularly relevant to participation in interaction, namely, the development of a model for the turn-taking organization for conversation and the notion of recipient design.

2.1.4. Turn Taking Practices and Participation

The mechanism that governs turn taking for conversation is relevant here because, as Lerner (1993) states, providing opportunities for different forms of participation involves the use of turn taking practices through which next speakers are selected. It may seem obvious that participants take turns in conversation according to some sort of rules, but how they actually achieve speaker change in an orderly manner so that there are minimum overlaps and gaps between different participants' turns is far from obvious. Noting that little effort had been directed at obtaining an account of the "systematics" of the organization of turn-taking for conversation, Sacks et al. (1974) set themselves the task of describing the system, treating turn-taking as a prominent type of social organization and as a central phenomenon in its own right.

According to Sacks et al. (1974), the turn taking system for conversation can be described in terms of two components and a set of rules. The two components are the turn-constructional component and the turn-allocation component. The first component refers to "turn constructional units" (TCUs), which include constructions at "sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical" levels (p. 702). The first possible completion point of a first unit constitutes an initial transition- relevance place (TRP), where speaker change may occur. This means that the transition of speakers is coordinated by reference to such TRPs. In other words, this component concerns the projectability, or predictability, of where a

unit ends, at which point transfer of speakership may take place. The turn-allocation component, on the other hand, consists of two types of turn-allocation techniques: (1) the current speaker selects the next speaker, and (2) next speaker selects herself/himself.

This system of turn-taking for conversation is characterized by the following features: that it is a "local management system" (i.e., the system operates on a turn-by-turn basis), and that it is an "interactionally managed system" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 725). A further characterization of turn-taking as being locally managed is that the system is "party administered" (p. 726), meaning that the system is managed by participants in interaction themselves. In other words, the turn-taking system operates in such a way as to allow for variations in parameters such as turn-size and turn-order, while still achieving its overall mechanism. The variability of turn construction and organization in actual conversation has a great deal to do with the notion of "recipient design," which will be briefly discussed next.

2.1.5. Recipient Design and Participation

Sacks et al. (1974) introduce the notion of "recipient design" as follows:

For conversationalists, the facts that turn-size and turn-order are locally managed, party-administered, and interactionally controlled, means that these facets of conversation, and those that derive from them, can be brought under the jurisdiction of perhaps the most general principle which particularizes conversational interaction, that of RECIPIENT DESIGN. (p. 727).

"Recipient design" refers to "a multitude of respects in which talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display orientation and sensitivity

to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (p. 727). Recipient design can operate at various levels such as word selection, topic selection, the ordering of sequences, and the options and obligations for starting and terminating conversation. As Duranti (1997) states, this means that speakers design their talk according to their ongoing evaluation of their recipient as a member of a particular group and the evaluation of the state and kinds of knowledge possessed by the recipient. The notion of recipient design helps us learn about participants' own analysis of the situation, which affects ways in which the participants orient to each other.

2.1.6. Implications

The literature review in this section has examined major approaches to the study of participation. Philips (1972) found cultural styles of participation by observing students' classroom performances in terms of "participant structures." While the notion of participant structures provides a tool to account for minority students' school failure, this approach is limited in scope in that the structures Philips identified are only applicable to interactions within the basic framework of teacher-controlled interaction. Moreover, Philips's view of participation is highly structural and is not necessarily suited to the investigation of the ongoing processes of participation in which participants mutually orient toward each other.

Goffman (1981) attempted to decompose the traditional dyadic model of talk made up of speaker and hearer and proposed the notion of "participation framework," which consists of the combined participation statuses of all participants at a particular moment. Although Goffman's model allows us to see the complex nature of seemingly

straightforward participant roles, it only provides static categories of participants without offering resources for investigating the interactive processes of participation and for privileging speakers over hearers (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

I share Goodwin and Goodwin's (2004) criticisms of Goffman's (1981) approach. Despite the fact that Goffman (e.g., 1964, 1967) was one of the first scholars who stressed the importance of studying aspects of face-to-face encounters other than talk (e.g., glances, gestures, and positionings), visual aspects of interaction are not given adequate attention in his model of participation. For example, each participant's participation status is only defined in terms of the current speaker's *utterance* as the point of reference, which indicates that there is obviously a bias for *speech* in Goffman's model. This poses a serious problem in the study of participation, given the important role that embodied action plays in participation organization in face-to-face interaction (see the next section, "2.2. Embodied Action and Participation"). Therefore, I prefer the alternate view of participation as a "temporally unfolding, interactively sustained embodied course of activity" (C. Goodwin, 1996, p. 375).

Furthermore, Goodwin and Goodwin's (2004) view provides us with tools to study how participants in any form of interaction use language and embodied action from an integrated perspective. In order to obtain a better understanding of actual communicative practices used by interactional participants who have differential competencies but often manage to achieve their goals, it is crucial to focus on situated activities in which they are engaged. This perspective allows us to do that. Another feature of this framework that is important to my study is the idea of reflexivity, which is

twofold. First, it means that participants mutually construct the interactional processes in which they are involved (i.e., as opposed to the view that a speaker unilaterally operates on the recipient). Second, there is reflexivity between participants' actions and the interactional context.[6] The participants' actions are shaped by the context and they immediately become part of the next context in a sequence.

Finally, the turn-taking system for conversation and the notion of recipient design, two important contributions of CA, serve particularly well in an endeavor to elucidate communicative processes in NS/NNS interaction in which participants have differential access to linguistic and cultural resources. In such interaction, recipient design may require different work than in NS/NS interaction. How participants cope with this situation and accomplish their communicative goals can only be revealed through close analysis of actual interaction.

2.2. EMBODIED ACTION AND PARTICIPATION

It is now widely accepted that one needs to go beyond the examination of verbal behavior in order to fully understand the dynamic process of human communication. The importance of abandoning the tradition of studying either "verbal" or "nonverbal" communication has been stressed by some scholars. They argue that it is misleading to speak of the two aspects of communication separately because such classification limits our understanding of communication as a multi-modal process (e.g., Kendon, 1972; Streeck & Knapp, 1992). Through her micro-analyses of the orderliness exhibited by

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[6] See Heritage (1984) for the related notion of utterances and the social actions they embody as doubly contextual (i.e., context shaped and context renewing).

embodied actions, Jarmon (1996) demonstrates that embodied actions are recurrently used by co-present interactants as an integral part of the turn-taking system.

Since various interactional resources (e.g., speech, gesture, eye gaze, posture, material objects) can serve as important contextual elements for participation organization (see, for example, Goffman, 1981[7]), it is particularly important for the present study to look at participants' uses of resources other than talk. The nature of my data (i.e., NS/NNS interaction) also necessitates the investigation of multiple interactional resources. It has been reported that interactions involving second language (L2) speakers are rich in gestural support provided by the more competent (e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1986).[8] For these reasons, it is imperative for the current project to look at multimodal aspects of interaction.

While there is a vast amount of literature on "nonverbal communication" as studied from various perspectives, I selectively review those studies of embodied action that relate to ways in which participation is organized in interaction. This is because my primary interest is in participants' social actions and their relations to specific, co-present others and the ways in which the participants' orientation to one another shape the activity they are engaged in.

In the 1960s and 1970s, while many quantitative studies were conducted on nonverbal communication as either independent or dependent variables, some

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[7] Goffman (1981) states that the distinction between the "addressed" recipient from "unaddressed" ones is "often accomplished exclusively through visual cues, although vocatives are available for managing it through audible ones" (p. 133).

[8] Gullberg (1998) studied uses of strategic gestures by learners of French and Swedish during a task of retelling a story. She found that the learners used more deictic gestures in L2 than in L1.

qualitatively oriented scholars investigated the details of what interactants actually do when they interact with one another. For example, Scheflen (1964, 1973) demonstrated that the sequential organization of various phases of an encounter such as a psychotherapy session could be directly read off the spatial and postural configurations of the participants. Scheflen called the methodology of his approach "Context Analysis" because of "the emphasis it places on the importance of examining the behavior of people in interaction in the contexts in which they occur" (Kendon, 1990, p. 15). Kendon, who collaborated with Scheflen, employed the methods in a series of pioneering works relevant to the current project (e.g., 1967, 1970, 1977). His microanalysis of face-to-face interaction was an empirical response to Goffman's call for the study of patterns and natural sequences of behavior in such encounters. More recently, research on nonvocal activities that are directly related to the notion of participation has been conducted from other perspectives as well, including that of CA.

In what follows, I review representative studies on a few aspects of bodily behavior related to participation. First, prior research on gaze direction is reviewed. Gaze direction is particularly important for the present study because it is a resource that interactants utilize to organize participation (e.g., selecting a next speaker, negotiating participant alignment). Second, I offer a survey of research on embodied action in Japanese-language interaction. Gaze research that looks at interaction in Japanese is included here. After providing an overview of the field, I focus on three aspects of embodied action that have been found to play significant roles in the present data: head nodding, gaze direction, and gesture.

2.2.1. Gaze Direction

Gaze direction has been shown to be a social phenomenon that serves as a signal by which the participants regulate their basic orientations to one another within ongoing interaction. Kendon (1967) conducted a pioneering study on the relationship between direction of gaze and the occurrence of utterances within the context of ongoing conversation. Based on an extensive analysis of dyadic conversations, Kendon reports that an interactant tends to look away as s/he begins a long utterance, whereas s/he tends to look up at her/his interlocutor as the end of the long utterance approaches and continues to look at the interlocutor thereafter. Kendon also finds that the hearer gazes at the speaker more than the speaker gazes at the hearer. This patterning suggest that gaze direction in conversation has two functions. On the one hand, it can serve as a way in which the actor manages what aspect of the interactional situation s/he receives information from. On the other hand, it serves to provide information to co-participants about how the actor's attention is being distributed. Kendon suggests that how the display of visual attention is coordinated in relation to who is speaking at a particular moment plays an important role in the process by which utterance coordination is achieved.

The function of gaze within conversation is also taken up by C. Goodwin (1980, 1981), who has found the sequencing of gaze at turn-beginning in his data to be consistent with the pattern described by Kendon (1967). Taking the conversation analytic work on the sequential organization of conversation as a point of departure, Goodwin focuses on how turns at talk are constituted through the mutual interaction of speaker and hearer. Based on the examination of conversations videotaped in a range of natural

settings, Goodwin demonstrates that participants both orient to particular states of gaze within the turn at talk and have systematic procedures for achieving these states. One principal rule organizing the gaze of speaker and hearer is that, when a speaker gazes at a recipient, that recipient should be gazing at the speaker. "When speakers gaze at nongazing recipients, and thus locate violations of the rule, they frequently produce phrasal breaks, such as restarts and pauses, in their talk" (Goodwin, 1984, p. 230). In other words, it is shown that speakership is supported by the recipient's gaze, and that some phenomena that are normally considered problematic (e.g., restarts and pauses) are actually functional in obtaining the recipient's attention. Goodwin's CA-based approach, unlike research on "nonverbal communication" that studies eye contact to make inferences about internal states of participants, focuses on "procedures available to participants for systematically bringing about a state of eye contact in the first place, and the relevance that this has to the tasks they are then engaged in, such as building a turn at talk" (C. Goodwin, 1989, p. 89).

Gaze direction has been shown to play a crucial role in various activities within conversations such as word searches (M. H. Goodwin, 1983; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986, Streeck, 1994) and story telling (C. Goodwin, 1984).[9] It is important not only as a visual display of the activity that the speaker is engaged in at the moment, but also as a display of the state of the recipient's participation. For example, initial gaze withdrawal from the recipient and a following gaze shift toward another party mark the onset of two different phases of a word search sequence (M. H. Goodwin; M. H.

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[9] Kidwell (2003) examines how very young children manage their conduct through the monitoring of their caregivers' attentional focus in which eye gaze plays a central part.

Goodwin & C. Goodwin): Gaze aversion marks the onset of a solitary search, and returning gaze to the co-participant marks the onset of (the invitation to) a multi-party search.

Gazing practices have also been studied in interactional settings other than ordinary conversation such as counseling interviews (Erickson, 1979) and medical consultations (Heath, 1984; Robinson, 1998). Through the examination of same-race interaction and interracial interaction during interviews, Erickson discovers that some of the interactional problems experienced during the counseling sessions are related to different expectations held by the two groups of interactants (i.e., white counselors and African American students) as to listening responses (e.g., back channel vocalization, head nods, eye contact).

Based on close examination of interactions in medical consultations, Heath (1984) reports on the way in which noticeable shifts in gaze and sometimes posture can serve to display recipiency, and thereby elicit talk from a co-interactant who has been silent. Heath also demonstrates that postural shifts can elicit the co-interactant's gaze, which is to be taken as a display of recipiency. In line with Goodwin's (1981) findings, gaze is shown to be functional in establishing participants' co-presence and is able to initiate a sequence (e.g., turn).

As we have seen above, orientation toward one's co-participants is often displayed through gaze. Since any interactive work requires participants' attention and orientation to each other, gaze provides a crucial resource for the organization of participation.

2.2.2. Embodied Action in Japanese-Language Interaction: Head Nodding, Gaze Direction, and Gesture[10]

Until the late 1980s, there was hardly any empirical attempt to integrate the study of talk and bodily conduct in Japanese-language communication. A sociolinguistically-motivated project of *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo* [The National Language Research Institute] (1987) was pioneering work in the systematic study of Japanese bodily behavior. It examined multi-party conversation by observing and videotaping the interactions. Since no method had been established prior to the project to describe and analyze the full range of face-to-face interaction, a significant portion of the report was spent on methodological issues including the development of a notation system.[11] Some general tendencies were reported regarding the amount of gesturing and speaking, but no attempt was made to investigate the participants' bodily behavior in terms of the structural organization of unfolding interaction.

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[10] Bodily conduct of the Japanese has received attention from various perspectives. As noted earlier, the literature review in this section focuses on research investigating moment-to-moment, actual interaction. Among approaches that are not surveyed here, the earliest is one that attempts to provide historical and sociocultural accounts for observed bodily behavior (e.g., Hearn, 1904; Condon, 1984; Kitao & Kitao, 1988). Cross-cultural comparisons of "nonverbal behavior" and "body language" constitute another common body of work (e.g., Kitao & Kitao, 1988; Nishihara, 1995; Nomura, 1994). Kanayama's (1983) "nonverbal dictionary" presents how people from twenty countries interpret Japanese emblems, namely, conventionalized gestures that have a direct verbal translation (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). In the psychological tradition, psycholinguists have primarily studied the roles of hand gestures in the production of speech (i.e., narrative) (e.g., Kita, 1993, 1997; Furuyama, 2001), whereas social psychologists (e.g., Fukui, 1984; Inoue, 1982) have typically studied gaze in relation to self –protection and forms of social phobia. In his ethnographic study of the elderly in northern Japan, Traphagan (2000) shows how the decline of bodily control is also loss of control over basic cultural values.

[11] In 1978, *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo* (The National Language Research Institute) proposed a notation system for upper body movement, but the notation resembling the one used in descriptive articulatory phonetics was extremely complex and was later abandoned.

As researchers studying Japanese spoken discourse became aware of the need to go beyond the study of language form, they started to investigate visual aspects of face-to-face communication. Typically, those studies deal with head nods, and to a lesser degree, gaze direction. It is presumed that head nods have gained such attention because they are considered most closely related to *aizuchi*,[12] or "chiming in" vocal listener feedback, of which frequent use is said to be one of the most distinctive features of Japanese conversation (e.g., Mizutani, 1984). Given the fact that *aizuchi* has been widely studied by researchers interested in the interactional aspect of talk in both NS/NS and NS/NNS interaction, it is not surprising that what seems to be its nonvocal equivalent (i.e., head nods) has started to interest researchers. As for gaze, it seems to have received attention because gaze is seen as relevant to turn-taking practices. Because *aizuchi* is regarded as an integral part of Japanese conversation, and gaze is also viewed as serving a regulatory function in conversation, researchers in the field of Japanese as a second/ foreign language (JSL/JFL) have also conducted pedagogically motivated studies of *aizuchi* and gaze direction (e.g., Fukazawa, 1998; Ikeda & Ikeda, 1995; Nakamichi & Doi, 1995; Szatrowsky, 2001). In the remainder of this sub-section, I review research that studies head nodding, gaze direction, and gesture in Japanese-language interaction. These bodily displays play crucial roles in the organization of participation in face-to-face interaction.

Prior research on head nodding has focused primarily on its frequency and functions. Ikeda and Ikeda (1996) found that in NS/NS conversation, head nods

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[12] *Aizuchi* literally means "hammering by two blacksmiths."

predominantly occur during one's *aizuchi*-like utterances (i.e., utterances that serve as responsive tokens, as opposed to "substantial utterances"). Other primary contexts for the listener's head nods are (1) short pauses within the current speaker's utterances and (2) particular grammatical boundaries (e.g., gerundive forms of verbs, the conjunctive particles "*kedo*," sentence final particles "*ne/nee*"). The latter finding is consistent with Maynard's (1986, 1993) observations of three forms of "backchannels" including head nodding. As speakers, Japanese communicators frequently nod at the three grammatical points mentioned above (Ikeda & Ikeda). It was also found that head nods and *aizuchi* used by one participant (either speaker or hearer) frequently elicit the co-participant's head nods and *aizuchi*. This finding was confirmed by Szatrowski (2000), who examined NS/NS interaction at workplace.

A smaller number of studies have been conducted on head nods in NS/NNS conversation in Japanese with mixed findings. Ikeda and Ikeda (1999a, 1999b) report fewer head nods employed by NNS listeners in response to their NS co-participants' substantial utterances than the NSs did in response to the NNSs' substantial utterances. However, Yamada's (1992) study reveals no significant difference in duration, frequency, and type of head nods used by NNSs and NSs. It has been found, however, that NNSs' and NSs' head nods are different in that they occur at different structural locations within turns at talk.

Gaze direction has been studied in relation to talk in Japanese by a few researchers. Specifically, these studies looked at gaze patterns in terms of the type of utterances (i.e., substantial vs. *aizuchi* "backchanneling" utterances). Overall, consistent

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patterns have been observed. Speakers in NS/NS conversation tend to divert their gaze at the beginning of substantial utterances and return their gaze to the co-participants towards the end of these utterances (Ikeda & Ikeda, 1996). This pattern is also found in NS/NNS conversation (Yamada, 1992). These findings are similar to the gaze patterns reported in Kendon's (1967) classic study.[13] Another finding is that a recipient's gaze is predominantly directed at the currently speaking co-participant both at the beginning and at the end of *aizuchi* (i.e., a listener response being produced by the recipient of the current speaker's substantial utterance) in both NS/NS and NS/NNS conversations. These findings indicate that gaze direction is closely related to speaker change. The widely accepted but empirically unsupported belief that Japanese communicators avoid eye contact was not confirmed in NS/NNS conversations (Ikeda & Ikeda, Yamada).

One study investigated the gaze patterns used by Japanese, Chinese, and English interactants during NS/NS conversations in their first languages and during NS/NNS conversations in Japanese (Hashimoto, Odagiri, Korenaga, Okano, Kenjo, Matsuda, & Fukuda, 1993). In the NS/NNS setting, speakers looked at their recipients more than they did in the NS/NS setting, whereas the recipients' direct gaze at the speaker decreased in the NS/NNS setting. Hashimoto et al. suggest that speakers feel the greater need to monitor their recipients' state of understanding in NS/NNS encounters than in NS/NS

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[13] The definitions of "long utterance" and "short utterance" in Kendon's study are based on the length of each utterance, whereas the distinction between "substantial" and "*aizuchi*" utterances in these studies is primarily based on the content and function. Nevertheless, "long utterances" and "substantial utterances," and "short utterances" and *aizuchi* utterances" overlap each other, respectively.

encounters and that this excessive monitoring in NS/NNS encounters prevents the recipients from displaying their understanding through gaze.

More recently, studies have been conducted on multiple aspects of bodily conduct within the same interaction and the interrelations among them. For example, microanalyses of word search activities in Japanese revealed that gaze and hand gestures serve as interactional resources in such activities in both NS/NS interaction (Hayashi, 2000) and NS/NNS interaction (Ikeda, 2003) in that they help solicit co-participation from recipients. Head nods also play an important role in ratifying the candidate words proposed by the co-participant in the process of word searches (Ikeda). Szatrowski (1998) found that mutual gaze and pointing gestures are closely related to the onset of a new topic in NS/NS conversation. Drawing on CA, Hayashi, Mori, and Takagi (2002) examined NS/NS conversations among Japanese friends to elucidate the intricate coordination of talk, gaze, gesture, and body orientation through which the participants organize their contributions while shifting their specific participant roles (i.e., unaddressed recipient, teller, co-teller). Hayashi et al. note that gesture and talk are "coordinated to provide a mutual framework for interpretation: gesture is understood by virtue of its placement in a particular sequence of talk; at the same time, gesture provides a resource for how the subsequent talk unfolds" (p. 112).

A distinctive body of research has been conducted by Japanese ethnomethodologists on embodied actions in NS/NS interaction. The book *Kataru shintai, miru shintai* [Talking bodies/seeing bodies] (Yamazaki & Nishizaka, 1997) is a pioneering work that consists of a collection of studies utilizing videotaped data to

examine the social, spatial, and temporal organizations of locally and interactionally produced actions. The volume presents studies of various types of interaction and settings, many of which take interest in participation frameworks as social organization and ways in which frameworks are made visible by the participants through visual resources such as gaze direction and body orientation.

2.2.3. Implications

In this section, we have reviewed prior research on gaze direction (2.2.1.) as they relate to participation in interaction as well as research on embodied action in Japanese-language interaction (2.2.2.). Gaze often indicates a speaker's state regarding where in the current turn the speaker is as well as a non-speaking participant's readiness to take the next turn or to establish proper hearership and in turn help establish speakership. It has been shown that participants actually attend to their co-participants' gaze direction and utilize it to determine the state of their co-participants' involvement at a particular moment and how to build their action from there. Indeed, in the data for the present study, it has been observed that gaze plays an important role at numerous junctures in the ongoing interaction. For example, it frequently serves to provide an opportunity for a participant to co-construct an utterance started by another participant. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In previous research on embodied action in Japanese-language interaction, head nodding and gaze direction have been the most frequently investigated aspects of bodily behavior. Research on head nods in NS/NS interaction in Japanese indicates that head nodding behavior is closely related to vocal listener feedback, or *aizuchi*, in that they

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frequently co-occur. It has also been found that both head nods and *aizuchi* are reciprocal: participants are expected to return head nods and *aizuchi*. These findings suggest that head nods play an important role in ways in which participation is organized in Japanese-language interaction. Some studies have investigated interactional participants' gaze direction and its relation to two different types of utterances (i.e., substantial utterances and *aizuchi* "backchanneling" utterances). The findings indicate that gaze direction is closely related to speaker change for both NS/NS and NS/NNS conversations.

Recent work has examined the interrelation between head nodding, gaze direction, and *aizuchi*. Although the number of such studies is still limited, the findings suggest that these are indeed interrelated in some ways. Further work is awaited in this area. There is also a body of work conducted in the ethnomethodological tradition. The shared assumption in this line of research is that how people become particular participants in a particular interaction is in itself a social phenomenon. It is important to note that these studies do not necessarily attempt to identify patterns in particular types of interaction. Rather, they seek to elucidate how particular actions are made relevant and available to the participants in the interaction.

2.3. NATIVE SPEAKERS' SPEECH FOR NONNATIVE SPEAKERS: "FOREIGNER TALK"

My purpose in this section is to provide a brief critical overview of a body of work in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research that is relevant to what I investigate in my project (i.e., NSs' communicative practices intended to facilitate their NNS co-participants' participation). I review research on the phenomenon of "foreigner

talk (FT)" (Ferguson, 1971, 1975), and FT in Japanese (JFT) in particular. FT, as conceptualized by Ferguson, refers to a simplified register addressed to NNSs who are believed to be not fully competent in the target language.[14] It is suggested that users of FT believe that FT is easier to understand (Ferguson). Since the perspective I take for my project is different from the one taken by FT researchers, I do not draw on the framework of research reviewed here. Rather, I attempt to show clearly where my project is situated by surveying an influential body of research dealing with NSs' practices that are closely related to the topic of my project.

In the late 1970s, the view became widespread in SLA research that "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1981, 1985) from the second language learner's interlocutor is crucial for second language acquisition to take place. As a result, SLA scholars became interested in FT as a form of comprehensible input and started to investigate its features.[15] The features examined initially were "adjustments" of linguistic rules used in NS/NS talk (e.g., Arthur, Weiner, Culver, Young, & Thomas, 1980). FT was later reconceptualized by other scholars and came to refer to a wider range of adjustments involving both linguistic form and interactional "strategies" and "tactics" (M. Long, 1983). The phenomenon of "interactional input modifications" (M. Long) employed by

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[14] Ferguson originally introduced the term "foreigner talk" to refer to ungrammatical speech by NS when talking to NNS, but later its use was expanded to include other kinds of modified talk that is not ungrammatical. A register addressed to children is distinguished from FT and was initially termed "baby talk," which has been replaced by such terms as "caregiver speech" and "child-directed speech."

[15] For summaries of the features of English FT, see, for example, Hatch (1983), Larsen-Freeman (1985).

NS was one such adjustment, which was also studied as a form of comprehensible input, a vehicle to acquisition. These modifications are beyond the sentence level and include such practices as frequent comprehension checks and repetitions.

NS speech in NS/NNS interactions in Japanese has also been the target of investigation under the term "foreigner talk,"[16] although the number of such studies is relatively small (e.g., D. Long,1992; Otachi, 1998; Shimura, 1989; Skoutarides, 1981, 1988; Yokoyama, 1993). In these studies, instances of JFT were collected in occasioned conversations (Shimura, Skoutarides), experiments in which NSs, who were unaware of the experiment, were asked to give directions to NNSs (Long, Otachi), and role plays in which NSs declined invitations and requests made by NNSs (Yokoyama). Many of the features of JFT identified in these studies are consistent with the features of English FT documented in previous research (for summaries of the findings, see Hatch, 1983; Larsen-Freeman, 1985). The JFT characteristics identified by multiple studies (in comparison with NS/NS talk) are: shorter sentences, fewer ungrammatical or incomplete sentences, slower speech rate, abundance of pauses, repetitions of key words, more comprehension check questions, use of English words, frequent use of paraphrases or synonyms. In her investigation of sociolinguistic adjustments made by NSs, Yokoyama found that, in turning down invitations and requests made by NNSs, NSs simplified their speech by removing "softeners."

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[16] As the limitations of the notion of "foreigner talk" have been widely discussed, the term is no longer in general use. However, it continues to be used by scholars studying Japanese NS/NNS interactions (e.g., Ohira, 2001; Tokunaga, 2003.)

While the studies of FT and JFT shed light on previously uninvestigated dimensions of NS/NNS interactions, there are some shortcomings, which are interrelated. First, in general the research design is so controlled that the findings from those studies may not represent actual NS/NNS interactions that take place in natural settings. Second, while a variety of features of NS talk in NS/NNS interaction have been identified, interactional contexts in which FT phenomena occur have not been sufficiently taken into account. This may be related to SLA researchers' narrow conceptualization of FT phenomena as input to NNS's language acquisition process, as noted by Traphagan (1999). Although a possibility of second language acquisition being facilitated by FT should not be denied, the rigid "input" perspective presents NSs' practices as one-way contributions and fails to provide tools for us to fully explore the dynamics of actual interactions constructed by both parties. The third problem is also a conceptual one and is closely related to the second problem. FT researchers' use of terms such as "adjustment" (e.g., Arthur et al., 1980; M. Long, 1983; Ellis, 1994) and "modification" or "modified" (e.g., Ferguson, 1982; M. Long, 1983; Gass & Varonis, 1985), which are also adapted by JFT researchers, implies an underlying assumption that there is one normative way of speaking used by NS when speaking to another NS, which is to be modified when speaking to NNS. This presupposition limits our ability to study the actual variety of communicative practices and their situated contexts.

Finally, despite a potentially greater opportunity for embodied action in general and gestural use in particular in NS/NNS encounters (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1986), FT and JFT research has not given sufficient attention to nonverbal or nonvocal aspects of such

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interaction. Although Henzl (1979) and Hatch (1983) mention the frequent use of gestures as a feature of FT, studies of FT rarely take bodily conduct into account. This leaves us with an impoverished picture of actual communicative processes. An exception is Adams's (1998) study of gesture associated with FT.[17] He investigated use of gesture during a story-telling task by native speakers of English when addressing a NNS and when addressing another NS. Partial support was obtained for the hypothesis that NS would use more gestures when interacting with NNSs than with NSs (i.e., results showed support for deictics and iconics, but not for pantomimics.

Departing from the FT perspective, the present study views communicative practices employed in NS/NNS interaction as intrinsically mutual processes and embodied social practices. To overcome the weaknesses of the FT and JFT research, I conduct sequential microanalyses of actual NS/NNS interactions in natural settings, looking at both talk and embodied actions. In order to develop an empirical basis for a better understanding of actual communicative processes, it is necessary to take this approach. Conversation analysis (CA) provides tools for this endeavor.

2.4. CONVERSATION ANALYTIC RESEARCH ON NS/NNS INTERACTION

Understanding how participants in interaction accomplish specific actions in actual encounters requires close examination of communicative practices as they happen

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[17] Although Adams focused on the previously uninvestigated dimension of native speakers' contributions to interactional processes (i.e., gestures), his study is in line with previous FT research and SLA research broadly in that Adams is ultimately interested in hand gestures as a source of potential input to learners that can promote comprehension and facilitate second language acquisition.

in sequence. Utterances and embodied actions by which participants achieve or fail to achieve mutual understanding must be understood in relation to prior turns and sequences as well as subsequent turns and sequences in the unfolding interaction. CA provides analysts with tools to uncover the sequential organization of interaction; therefore I employ analytic strategies of CA to tackle my data.

CA stands in marked contrast in research orientation and methodology to mainstream Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, where nonnative speaker's talk has been traditionally studied. SLA research prefers "a theory-driven, experimental, and quantitative approach to knowledge construction" (Markee, 2000, p. 3) and relies on psycholinguistic models of learning processes. SLA researchers' lack of interest in details of how second language users actually deploy talk to learn on a moment-by-moment basis has prompted qualitatively and interactionally oriented researchers to attempt to "demonstrate the potential of using the microanalytical power of CA as a methodological resource for SLA studies" (Markee, p. 4). Since the early work by Jordan and Fuller (1975), Gaskill (1980), and Schwartz (1980), we have seen a growing body of conversation analytic research on second language encounters. *Second Language Conversations* (Gardner & Wagner, 2004) is an edited volume of such studies and is an important addition to the line of research. Gardner and Wagner note that traditional SLA research has focused on the examination of form in learner language rather than on the interactional behaviors of second language learners, and consequently tended to see learner performance from the perspective of deficiency. Gardner and Wagner argue that

such research orientation fails to recognize interactional competence exhibited by learners in actual interaction.

There has been a debate on the suitability of CA for the study of second language interaction (e.g., Wagner, 1996, 1998; Seedhouse, 1998). A representative view against the suitability is that CA is not geared towards the analysis of NNS talk due to its monolingual tradition of taking for granted linguistic competence on the part of conversationalists (Wagner, 1996). However, as the number of conversation analytic studies of naturally-occurring NNS talk has expanded, it is now widely accepted that the kind of data does not call into question the fundamental methodological principles of CA and that CA is capable of handling interaction involving NNS. Some scholars (e.g., Hosoda, 2003; Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 1998; Wong, 2000, 2004) explicitly state that their studies aim to demonstrate the (potential) value of using CA as an analytic tool for the advancement of concerns in applied linguistics. Schegloff (in Wong & Olsher, 2000) also contends that possible features of interaction involving NNSs do not require any change in the analytic strategy of CA because a modification for NNSs made by the co-participants, for example, can be dealt with by the CA notion of recipient design in the same way a modification for other NSs can. Most of the studies can be divided into the following three broad categories, although the categories are not mutually exclusive: (1) studies that investigate ways in which the identity categories 'native' and 'nonnative' speakers are foregrounded at particular moments in actual interaction, (2) studies that investigate the organization of particular practices in NS/NNS interaction, often comparing them with the "same" practices found in NS/NS interaction, and (3)

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pedagogically motivated studies of second language classroom interaction. Each line of these studies is discussed below.

2.4.1. Categories of Native and Nonnative Speakers

A prominent topic that has been explored in CA studies of second-language interaction concerns the ways in which SLA studies have used the categories 'native' and 'nonnative' speaker. These CA studies are critical of SLA researchers' treatment of such categories as relevant throughout the course of interaction regardless of the participants' own categorization at particular moments in the interaction. Firth and Wagner (1997) call for the reconceptualization of the categories of NS and NNS, which involves enhancing the awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use and increasing "emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity" towards fundamental concepts such as the participants' native- and nonnativeness. Hosoda (2001) also argues that the analyst should examine how the categories of NS and NNS are *activated* at particular moments in interaction. These criticisms can be traced back to a basic premise of CA: No social categories are postulated a priori in order to understand or explain ongoing talk unless they are made relevant and oriented to as such by the participants themselves (cf. Sacks, 1972a, 1972b). Schegloff (1991) stresses that characterizations of the participants should be "grounded in aspects of what is going on that are demonstrably relevant *to* the participants, and at that moment – at the moment that whatever we are trying to provide an account of occurs" (p. 50).

Some CA studies challenge the static categories of interactional participants and investigate the observable and reportable ways in which the participants demonstrate the

relevance (or the irrelevance) of such categories. Through examination of details of talk and embodied actions, these studies demonstrate that the participants' categories such as Japanese/foreigner (Nishizaka, 1995, 1999) and NS/NNS (Hosoda, 2001; Ikeda, 2005; Kurhila, 2004) and the interculturality of interaction (Mori, 2003) are indeed contingent on the development of interaction and are made relevant to the participants themselves by the speaker and recipients.

2.4.2. Practices Used in NS/NS Interaction and NS/NNS Interaction: Similarities and Differences

Various practices previously investigated for NS/NS interaction have also been investigated for NS/NNS interaction. Conversational repair and correction are among frequently investigated practices, although the findings from such studies are not straightforward. Relative infrequency of NS's correction of NNS's contributions in non-pedagogic interactions in English (Gaskill, 1980), Finnish (Kurhila, 2004), and Japanese (Hosoda, 2000) is in line with the infrequent occurrences of other-repair (i.e., replacement or correction of an utterance produced by the other) found in a study of NS/NS interaction by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977). However, unlike the predominant repair pattern observed in NS/NS conversations (Schegloff et al.) and NS/NS pedagogic interaction (e.g., McHoul, 1990), NNSs in Kurhila's (2001) Finnish data are not invited to self-repair: NSs in Kurhila's study offer outright corrections (i.e., they substitute what is considered faulty in NNSs' talk). Wong (2000) reports that repair initiated by others is not always done as early as it is done in NS/NS interaction, although the primary site of other-initiated repair supports Schegloff et al.'s finding. On the other hand, through examination of repair in TA/student interaction where the TAs are NNSs

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and the students are NSs, Kim (2004) reveals that conversational negotiation found in the NS/NNS, TA/student interactions differs systematically from that in NS/NS interactions both in process and outcome. Another practice related to misuse of language is found in lingua franca interactions (i.e., interactions exclusively involving NNSs) in English: participants make the NNS's "deviant" use of language look normal by such means as incorporating marked items into one's own turn (Firth, 1996).

The timing of turn transition is another area of interest to researchers who study NNS talk or NS/NNS interaction. Through examination of instances of delay[18] in uptake by NS of the next turn in NS/NNS interaction, Wong (2004) found that, unlike the majority of delayed uptake in NS/NS interaction, the delayed responses by NS in NS/NNS interaction do not signal a dispreferred action type or a delicate topic. Rather, the delay seems to be related to the difference in how NSs and NNSs orient to NNS's just prior turn (i.e., the NNS treats it as complete, whereas the NS does not). Carroll (2000) investigated whether novice second language users are capable of precisely timing their entry into the conversational flow like proficient language users. It was found that novice NNSs can and regularly do start "on time." Carroll (2004) also examined novice NNSs' restarts at turn beginnings and found that what would normally be seen by SLA researchers as "disfluencies" is actually strategic use of phrasal breaks to utter in the clear what has been overlapped by another participant and to obtain proper recipiency from the co-participants. In other words, the occurrence and precise execution of these recycles

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[18] 'Delay' means that it is delayed from the position of earliest next start by a next speaker (i.e., an earliest possible completion of a turn-constructional unit) and is marked by such features as silence, hesitations, and the like.

previously reported for NS/NS interaction (e.g., Goodwin, 1980, 1981; Schegloff, 1987) are also found in second language interaction.[19]

The mutual elaboration of talk and embodied action in carrying out social actions has also been investigated within the framework of CA. Ikeda (2003, November) describes ways in which gaze and hand gestures serve as crucial interactional resources in word search activities. The overall features of the word search organization during NS/NNS Japanese-language interactions were found to be consistent with those during NS/NS interactions investigated in previous research (e.g., M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986) although the nature of searched-for items was different in that the majority of searches in the NS/NNS interactions arose from NNS's (perceived) limited linguistic competence, whereas word searches in NS/NS interactions discussed in previous research were instances of temporarily unavailable (i.e., forgotten) proper names and words (e.g., Schegloff et al., 1977; M. H. Goodwin, 1983; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; C. Goodwin, 1987).

Another practice described by CA researchers involving the intricate coordination of vocal and nonvocal components within a single turn consists of completing what was begun as a verbal turn with a gesture or another embodied action (Jarmon, 1996; Olsher, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006). This practice, termed 'embodied completion' by Olsher, consists of launching a turn at talk, ceasing to talk at a point where some trajectory of the turn is projectable, and completing the action (e.g., explanation) that has been initiated by

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[19] The NNS participants in the study by Carroll (2004) are Japanese students speaking to each other in English; therefore the nature of the interaction is different from that of the NS/NNS and lingua franca interactions examined in the other studies reviewed here.

the partial turn through an embodied action. This phenomenon has been observed in both NS/NS and NS/NNS interactions.[20] Olsher emphasizes the importance of looking at learners' skills in deploying, parsing and projecting the interactional trajectory of turns-in-progress.

2.4.3. Interaction in Educational Institutions with Implications for Learning

Finally, there are studies of NNS talk in highly goal-oriented activities within educational institutions. Some of them seek to describe structural features of talk unique to the settings. Koshik (2002a, 2002b) provides a detailed description of practices used by teachers in ESL one-on-one writing conferences, and of the ways in which practices of ordinary talk have been adapted to meet specific pedagogical goals. One type of practice is what she calls "reverse polarity question" (2002a).[21] Koshik suggests that this kind of "known information" question (Mehan, 1979) used by teachers to assist student performance reflects a culturally specific professional practice of "doing being teachers" within the North American cultural framework. Another type of practice Koshik (2002b) examines is the use of incomplete turns designed to elicit self-correction of students' written language errors. Mori (2002) also describes ways in which interaction is affected by a pedagogical goal. Through examination of the sequential development of

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[20] Jarmon (1996) reports on the practice deployed by NS and NNS speakers of English, whereas Mori and Hayashi (2006) reports on the practice utilized by first language speakers of Japanese addressing second language speakers. Olsher's (2004) primary data come from peer interaction among novice-level learners, who are Japanese students speaking to each other in a small group project in an English as a foreign language class.

[21] A "reverse polarity question" refers to a grammatically affirmative yes/no question which reverses its polarity from affirmative to negative by conveying an implied negative assertion that shows what is problematic about a portion of student text.

talk in a small group activity in a Japanese language classroom in the USA, Mori demonstrates that the group activity with guest native speakers exhibits a structured pattern of exchanges contrary to the instructor's intention to make the interaction naturalistic by bringing in the NSs.

As seen in the studies by Carroll (2004) and Olsher (2004) discussed above, scholars who employ the method of CA to study second language interaction often propose to reconceptualize the notion of "competence." Similarly, Mori (2004) proposes to reconsider the notion of "learning," using as an example her study of a small group activity in a Japanese as a second language class. The study revisits the process of "negotiation of meaning" (e.g., Gass & Varonis, 1985; Varoniss & Gass, 1985), a phenomenon widely studied by experimental methods by interaction-oriented scholars in SLA research. Based on the microanalysis of a segment that started with a NNS's lexically-based difficulties but ended with the participants' accomplishment of mutual understanding, Mori proposes to see this example from "the perspective of participation-based understanding of learning" (p. 175) as opposed to "the perspective of the improvement of purely linguistic skills measured by their accurate production" (p. 175) which would be taken by mainstream SLA researchers. Mori stresses that an ultimate goal for the new emerging trend of SLA research is to understand the process by which learners increase the level of participation in a wider range of second language interaction.

2.4.4. Implications

As we have seen above, a substantial proportion of CA studies of interaction involving NNS has been conducted out of criticism of Second Language Acquisition research that has not paid attention to the details of how participants actually deploy talk or the workings of social actions in situ. CA is seen as well-suited to empirically warrant the characterizations of interactional participants such as the categories of 'native' and 'nonnative' speakers. Some studies have investigated features of practices that have been previously investigated for NS/NS interaction with the aim of finding out whether the working of a particular practice is the same for NS/NNS interaction. Not surprisingly, frequently investigated interactional practices are those which seem most relevant to NNS participants' (limited) linguistic competence such as conversational repair.

The tendency to reconceptualize the notion of "competence" and "incompetence" (cf. Kovarsky, Duchan, & Maxwell, 1999) is also noticeable in this body of research. The researchers who conduct CA studies to examine NS/NNS interaction stress the importance of interactional competence, which is to be collaboratively achieved and displayed through situated practices, as opposed to knowledge-based competence. Some studies have demonstrated that what would normally be seen as disfluency and/or incompetence are actually interactional achievements on the part of NNSs. This conceptualization of competence is compatible with the view of participation that the current project will take.

Another noticeable tendency in this line of CA research, which is rarely found in CA research on NS/NS interaction, is an effort to discuss implications for practical issues

such as language learning and effective teaching. Although the potential benefits of utilizing findings about features of a particular kind of interaction cannot be denied, as Koshik (2002b) and Schegloff et al. (2002) state, caution is needed in actual attempts to make use of specific CA findings that are grounded on analyses of practices in specific (sequential) contexts and specific settings.

Finally, it is only during the last decade that a small number of scholars has begun to employ CA methodology to explicate the structural features of Japanese conversation. Although the number of such studies is still small, recently there has been increasing interest in the rigorous analysis of locally situated practices in Japanese-language interaction.[22] However, such research on NS/NNS interaction in Japanese is still scarce. Given the increasing number of opportunities for this kind of encounter, more studies should be conducted in this area. The present project aims to add to this body of research.

2.5.   CONCLUSION

This literature review surveyed research that informs the present study, which investigates communicative practices employed by participants in NS/NNS interaction in Japanese. Drawing on the perspective that views participation as actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties in unfolding interaction, Chapters 4 and 5 present three practices as they are employed by NSs of Japanese to facilitate participation by their NNS co-participants in face-to-face interaction. The view of participation as a

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[22] Such studies of NS/NS interaction in Japanese include Furo (1998), Hayashi (1994, 2002, 2004), Hayashi, Mori, and Takagi (2002), Ikeda (2003), Mori (1994, 1999), Tanaka (1999), Lerner and Takagi (1999).

temporally unfolding, interactively achieved, embodied course of activity helps elucidate participation frameworks that shift as the participants negotiate different roles at particular moments in the ongoing interaction. This perspective is also helpful in identifying shifting alignments among participants.

Past research on embodied action informs the investigation of interactions in which participants' bodily conduct, such as gaze direction and gestures, plays a significant role. This study joins the emerging body of conversation analytic research on NS/NNS interaction by elucidating ways in which participants with differential language expertise build action together.

Chapter 3. Research Methods and Data

This chapter presents a discussion of the research methods I employ in the current project. First, I elaborate on my use of the two approaches to human interaction that were briefly outlined in Chapter 1: microethnography and conversation analysis. Then I provide a description of the research site, offer basic demographic information on the participants, and describe the procedures of data collection and analyses.

3.1.   APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES: MICROETHNOGRAPHY AND CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

The current study is a qualitative investigation of ways in which participation is organized in situated activities during NS/NNS interaction. Drawing on the research procedures used by microethnographers, I base my microanalysis of naturally occurring interaction[1] on video recordings of tinteractions that took place at a single site, paying great attention to not only talk but also bodily conduct. I attempt to explicate participants' construction of social actions and coordination of activities in each concrete circumstance, focusing on communicative practices that NSs employ to facilitate participation by NNSs. The fit between research goal and approach is reinforced by the following remarks by Erickson (1992):

> The microanalytic study of *how* interaction occurs is especially appropriate when one wishes to reproduce an exemplary practice (e.g., the kind of classroom conversation in which students and teachers are excitedly engaged in reasoning

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[1] "Naturally occurring interaction" refers to "exchanges not produced by experimental or interviewing techniques" (West & Zimmerman, 1982, p. 507).

together, as contrasted to a conversation that never quite got off the ground intellectually or that failed to maintain group morale. (p. 205)

As previous research suggests, participation is an embodied social practice whose structure shifts moment by moment according to the participants' actions accomplished by both talk and bodily conduct such as gaze direction and shift in body positioning. To study *how* this occurs requires the use of a method that was developed specifically to describe details of unfolding interaction. I employ the methodological approach of conversation analysis (CA) for the present study because CA has been fundamentally concerned with the sequential unfolding of talk-in-interaction. Since utterances are contextually understood by reference to their placement within sequences of action, sequences and turns within sequences, rather than isolated sentences or utterances, become the primary units of analysis for conversation analysts (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). CA provides powerful analytic concepts and methodological tools that enable researchers to describe in detail the methods that people use to achieve their goals as the interaction unfolds. For example, CA's basic notion of speaker selection techniques used in turn-taking organization (Sacks et al., 1974) is central to the ways in which participation is organized and helps us notice how participants are orienting to each other's action in the unfolding of interaction. In order to understand the interactional significance of each participant's action in the development of activities, it is crucial to conduct a systematic sequential microanalysis.

In addition to its suitability for scrutinizing the structures of talk and social actions accomplished through talk, CA is also suited for the moment-by-moment analysis of

nonvocal dimensions of interaction, which I pay close attention to in the present study. In recent years, a number of studies have been conducted within the framework of CA on the mutual elaboration of talk and embodied action in carrying out sequentially organized social actions (see Chapter 2 for a survey of previous research). For example, it has been shown that CA's focus on turn transition is useful in discovering roles of gaze in turn-construction. As Goodwin (1989) notes regarding his research on gaze direction, CA research on embodied action differs from previous research on "nonverbal communication" in that it focuses on procedures available to participants for systematically employing a particular embodied action in the first place, and the relevance that this has to the tasks the participants are then engaged in. In sum, CA's analytical techniques allow us to see how activities and participation in those activities are organized through mutimodal resources and at the same time shape the ways in which the resources are utilized.

While it has been argued that CA is not geared towards the analysis of foreign language interaction (FLI) because of its monolingual tradition and because it takes linguistic competence of conversationalists for granted (see, for example, Wagner, 1996; 1998),[2] it is now generally agreed upon that the data do not call into question the fundamental methodological principles of CA and that CA is capable of handling FLI data (Seedhouse, 1998). Schegloff (in interview with Wong & Olsher, 2000) also contends that possible features of interaction involving NNSs do not require any change in the analytic strategy of CA because any "modification" for NNSs made by their

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[2] Wagner has abandoned his earlier skepticism about CA's ability to adequately deal with FLI (cf. Gardner & Wagner, 2004).

co-participants can be dealt with by the concept of recipient design. Some scholars (e.g., Markee, 2000; Wong, 2000, 2004) explicitly stated that one of the purposes of their studies is to demonstrate the (potential) value of using CA as an analytic tool for the advancement of concerns in applied linguistics.

3.2.   RESEARCH SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

The primary data for this study are 14 hours[3] of videotaped interaction in Japanese between Japanese and international students at a national university in Tokyo. All students were enrolled in an upper division undergraduate course entitled *Nihongo to komyunikeeshon* (Japanese Language and Communication). The total number of the participants was 30, including a Japanese professor who taught the course and a visiting scholar from the People's Republic of China who sat in on the class. The numbers of Japanese and international students were 17 and 11, respectively. The course was a regular course whose credit hours count toward degrees, and all international students in the class, with one exception, had their proficiency in Japanese assessed and met the language requirement before being admitted to the university.[4] The students' majors were all related to electrical and computer engineering or computer sciences.[5] The age of the student participants ranged from 20 to 30.[6]

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[3] There are three additional hours of recordings, but they were excluded from the data set because the setting (i.e., class presentations) did not serve my research goals.

[4] The exception was an exchange student from a "sister school" in Australia. Exchange students study only for a year at this university and are exempted from language requirements. While the exchange students typically take courses offered in English in this Japanese university, this particular Australian student had studied Japanese for 6 years in formal classroom settings prior to coming to Japan and was able to enroll in this course that was conducted entirely in Japanese.

[5] The institution only offers major programs in science and technology.

Basic information on the participants, including the national origin of the international students, is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1.

Participants

Nonnative Speakers	Male	Female	
Students			
People's Republic of China	7	--	
South Korea[7]	2	--	
Australia	1	--	
Senegal	1	--	
Visiting Scholar			
People's Republic of China	--	1	
Total	11	1	12

Native Speakers	Male	Female	
Students	9	8	
Course Instructor	1	--	
Total	10	8	18

The purpose of the course in which the student participants were enrolled was twofold. It was designed to provide the Japanese and international students with opportunities for both scholarly investigation into how Japanese-language communication works and hands-on experiences in intercultural communication. The course objectives stated in the syllabus are as follows:

This course is designed so that students can explore ways in which Japanese

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[6] In general, international students studying in Japan tend to be older than their Japanese counterparts. The participants in the current project were no exception.

[7] Hereafter, South Korea (Republic of Korea) is referred to as "Korea."

people communicate with each other as well as some characteristics of the Japanese language from both native and non-native speakers' perspectives. Language is a tool that native speakers take for granted in their daily lives. On the other hand, it is assumed that non-native speakers from different cultures often encounter communicative problems. In this class, students will have the opportunity to pose questions and observe, discover, and discuss their own and others' communicative behaviors. The course aims to bring our communicative practices to the level of consciousness through discussions on Japanese-language communication and actual communicative experiences [translated by Ikeda].

It is also stated in the syllabus that the instructor is convinced that the students will learn a great deal by participating in intercultural collaborative activities in class.

The course was elective, and therefore the enrollment was voluntary. According to "information sheets" filled out by the students at the beginning of the semester and reflection papers turned in after the last class day, many of the students, both Japanese and international, registered for the course because they liked the fact that it was a communication-oriented class intended for both Japanese and international students. Many of the Japanese students wrote that they had had very limited contact with international students on campus before taking this course and that they enjoyed working with the international students on various class activities. With respect to the Japanese students' prior intercultural experience, seven out of the seventeen Japanese students had traveled abroad. Two students had lived outside of Japan for more than a year, and three students had participated in short home stay programs. While eight Japanese students said

that they had had previous intercultural experiences to some degree, their experiences typically did not go beyond those of interacting with non-Japanese people in class and at work. Two Japanese students phrased their motive for enrolling in the course as wanting to take an "easy" class and use it as an "oasis" in their busy schedules, which mainly consisted of "tough" courses requiring long lab hours and/or numerous experiments.

On the other hand, according to the course instructor's observation, the international students tend to select courses like this over other elective courses partly because of the familiarity with the instructors who also teach Japanese as a second language courses that all first and second year international students are required to take. The instructor also pointed out that the international students' registration for the course might be related to its emphasis on attendance and class participation since it is considered easier to make good grades in such courses. At the end of the semester, many international students expressed in their reflection papers pleasant surprise that the Japanese students actually wanted to talk with them.

The course was 12 weeks long. In each class session of 1.5 hours, the class discussed issues related to language, culture, and communication in the context of Japan. Discussions and other types of small group tasks (e.g., preparation for skit presentations and debates) themselves constituted intercultural experiences since one of the course objectives was to have Japanese and international students work together and share each other's perspectives on various issues. When the class was divided into smaller groups, care was taken so that each group had both Japanese and international students. The videotaped activities were small group discussions on various assigned topics and in

preparation for group presentations, class discussions facilitated by the instructor, intercultural communication games and subsequent discussions, debates and preparatory sessions, and conversations outside class hours.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3.3.1. Videotaping

Exploring *how* rather than *why* particular actions are done requires researchers to base their analyses on recordings and detailed transcription of naturally occurring interaction. Audio recordings alone are not sufficient because access to participants' nonvocal activities and the physical environment in which they take place is essential for the present study. Videotaping interactions enables repeated viewings of details in the unfolding interaction that are often too brief to notice or write down. It also allows the researcher to share moments of interaction with other researchers. Video fragments provide others with opportunities to verify the researcher's interpretations of the data. These advantages cannot be obtained by relying only on direct observation compensated by field notes and recollections.

The videotaping of the participants' various activities was conducted between June 2, 2003 and July 17, 2003. I joined the class in the sixth week and served as an unofficial teaching assistant through the end of the course. On the first day I visited the class, the course instructor introduced me to the students. The instructor mentioned that I was a Japanese as a second/foreign language teacher and communication studies scholar who used to teach at another university in Tokyo before going to the United States for research. Because of the nature of the course (i.e., both content- and skills-oriented), it

was not unusual for the students to be videotaped in class and later be given feedback on their performances. However, since my videotaping of the interaction for the current research project had a different purpose, I obtained their consent to be videotaped. It was made clear that anyone who preferred not to be videotaped could say so at any time and I would not film that person.[8]

Although I videotaped some interactions with a hand-held camera, most of the interactions were videotaped using cameras set up on tripods. The class frequently split into small groups of four to six students, depending on the kind of task and attendance on a particular day. In most of such cases, one group stayed in the main classroom where lectures for the class were given, and the other groups moved to smaller classrooms on the same floor or one floor down. The course instructor and I set up a camera for each group whenever possible. When it was not possible, I used a hand-held camera in an attempt to capture the interactions of groups that had not been covered by the fixed cameras. Since I was there not only as a researcher collecting data but also as an assistant to the instructor, I moved between the rooms during some group activities once we set up the cameras, making myself available to answer questions. Indeed, at some points, I interacted with students who asked me for information and advice regarding their projects. In this sense, I was a participant-observer and was treated as a legitimate member of the teaching team by at least some of the students. For many group activities, however, I left the room after setting up the camera and making sure that the students did not have

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[8] The data collection was conducted after obtaining an approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects of The University of Texas at Austin. I followed the procedure that had been approved by the IRB in obtaining the participants' consent.

questions about the group tasks that they would work on.[9] In my discussions of specific

instances of interactional phenomena throughout this dissertation, an excerpt is marked if

I was present at the time of recording that segment.

The effect of the presence of the researcher, and the camera in particular, on

participants' behavior has been the subject of discussions. Duranti (1997) argues that the

camera-effect is "only one special case of what is usually called the participant-observer

paradox" (p. 118) and suggests that, with the exception of obvious camera behaviors,

people usually do not invent social behavior, including language: They still derive their

actions from a repertoire available to them. In my data, there were three instances of

"obvious camera behavior" as mentioned by Duranti. They were instances of looking into

the camera with the V sign, staring into the camera, and group members saying while

looking at the camera that they should talk more because they are being videotaped.

Incidentally, these instances happened in segments that did not contain the phenomena I

was interested in and therefore were not analyzed. However, the absence of "obvious

camera behavior" from all other segments does not necessarily mean that what was

recorded by the camera is what would have happened without the presence of the camera.

Simply put, it is not possible to determine the "effect" of the camera on participants'

behavior unless they display direct orientation to the camera either visually or verbally. It

seemed that the participants generally became used to the presence of the camera over

time. On the other hand, my presence on the site did affect some ways in which class

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[9] This is in line with the recommendation made by Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) that the
researcher leave the scene once the camera has been set up so the researcher's effect on the
participants can be minimized.

activities proceeded. In my capacity as assistant to the course instructor, I interacted with students by providing information such as the class schedule when the course instructor was in another classroom and by answering their questions.

3.3.2. Supplemental Materials

In the methodological framework of CA, analysis is based on what is observable within interaction, and claims are made based on what is demonstrably relevant to the participants themselves. While I also endeavor to base my claims regarding communicative practices employed by participants on empirical warrant that comes from the interaction, I utilize other forms of information obtained outside a particular interaction as well if deemed necessary in order to investigate the full interactional ecology of activities. For example, as a participant observer who was at the site every week during the data collection period, I was able to make a connection between what happened in a particular interaction and what had happened in a previous interaction. In many cases, I could tell that the participants themselves remembered the previous incident and were basing their activity at the moment on the previous experience. In such cases, the additional information was useful in understanding what was going on in a particular interaction. The materials I collected other than videos of the interactions were field notes, curriculum materials, teaching materials used in the classroom, "information sheets" completed by the students at the beginning of the course,[10] reflection papers written by the students at the end of the course, and informal conversations with the students and the course instructor.

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[10] The "information sheets" contained information on the students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as other demographic information.

3.3.3. Identification of Phenomena

Following Erickson and Schultz (1997), I viewed each videotape throughout, taking note of the participants and the events with the counter numbers so that the particular events could be easily located later and the temporal relationships between the events could be known. As I watched the tapes, I began to notice certain interactional phenomena that interested me. I created a list of the categories of practice and placed brief transcripts of the instances with the counter numbers under appropriate categories on the list as I continued to watch the tapes[11] (see 3.3.4. below for a discussion of the notation system that I employ in the present study).

Through this process, a few categories emerged as more prominent than others. One of them was a group of practices used by NSs that could be characterized as NSs' scaffolding of NNSs' participation in interaction. Based on its prevalence and expected significance in the study of human communication generally and NS/NNS communication in particular, I decided to pursue this for the current project.

I then went back to the videotapes of the previously identified segments under this category and viewed all of them repeatedly with the aid of transcripts. For each segment, I made a decision as to where to start and end the transcript so that it showed the preceding turn responded to by the sequence in question, which contained actions of interest to me, and the subsequent turn responding to the sequence.[12] At this stage, I also refined the transcripts, taking care that details of both vocal and nonvocal aspects of

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[11] I shared and discussed some transcribed segments with colleagues at data sessions.

[12] Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) offer helpful suggestions on how to develop CA analyses, including selecting sequences and identifying sequence boundaries.

interaction were accurately represented and I did not "normalize" speakers' utterances. Normalization refers to "the practice of translating what was said into grammatically 'proper' language" (West & Zimmerman, 1982, p. 516). When preparing transcripts for sequential microanalysis, it is important to document details of talk such as overlaps, restarts, prolongation of sounds as accurately as possible. Since I am interested in gaining a holistic understanding of interaction, it was also crucial that nonvocal features were documented in a way that their temporal relation to talk was clearly represented. The issues involved in the transcription of Japanese-language interaction and transcription conventions are discussed in the next sub-section.

I then moved on to describe each instance, looking for structural features and their patterns, and actions being accomplished. Prior to this stage, I had already identified the most recurrent type of facilitative practices employed by NSs: the practice by which NSs continue or complete NNSs' turn-in-progress. I selected two more practices that exemplify the NSs' interactional competence, namely, translating and impromptu vocabulary lessons. I selected exemplary instances to analyze for each, refined the transcripts, and conducted sequential analyses.

3.3.4. Transcription

In recent years, there has been growing recognition that transcription is neither a clerical and mechanical activity nor a theoretically neutral activity (e.g., Ochs, 1979; Bucholtz, 2000; Edwards & Lampert, 1993; Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997; Preston, 1982: Roberts, 1997). Behind every transcription system are underlying assumptions that affect a series of choices regarding what to write down and how to write it down. The

method of transcription reflects the researcher's theories and research goals. It follows that there is no single "objective" position from which to transcribe spoken discourse and record other aspects of human interaction on paper. In microanalytic research on human interaction, transcripts play particularly vital roles at various stages of research projects. In their discussion of transcription used in conversation analysis (CA), Hopper, Koch, and Mandelbaum (1986) contend that both the product (the transcript) and the process (transcribing) aid researchers in finding intricacies of conversation. Transcripts are an indispensable tool to identify phenomena of interest to the researcher, analyze the located phenomena, and present findings. In other words, what is on a transcript influences and constrains what findings emerge, and affects the ways in which findings are received by readers of research reports.

Since the practice of transcribing is an interpretive and culturally-bound activity producing an artifact that affects its user's visualization of the original interaction (Ochs, 1979; Green et al., 1997), it is not surprising that the practice is further complicated when one attempts to transcribe foreign language data. "Foreign language data" here refers to data to be presented, in a language other than the original, to an audience that includes those who are not familiar with the language.[13] The present study faces this challenge. Transcripts of foreign language data typically include the original utterance, gloss, and translation, although not all elements may be present in all transcripts. I use these three elements in my transcripts.

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[13] For discussions of challenges involved in producing transcripts for the audience unfamiliar with the language, see, for example, Bilmes (1996), Duranti (1997), ten Have (1999), and Wagner (1996).

Among specific issues to consider in presenting Japanese language materials to non-Japanese audiences, the most significant is probably the absence of orthographic conventions for using the Roman alphabet to represent the Japanese language, word order, and the prevalence of unexpressed elements in spoken discourse.[14] The first decision that I made regarding transcription in the current project was to employ a two-step procedure in preparing transcripts: I first transcribed the vocal part of interaction using the Japanese scripts (i.e., *kanji,* or Chinese characters, and a pair of syllabaries, *hiragana* and *katakana*). Then, for the instances I decided to present in the dissertation, I made Romanized versions of those transcripts and added English translations. Using Romanization from the beginning was not an option to me even though research findings would be eventually published in English. As noted earlier, transcripts play crucial roles when analyzing data as well as when writing research reports. One of the important roles of transcripts in a research project is to help the researcher locate interesting phenomena and analyze their details. As pointed out by other Japanese researchers (e.g., Usami, 1997), readability greatly suffers in Romanized transcripts, making it difficult to illuminate what happens in interaction.

In the current project, it is critical to represent visual aspects of interaction whenever pertinent. It is also essential to be able to represent temporal relationships (including overlaps) both between different participants' utterances and/or embodied actions and between the same participant's co-occurring utterance and embodied action. I

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[14] For discussions of Japanese conversational grammar related to transcription, see Hayashi (2002), Mori (1999), Tanaka (1999), and Usami (1997) among others.

prepared transcripts to accommodate these needs and make the transcripts accessible to those who do not know the Japanese language. Basic conventions for the vocal part of interactions are in accordance with the conversation analytic notation, which has been developed by Gail Jefferson and has undergone some modifications over the years (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, ix-xvi, for example). Transcripts used in previous CA research on Japanese language interaction published in English (e.g., Hayashi, 2002; Mori, 1999) served as helpful models. For participants' embodied displays (e.g., gaze direction, hand gestures, body positioning), I utilize conventions such as descriptions in double parentheses, dotted lines, and shades. The visual information presented in the transcripts is supplemented by frame grabs from the videos. I highlight below some of the considerations and conventions for the transcripts used in this dissertation. A complete key to transcription conventions is provided in Appendix.

A three-line format is employed. The original Japanese utterance is presented in the first line in Romanization, followed by an interlinear word-by-word gloss or grammatical description. Third line presents English translations. Since the word order in Japanese is different from that of English,[15] those who do not have knowledge of the language would miss the significance of the temporal development of an utterance and its relation to co-participants' speech and embodied action without the word-by-word gloss. However, only a free translation is provided if an original utterance line consists of a brief item such as an interjection or a word because, in such cases, the gloss and the translation will be the same. The three-line format is not ideal for representing temporal

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[15] Japanese is a predicate-final language. The canonical word order for verbal sentences is "Subject + Object + Verb".

relationships between different participants' turns that are indicated by vertical alignment of lines, especially when visual information is added. Therefore, it is desirable to reduce the number of lines whenever possible.

Another issue that arises from the difference in word order in Japanese and English concerns translation. In keeping with a recommendation made by other researchers who have studied Japanese spoken discourse (e.g., Hayashi, 2002; Mori, 1999; Usami, 1997), I attempt to provide English translations so that they reflect the temporal ordering of elements in the original Japanese talk as much as possible, sometimes at the cost of naturalness in the translations. Unexpressed elements in talk that are expected to be understood by those who are present in the interaction are supplied in double parentheses in English translations if they are needed to make the English translations comprehensible.[16]

The next two chapters present analyses of the communicative practices employed by NSs to facilitate NNSs' participation in interaction. In Chapter 4, I discuss a practice by which a turn started by one participant is continued or completed by another participant. Chapter 5 turns our attention to two multimodal practices that point to the ubiquity of everyday language teaching and learning: translating and impromptu vocabulary lessons.

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[16] The prevalence of unexpressed elements is one of the characteristics of conversational grammar in Japanese and is usually referred to as "ellipsis," namely, "the suppression of words or phrases presumably intended by the speaker and understood by the listener" (Martin, 1975, p. 28). In many cases, the missing but recoverable elements (e.g., subject) are not to be considered "absent" because their non-presence is not marked to the participants.

Chapter 4. Building Sentences and Actions Together: Co-Participant Completion

4.1.   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine a communicative practice recurrently found in the present data, namely, the continuation or completion by one party of a syntactic unit initiated by another. When accomplished successfully, this practice can be one of the most powerful methods for recipients to display understanding of another participant's conduct in interaction because it goes beyond claiming understanding and actually embodies the understanding through producing the utterance and the action to be produced by the other participant. Investigating this phenomenon and how it transforms a participation framework will enhance our understanding of how participation in social activities is negotiated and coordinated.

Although there is a number of communicative functions that this practice can serve (see Section 4.6. for a summary of past research and findings from the present study), broadly speaking, it seems that there are three possibilities: (1) those that help the current speaker to complete the ongoing utterance, (2) those that preempt the current speaker, and (3) those that do not fall into either category. An alternative way to look at the actions accomplished by this practice would be to consider particular instances in terms of whether they facilitate or block another party's participation. As can be seen below, this practice is recurrently used by native speakers (NSs) of Japanese in the present data as a facilitative means, particularly when the current speaker is a nonnative speaker (NNS). In fact, there is only one instance in the current data that could be potentially an attempt to preempt another participant's completion of the unfolding

utterance. Thus this chapter presents the phenomenon under investigation as a primarily facilitative communicative practice commonly employed by NSs.

The following fragment shows one of the basic forms this phenomenon can take.[1]

Lloyd: ato kami no (-) sutairu (-) wa
           and hair LK   style   TP
           Also, hairstyle
Kato: bimyoo-ni chigau.
           subtlely   differ
           is slightly different.

Kato's contribution continues and completes Lloyd's utterance-in-progress to form a single, syntactically complete unit. The following is a schematic representation of this unit, which consists of a first and a second components:

First Component   Second Component

[ato kami no (.) sutairu (.) wa]   →   [bimyoo-ni chigau]

   [Also, hairstyle]   →   [is slightly different.]

In this study, I refer to the participant who produces the first component as the "first speaker," and the speaker who produces the second as the "second speaker."

I begin this chapter with a survey of selected aspects of the past research on the phenomenon in question. I then briefly present the overview of the practice employed by NSs and NNSs of Japanese in the current data. It will be shown that, while this practice has been predominantly studied as a feature of collaborative, rapport-building Japanese

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[1] See Appendixes for transcription conventions. All names are pseudonyms.

conversation among NS/NS participants, it is also used in NS/NNS interaction for a variety of purposes and serves various functions.

I then present two salient resources that appear to furnish opportunities for the practice of completing another participant's ongoing turn, namely, perturbations in a current speaker's turn and grammatical features of conversational Japanese. The examinations of the cases in which NSs continue or complete another participant's turn-in-progress to facilitate NNS's participation in interaction will follow. Specifically, I will show that through this practice NSs in my data provide linguistic assistance for NNSs, display their understandings of the turn-in-progress produced by NNSs, and show agreement with NNSs' anticipated stances. I will also show that many of the instances of this practice are actually directed to a participant other than the current speaker whose unfolding utterance is continued or completed. More specifically, it is common that NSs finish another NS's utterance-in-progress to enhance co-present NNS's understanding. I provide a detailed description of the ways in which various interactional resources are utilized in this practice and in turn how the practice serves to facilitate participation by NNSs.

4.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Previous research on interaction in English has investigated the phenomenon I study here under different terms such as "collaboratives" (Sacks, 1992), "collaborative utterances" (Sacks, 1992), "joint productions" (Sacks, 1992; Ferrara, 1992), "collaborative turn sequence" (Lerner, 1987), "collaborative completion" (Lerner, 1987), "pre-emptive completion" (Lerner, 1987), "collaboratively constructed sentences" (Lerner,

1991), "completion" (Antaki, Diaz, & Collins, 1996), and "co-participant completion" (Lerner & Takagi, 1999). It has also been discussed under the umbrella term "co-construction" (cf. Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). This practice has also been studied as it is employed in Japanese NS/NS interaction under various terms such as "co-construction" (Ono & Yoshida, 1996; Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Szatrowski, 2000a), "collaborative finishes" (Strauss & Kawanishi, 1996), "*sakidori hatsuwa* (anticipatory utterances)" (Horiguchi, 1997), "co-participant completion" (Hayashi, 1999; Lerner & Takagi, 1999) and "joint utterance construction" (Hayashi, 2002). Under these similar but varied terms, researchers have studied this phenomenon for the social actions that can be accomplished through it, what it reveals about grammar as a participant's resource for projecting the development of turn construction units, the validity of the turn-taking "systematics" proposed by Sacks et al. (1974), participants' footing, its relation to "nonverbal behavior," and so on. In this research, I adopt the term "co-participant completion"[2] (Lerner & Takagi, 1999) to refer to the phenomenon under investigation: a practice by which a speaker produces an utterance that is designed to grammatically continue or complete an ongoing utterance initiated by another speaker.[3]

Previous research on Japanese spoken discourse has recognized "*kyoowa*" (Mizutani, 1980), which literally translates as "co-speaking" or "collaborative talk," as

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[2] The word "completion" is not to be taken to indicate that I am only investigating the instances in which the second speaker's utterance "completes" an utterance started by the first speaker. I also examine the cases in which the second speaker's continuation of the first speaker's utterance does not come to a completion point within that unit.

[3] This is a slightly modified version of Hayashi's (2002) definition of "joint utterance construction." Hayashi considers the practice of co-participant completion one type of joint utterance construction.

one of the characteristics of conversational Japanese. *Kyoowa* is a general notion that refers to a wide range of collaborative practices used in interaction in Japanese including the frequent use of *aizuchi*[4] (i.e., vocal listener feedback which has often been translated as "back-channeling") and the co-construction of sentences. When Mizutani introduced the term, she characterized it as a range of cooperative practices used by two conversational participants who complement each other's utterances and collaborate in the production of the smooth flow of conversation, emphasizing affinity and rapport among the interactants. Some researchers explored one of these practices, namely, the production of a single syntactic unit by multiple speakers. Topics pursued in this line of research include the frequency of occurrences of this practice (Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Ono & Yoshida, 1996), the interactional structures of the phenomenon and the interactional tasks accomplished through the practice (Hayashi, 1999, 2002; Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Horiguchi, 1997; Lerner & Takagi, 1999), participant status and nonverbal behavior in the co-construction of utterances (Szatrowski, 2000a), and the speaker's use of final particles as stance markers in collaborative completion of sentences (Morita, 2002).

However, there has been little attempt to investigate this phenomenon in interaction involving native and nonnative speakers.[5] The present data set clearly shows that the practice of co-participant completion is present in such interaction as well and serves various functions, including facilitating participation by NNSs. In fact, close

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[4] *Aizuchi* literally means "hammering by two blacksmiths."
[5] One exception is Kiyama (2004), who looked at anticipatory response and anticipatory completion to investigate the development of learners' use of the conjunctive particle "*kara*."

examination of examples reveals that many of the instances can be substantially

associated with the nature of the interactions being investigated (i.e., that the interactions

involve NSs and NNSs, and that there is asymmetry among the participants in terms of

interactional resources available to them).[6] Therefore, this chapter closely examines the

phenomenon that has received little attention. Through the detailed analysis of

co-participant completion, I aim to enhance our understanding of ways in which

participants with differential resources jointly construct not only speaking turns but also

social actions in unfolding interaction.

      In the next section, I provide the overall picture of instances of co-participant

completion found in my data in terms of whose turn-in-progress gets continued or

completed by whom.

4.3.   OVERVIEW OF CO-PARTICIPANT COMPLETION IN THE PRESENT DATA

      The primary purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of *how*

participants in interaction facilitate participation by those with fewer interactional

resources rather than finding correlations between participant categories (i.e., NS and

NNS) and particular types of communicative practices. However, prior to selecting the

phenomenon of co-participant completion as one of the foci of this research, it was

crucial to first gain an overall distributional sense of *whose* utterances get continued or

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[6] My attribution of the occurrences of co-participant completion to the nature of interaction (i.e.,
NS/NNS interaction) is based on such observations as NS's non-use of co-participant completion
for another NS under the same or similar interactional contexts, and NNS's observable difficulty
in understanding or producing utterances. It is important to note that
NSs could also experience difficulty in understanding and producing and that there are cases in
which co-participant completion appears to be motivated by such perceived difficulty. This will
be touched upon later under Section 4.6.2.

completed by *whom*. Furthermore, in order to properly situate the cases of facilitative

co-completion employed by NSs in the overall picture of co-participant completion, it is

essential to grasp the distributional tendency of the types of instances in terms of the first

and the second speakers' linguistic backgrounds (i.e., NS or NNS). The following

summary serves this purpose.

Through close examination of the 14 hours of data that I collected, I identified a

total of 84 instances of co-participant completion. For the purpose of this section, they are

divided into four different types according to the membership categories of the first

speaker (i.e., the participant whose utterance-in-progress gets continued or completed)

and the second speaker (i.e., the participant who continues or completes the first speaker's

utterance-in-progress). The following is a summary of the four types and the frequency of

instances in each type.

Table 2.

Types of Instances of Co-Participant Completion

Type	Description	Number of Instances (%)
Type 1	NNS completed by NS	33 (39.3%)
Type 2	NS1 completed by NS2	34 (40.4%)
Type 3	NS completed by NNS	15 (17.9%)
Type 4	NNS1 completed by NNS2	2 (2.4%)
TOTAL		84 (100%)

As shown above, co-participant completion, which has been widely recognized as an important feature of conversation between native speakers of Japanese (e.g., Mizutani, 1980), commonly occurs in interaction involving both native and nonnative speakers of Japanese as well. The most frequent type of co-participant completion in the present data is the one in which an utterance initiated by a NS is continued or completed by another NS (Type 2). This type constitutes 40% of all the instances of co-participant completion. The second most common type consists of the instances in which a NNS's utterance-in-progress is continued or completed by a NS (Type 1), whose frequency is almost as high as that of Type 2. Note that, when Types 1 and 2 are combined, 80% of the instances of co-participant completion observed in the present data set are those in which a NS is the second speaker who continues or completes another participant's utterance-in-progress, whether the first speaker is a NS or NNS.

The next group of instances (Type 3) consists of those in which a NS's ongoing utterance is continued or completed by a NNS. The number of such instances is less than half the number for Types 1 and 2. The least common type (Type 4), where a NNS continues or completes an utterance started by another NNS, has only two examples. Before shifting attention from the membership-based typology to detailed discussions of actual instances of co-participant completion, noteworthy observations regarding each type are briefly provided below. The findings regarding Types 1 and 2 will be explored with actual examples in Section 4.5.

With regard to Type 1, nearly 70% of all instances in which NNSs' utterances are continued or completed by NSs appear to be the NS's attempts to provide assistance for

the NNS. In other words, co-participant completion is often employed in NS/NNS interaction to facilitate participation by NNSs.

At a first glance, the fact that the most common type of co-participant completion is Type 2 (NS-NS completion) seems to support the widely accepted characteristic of Japanese conversation among native speakers (i.e., collaboratively constructing utterances to maintain a smooth and harmonious flow of conversation). However, closer examination of details of each instance such as the addressed recipient of the first component and the second speaker's gaze direction reveals that 14 out of the 34 instances of NS-NS co-participant completion is done for a third person, specifically, NNS, as opposed to the NS original speaker. In other words, more than 40% of the instances that might be taken as evidence of rapport among NS participants are actually attempts to facilitate participation by NNSs. In such cases, the seemingly dyadic exchanges during multiparty interactions form a triadic configuration.

Type 3 consists of instances of NS/NNS completion. One might assume that, in interactions among participants with asymmetrical linguistic and other interactional resources at hand, the vast majority of co-participant completions are done by the participants who have more resources to enable them to anticipate what is coming in the unfolding utterance. In fact, in nearly 80% of all the instances in the present data, it is a NS who provides the second component. However, NNSs also continue or complete utterances initiated by their NS co-participants (Type 3), although the occurrence is less frequent than that for Types 1 and 2. It should be noted, however, that 9 out of 15 instances (i.e., 60%) of Type 3 co-participant completions occur during highly

task-oriented group activities in which participants work together on drama scripts (i.e., they write actual lines for the characters in their skits to be presented in class and discuss actions to be performed on stage).[7] While this is a context that provides plenty of opportunities for co-participant completion in that participants are expected to help each other by supplying words and expressions when the current speaker seems unable to continue, Type 2 (NS-NS completion) has only 5 instances in the same context, constituting approximately 15% of the total for Type 2. In other words, the opportunities for co-participant completion provided by the nature of the activities in this particular context are more actively utilized by NNSs than by NSs.

Finally, Type 4 (NNS-NNS completion) only has 2 instances.[8] In each case, a Chinese student completes an utterance initiated by another Chinese student. Given the number of NNSs in the present data, the infrequency of NNS-NNS completion is striking.

We have seen the overview of the occurrence of co-participant completion primarily in terms of the first and second speakers' linguistic backgrounds. To summarize, an overwhelming majority of instances of co-participant completion are cases in which NSs, not NNSs, continue or complete another participant's utterance-in-progress. While the frequency is approximately the same for the instances in which the first component of co-participant completion is produced by NNSs and by NSs, nearly half the instances of NS-NS co-participant completion actually appear to be meant for NNSs. Similarly, nearly

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[7] The other 6 instances in this category occur during informal, non-task oriented discussions.
[8] This may be related to the number of NSs and NNSs in each interaction. While each of the 25 interactions filmed for this study had both NS and NNS participants in it, there were 8 interactions in which there was only one NNS, thereby providing less opportunity for NNSs to complete other NNSs.

70% of the instances of NNS-NS completion appear to be cases in which NSs attempt to assist and consequently facilitate participation by NNSs. Although the completion of another participant's utterance-in-progress is not limited to NSs, NNSs' provision of the second component is often found in the context in which the nature of the activity at hand by definition provides numerous opportunities for supplying words for the current speaker and finishing each other's sentences. NSs do not take advantage of such opportunities as actively as NNSs do.

In other words, the distribution of all instances of co-participant completion indicates that it is predominantly native speakers who continue or complete another participant's unfolding turn in the present data. When NSs continue or complete NNSs' turns, the NSs seem to do so to offer assistance to the NNSs. When co-participant completion is done between two NS participants, in nearly half the cases, it is actually designed for a NNS. When NNSs continue/complete NSs' turns-in-progress, it is often done in the contexts in which the kind of the task at hand naturally affords joint construction of utterances. Overall, it has been found that co-participant completion is a common practice used by native speakers to facilitate participation by nonnative speakers in ongoing activities.

With this in mind, we now move on to the examination of the ways in which co-participant completion is actually accomplished. In so doing, it is crucial to start with a discussion of interactional resources that participants can utilize when employing the practice of co-participant completion in face-to-face interaction.

4.4. RESOURCES FOR RECOGNIZING OPPORTUNITIES FOR CO-PARTICIPANT COMPLETION

As Lerner and Takagi (1999) state, there is "a range of interactionally relevant resources, including syntactic, intonational, semantic and pragmatic resources, that enhance the possibility of co-participant completion in conversation" (p. 53). In exploring these interactional resources, we need to distinguish two types of resources, namely, (1) those that allow co-participants to recognize that there is an opportunity for co-participant completion, and (2) those that allow co-participants to project in what direction the current turn is going, and more specifically, what item is possibly about to be produced by the current speaker.

The resources that serve these two function are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This becomes clear if we consider the resource of grammatical structure. For instance, a grammatical completion point in a turn at talk may be perceived as a transition-relevance place (TRP) (Sacks et al., 1974), and a co-participant may take advantage of that point to provide the remaining part of the turn started by another participant. Grammatical structure can also help co-participants to project the form and content of what is coming. For instance, the presence of subordinate clauses such as [If X] and [Because X] helps project a range of items that can fit in the slot in the final component of the current speaker's utterance-in-progress, and thus enhances the possibility of co-participant completion (e.g., Hayashi, 2002; Lerner, 1991; Lerner & Takagi, 1999).

Next, the interactional resources that are most relevant to my data are briefly discussed. Specifically, I first discuss "perturbations" (M. H. Goodwin, 1983. p. 129) as

resources that provide opportunities for co-participant completion. A few aspects of Japanese grammar are then presented as they relate to projectability.

4.4.1. Resources for the Recognition of an Opportunity for Co-Participant Completion: Perturbation

Although it is not a prerequisite to the occurrence of co-participant completion, the close examination of my data reveals that NSs frequently continue/complete NNSs' utterances-in-progress when the first component or the turn immediately prior to the first component by NNS is characterized by the presence of some form(s) of "perturbation" (M. H. Goodwin, 1983, p. 129). Goodwin identified sound stretches, uhm's, pauses, and cut-offs as perturbations that signal that the speaker is finding his/her utterance in trouble and is not immediately able to locate an appropriate word.[9] In other words, she discussed perturbations as indicators of the activity of word search.

Building on M. H. Goodwin's (1983) use of the term, I consider sound stretches, pauses, restarts, and truncated or abandoned words to be perturbations. So-called 'hesitation markers' (e.g., *eeto, ano:, sono:, maa, nanka*)[10] and meta-linguistic expressions such as *nante iu no* (what do you say/call it) are also included. I consider one visual feature, a halt to the hand movement in the middle of the first speaker's writing down what s/he verbalizes in a task-oriented activity, to be a perturbation as well.

As stated earlier, it is recurrently observed that NSs continue/complete the first

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[9] Note that these features were observed and confirmed not only in NS/NS conversations in English (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986), but also in NS/NS conversations in Japanese (Hayashi, 2000), NS/NNS conversations in English (Gaskill, 1980), Mandarin (Funayama, 2002), and Japanese (Ikeda, 2003).

[10] It should be noted that some of these are multifunctional and can be more appropriately called 'hedge' tokens.

component produced by NNSs (Type 1) when the first component has some perturbed features.[11] If we consider all the types of instances regardless of the linguistic backgrounds of the first and the second speakers (i.e., Types 1 - 4), the tendency for the first component of co-participant completion to have perturbed features still holds true.[12] If we look at the instances in which NSs continue/complete another NS's ongoing utterance (Type 2), however, we find that more than half of the instances occur when there is no sign of perturbation in the first component.[13] In sum, perturbation in the first speaker's contribution has emerged as a recurring feature of co-participant completion when NNSs' utterances are continued/completed by NSs, but that feature is not dominant when NSs' utterances are continued/completed by another NS.

4.4.2. Resources for the Projection of the Next Item: Grammatical Features of Spoken Japanese

Interactional participants attend to each other's talk and embodied action to coordinate various ongoing courses of action with precision.[14] For instance, the transition of speakers in conversation is coordinated by reference to transition-relevance places (TRPs) that possible completion points of turn constructional units (TCUs)[15] constitute

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[11] For Type 1 (NNS-NS completion), approximately 70% of the instances are characterized by perturbations in the first component.

[12] For the entire collection of co-participant completion (i.e., Types 1 to 4), approximately 60% of the instances are characterized by perturbations in the first component.

[13] For Type 2 (NS-NS), there are more instances in which the first component is *without* perturbations than *with* perturbations. Approximately 40% of the Type 2 instances are cases in which the first component has perturbed features. Type 2 has the biggest number of instances in which the second speaker continues/completes the first speaker when the first component has no sign of perturbation or a pause at the end.

[14] See Jefferson (1973) for an early work on how hearers make projections on what is about to happen in an unfolding utterance.

[15] TCUs can be at "sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical" levels (Sacks et al., p. 702).

(Sacks et al., 1974). With regard to collaboratively built sentences, Sacks (1992) argues that such sentences are direct evidence of the fact that hearers are engaged in syntactically analyzing unfolding utterances and have that analysis available as something they can use immediately. C. Goodwin (2000) expands this point to include resources other than language and stresses the significance of the participants' ability to recognize and accomplish coordinated social action in unfolding interaction:

> The accomplishment of social action requires that not only the party producing an action, but also that others present, such as its addressee, be able to systematically recognize the shape and character of what is occurring. Without this it would be impossible for separate parties to recognize in common not only what is happening at the moment, but more crucially, what range of events are being projected as relevant nexts, such that an addressee can build not just another independent action, but instead a relevant coordinated next move to what someone else has just done. (C. Goodwin, 2000, p. 1491)

While the participants' being able to recognize the shape and character of what is happening and actually utilizing that capacity is crucial for the accomplishment of any kinds of real-time, coordinated social action, it is of particular importance for co-participant completion where projectability of the next item to come is a prerequisite. The accomplishment of co-participant completion requires not only close attention to both vocal and non-vocal features of the current speaker's behaviors as they emerge moment by moment, but also the capacity to prefigure possible trajectories that the

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current utterance might take.

Now, a question arises as to what resources are available to participants, or more specifically, the current non-speaking parties, to make such projections. As noted earlier, a variety of interactional resources are available to participants including contextual, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, morphological, intonational, and gestural resources. Before we proceed to the next task of examining the actual instances, I briefly discuss below one type of resource, grammatical structure, since there are several aspects of Japanese grammar that should be kept in mind when looking at the phenomenon of co-participant completion.

Knowledge of grammatical structure has been shown to enhance projectability in the joint construction of utterances (e.g., Antaki, Diaz, & Collins, 1996; Auer, 1992; Hayashi, 1999, 2002, 2005; Hayashi & Mori, 1998; Lerner, 1987, 1991, 1996a, 2004; Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Sacks, 1992). For instance, Lerner (1987, 1991, 1996a) proposes that participants have available a turn-constructional unit which provides resources needed to complete the utterance-in-progress of another participant and calls it the "compound turn-constructional unit." Although Lerner states that the compound turn-constructional unit format is not composed solely of syntactic features, the bulk of his examples comes from the two-part syntactic formats that consist of a preliminary component and a final component such as [if X-then Y] and [when X-then Y] as well as other syntactic features such as quotation markers and a list structure. In the current Japanese data as well, participants orient to certain syntactic features in their projections of what might be said next in emerging utterances. Presented below are some of the

characteristics of conversational Japanese that appear to be closely related to projectability.[16]

First, Japanese is a so-called predicate-final language; therefore it is often characterized as an SOV (Subject + Object + Verb) language as well. The following example taken from my data illustrates the SOV structure:

Okano: Nippon-jin   katana o motteru.
        Japanese-people sword   O own
        [Subject]   [Object] [Verb]
        "Japanese people own swords."

Although the word order in which a predicate is placed in the sentence-final position such as above is considered canonical in Japanese (Kuno, 1973; Martin, 1975), word order varies in actual spoken discourse. Nevertheless, interactional participants often treat a turn as nearing completion when a final predicate has been produced (Tanaka, 1999; Hayashi, 2002).

A second important feature of conversational Japanese grammar is that it is a postpositional, as opposed to prepositional, language. This means that "[a]ll case relations and other functional relations that would be represented in English by prepositions, subordinating conjunctions, and coordinating conjunctions are expressed in Japanese by 'particles' that are postpositional" (Kuno, 1973, pp. 4-5). The following is a slightly simplified version of an utterance taken from my data. It contains a case particle *de,* which is used to mark a place where an action takes place, and a conjunctive particle *tara,*

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[16] See also Hayashi (2002) and Tanaka (1999), among others, for the descriptions of aspects of Japanese conversational grammar that are relevant to the present discussion.

which in this context is equivalent to the English "if."

Bao: Yooroppa **de** wa, yappari ajia-jin dat**tara** saisho chainiizu tte kikareru

Europe   in   TP as-expected Asians CP:if   at-first   Chinese QT be-asked

[Europe + in]   **[Asian + if]**

"**In Europe**, as expected, **if** (you) are **Asian**, first (you) are asked if (you) are Chinese."

This feature puts Japanese in marked contrast to the English language, which has "a set of compound turn formats that begin with a *turn-initial* compound format marker" (Lerner, 1991, p. 445) such as "if" in the [if X-then Y] format and "when" in the [when X-then Y] format.

Another important feature is frequent 'ellipsis,' or a phenomenon defined by Martin (1975) as "the suppression of words or phrases presumably intended by the speaker and understood by the listener" (p. 28). In many cases, the "absence" of the unexpressed elements (e.g., grammatical subject, direct object) is not treated as such by participants because they are identifiable from the context.[17] Note that the original Japanese utterance in the above example does not actually contain an equivalent of the personal pronoun 'you,' which is presented in the parentheses in the English translation.

In this section I have focused on some notable syntactic features of conversational Japanese that might affect projectability of what is to follow in an emerging utterance.[18]

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[17] This does not mean that such unexpressed elements are always identifiable. In fact, as Tanaka (1999) notes, "participants' treatment of ellipsis is often understandable only in the sequential and pragmatic context in which it occurs" (p. 21).

[18] Previous research argues that these syntactic features, especially word order and postpositional markings of grammatical relationships, overwhelmingly result in "delayed projectability" in Japanese turn organization, namely, a late "arrival of the point at which the emerging shape of a

However, this is not to be taken to indicate that grammatical structure is the only resource that participants draw on to make projections. In fact, in most cases it does not specify which one of the possible items within the projected form will be used to complete an utterance in progress. Embodied actions such as gaze shift and hand gestures play significant roles not only in locating an appropriate place for launching co-participant completion, but also in projecting what item might be produced by the current speaker in an emerging turn.[19] For example, Hayashi (2005) describes what he calls a "visual projection" (p. 24) of what is going to happen next in interaction in Japanese. Specifically, he discusses an instance in which the current speaker's deployment of a particular hand movement, along with other resources, is utilized by a recipient, who demonstrates her understanding by jointly producing the turn in progress. My data also contain instances of co-participant completion in which embodied actions offer clues as to specific lexical items to use.

4.5. CO-PARTICIPANT COMPLETION DESIGNED TO FACILITATE PARTICIPATION BY NONNATIVE SPEAKERS

We now move on to the examination of the ways in which co-participant completion is actually accomplished in NS/NNS interaction in Japanese. I start exploring the practice with an examination of what precedes the launching of co-participant completion in terms of the presence or non-presence of perturbed features in the current

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turn can be known" (Tanaka, 1999, p. 103) as opposed to early syntactic projectability in English. Hayashi (2002) specifically discusses these syntactic practices to account for the observed 'delay' in co-participant completion in the Japanese conversation data he examined.

[19] Studies have been conducted to explore projectability and the nonvocal aspect of participants' conduct such as gaze, posture, and manual gesture (e.g., Goodwin, 1981; Heath, 1986; Schegloff, 1984; Streeck, 1995; Streeck & Hartge, 1992).

speaker's emerging utterances (Section 4.5.1.). I then present instances in which syntactic features of the first speaker's turn-in-progress strongly foreshadow what is coming (Section 4.5.2.). Section 4.5.3. focuses on instances in which embodied actions play particularly significant roles. These examples demonstrate that hand gestures can serve as a resource to project the next item in the unfolding turn and how gaze directions relate to the (self-)selection of the second speaker.

4.5.1. Perturbations Prior to the Onset of Co-Participant Completion

As noted earlier, in instances of co-participant completion where the first speaker is NNS and the second speaker is NS, it is observed that the first speaker's contribution is routinely characterized by perturbations. In this section, I first present exemplary cases in which NNSs' utterances-in-progress have perturbed features at the time when they are continued or completed by NSs. I then present cases in which the NNS first speakers' utterances do not have such features, and attempt to account for the deviant cases.

4.5.1.1. When the First Speaker's Turn has Perturbations

Excerpt (1) below provides an example of the first speaker's turn characterized by numerous verbal and vocal perturbations. The fragment is taken from a group discussion in which four participants (two Japanese and two international students) are preparing for a team debate on the pros and cons of international marriage in Japan. In this instance, Wan, a Chinese student, is attempting to build an argument that international marriage is not to be discussed in terms of merits and demerits that come with it, but rather it is bound to happen given the current workforce situation in Japan. His contribution contains several noticeable features of perturbation. Lines 5 and 6 produced by Wan and line 7 by

Kotani, a Japanese student, constitute a single, syntactically complete unit. The following is a simplified representation:

Lines 5-6 Wan: Line 7 Kotani:

moshi: sono: gaikokujin ga, ki- itara: maa   →   moo kokusai-kekkon ga hueru yo ne.

Lines 5-6 Wan: Line 7 Kotani:

If, um, foreigners *ki-* are ((in Japan))[20], well → international marriage will surely
                                                    increase, won't it.

(1) **"If there are foreigners + international marriage will increase"**[21] [#21][22]

	01	Wan:	gojuu-nen-go, sono ima no ningen no, hito no seesanryoku o iji suru tame ni
			50-years-later um now LK humans LK persons LK productivity O maintain for
	02		gaikoku kara:: hito o yoseru ka mata wa sono teenen o nanajuu (-) go,
			abroad from persons O invite or alternatively um retirement-age O seventy five
	03		[naru
			become
	04	Yamada:	[hee::
			Wow
	05	Wan:	(-) tte iu yohoo ga atte: (-) de (-) ma (-) ano moshi: sono: gaikokujin ga,
			QT say forecast SB exist and well uhm if um foreigners SB
→	06		ki- itara: maa
			ki- be:if well
			Fifty years from now, um, to maintain the current human, people's
			productivity, ((they)) will either invite people fro:m abroad or, um,

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			the retirement age becomes seventy (-) five, it is forecasted, and well, uhm, if, um, foreigners *ki-* are: ((in Japan)), well,
→	07	Kotani	moo koku[sai-kekkon ga hueru yo ne. EMP international-marriage SB increase FP FP international marriage will definitely increase, won't it.
	08	Wan	[kokusai-kekkon ga a: hueru, soo iu kankei. international-marriage SB um increase such relationship international marriage will, um, increase. That's the ((cause-effect)) relationship.

Wan's contribution prior to the point where Kotani sets out to provide the final component of Wan's turn-in-progress contains a series of vocal features to note: two instances of a hesitation marker *sono* (uhm), a self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) in the form of a restart that replaces the word *ningen* (humans) with *hito* (person/people) (line 1), a stretched vowel at the end of a particle *kara* (from), misuse of the verb *yoseru* (line 2), a break in the middle of one word meaning "seventy-five" (line 2), four intra-turn pauses, misuse of the noun *yohoo*, and three hesitation markers *ma, ano,* and *sono* (line 5). It appears that Wan mistakenly used a part of a compound verb *yobiyoseru* (to have somebody come over) when he produced the verb *yoseru* in line 2. The second instance of his lexical misuse is a case in which he should have produced the noun *yosoo* (prediction) instead of *yohoo* (line 5), which is used to refer to weather forecast. While nobody treats these misuses as problematic because the context and the resemblance of the wrong word to the correct word in each case provide sufficient information for Wan's recipients to understand what he meant, these are observable linguistic errors that add to the indication of difficulty in producing this

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turn on the part of Wan.

In line 6, after abandoning an element that starts with *ki*,[23] Wan utters *itara:,* the verb for animate existence in the conditional form[24] with its final vowel prolonged. The appearance of *itara* indicates that Wan's ongoing turn has come to the point that possibly constitutes the end of the first component of a two-part turn-constructional format (i.e., [if X-then Y] in this particular case). Wan then produces a hesitation marker (*maa*), which is immediately followed by Kotani's contribution that completes the turn started by Wan.

That Kotani supplies the second component as soon as the shape of Wan's ongoing turn has become known indicates that syntactic structure plays an important role here as an interactional resource that occasions co-participant completion. It should be noted, however, that the completion is not performed until the perturbed nature of Wan's turn has been cumulatively revealed. It is particularly important to note that Wan's ongoing turn is characterized by three intra-turn gaps and three hesitation markers (uhm's) towards the end of the unit that will be made into the first component of the jointly constructed unit by Kotani's completion.

The next excerpt also presents an example of the first component being characterized by perturbations. In this case, the first speaker's distinctive embodied actions as well as verbal and vocal perturbations in his ongoing utterances appear to

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[23] Based on what Wan has just said (i.e., that Japan will need to invite people from abroad) and the two items just prior to the *ki-* (i.e., noun *gaikokujin* [foreigners] and subject marker *ga*), the probability seems very high that the *ki* was meant to be part of *kitara* (if [foreigners] come).
[24] As noted in Section 4.4.2., Japanese is a postpositional language, and the subordinate clause in the two-part format [if X-thenY] (i.e., the part [if X]) is marked with a conjunctive particle *tara* (also called "conditional form") at the end. Another example of a two-part, multi-clausal turn-constructional format is discussed later in section 4.5.2.

trigger the supply of the predicate by one of his recipients.

(2) **"The policy is + loosened up"** [#3]

Prior to this sequence, a Japanese student (Isoda) brought up the topic of *hitorikko seesaku*, so-called "One-Child Policy" implemented by the government of the People's Republic of China. Two Chinese students (Bao and Lim) jointly offered explanations as to when the policy was launched and the resultant slowing down of growth in China's population. The following fragment begins where Bao attempts to provide information regarding a change in the governmental policy due to population aging.

	01	Bao:	|---gaze on Sugita/Isoda--- demo ima, amari (-) yappari ne, eeto kooreeka ga: but now (not)very as-expected FP uhm population-aging SB But now, not so, you see, uhm population-aging
	02	Sugita	n: Uh hu:h
	03	Isoda:	a: O:h
→	04	Bao:	-----| ((lifts L hand)) |-gaze on Sugita ((L hand small, 5 up-downs)) susunde, chotto (--) eeto seesaku wa ne, advance a-little uhm policy TP FP has advanced, a little, uhm, the policy is, you know
→	05	Isoda:	yurunde loosen:and loosened up

06	Bao:	|--Isoda-| ((L hand small up-down movements continued from))
		yurun::ku natte kita n desu ne.
		loosen- become N CP FP
		loosen- has become loose.
07	Sugita:	hu::n
		H::m

Bao's use of an adverb *amari* (line 1) foreshadows an item in the negative form[25], but after a subsequent pause, he abandons the use of a negative word. Two instances of a hesitation marker *eeto* (lines 1 and 4) indicate that Bao is doing two successive word searches.[26] A series of noticeable movements occurs towards the end of the first component: Bao lifts his left hand, which was resting on the desk, and moves it leftward as he produces *chotto* (line 4), brings it back in front of his chest at *eeto* (uhm), and starts producing rapid, up-and-down movements of the left hand (with all the fingers aligned and extended, and the palm facing down) at the onset of the noun *seesaku* (policy). These vertical movements of Bao's hand start immediately following *eeto* (uhm) while his gaze is withdrawn from the two co-participants at whom Bao's gaze was previously directed (i.e., Isoda and Sugita).

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[25] *Amari* is used with a negative form of a verb, adjective, or noun to mildly negate the degree, frequency, and so on expressed by these words (e.g., not very; not much).

[26] Another observation can be made about the way Bao pronounces eeto. For a hesitation marker, it is unusually, clearly uttered. This makes the presence of the two instances of *eeto* stand out.

Figure 1: Line 4 Bao: susunde, chotto (--) eeto seesaku wa ne,

(has advanced, a little, uhm, the policy is, you know)

These embodied actions, together with the vocal features mentioned above, appear to indicate that Bao is engaged in a word search. Indeed, that is how Bao's ongoing turn is oriented to by one of his co-participants, Isoda, who furnishes a verb that fits the noun *seesaku* (line 5).

We have seen two exemplary cases that illustrate how perturbations in a participant's contribution can occasion co-participant completion. Non-speaking participants do not only attend to various features of the current speakers' turns but also treat them as interactionally relevant. In other words, when another participant's ongoing turn shows a sign of difficulty in producing, interlocutors take that as an opportunity to step in and continue or complete the utterance started by the other participant.

In the following section, we explore instances in which utterances-in-progress are completed by another participant despite the absence of such perturbations. This investigation will help us see multiple aspects of the interactional environment in which

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co-participant completion occurs, and ultimately confirm the significance of perturbations in this practice in NS/NNS interaction in Japanese. In other words, rather than providing evidence against the relevance of perturbations in the occurrence of co-participant completion, these instances will provide strong support for it because the first components in these instances have properties that offer particularly strong projectability and/or solicit co-participation from recipients.

4.5.1.2. When the First Speaker's Turn Has No Perturbations

The three instances below constitute unusual cases of the Type 1 co-participant completion where the first speaker is NNS and the second speaker is NS. They are unusual in that the first speaker's turn-in-progress does not display signs of perturbation. These instances are presented here to underscore the significant role that perturbations in the first speaker's turn-in-progress play in NNS-NS co-participant completion. In other words, if the first component does not have perturbed features, this type of co-participant completion is performed only when the first component has come to a point where grammatical structure affords a particularly strong projection and/or where the first speaker's vocal or nonvocal conduct invites a recipient to chime in.

(3) **"If you add 300 million + it will be a serious matter"** [#15]

This segment comes from the same interaction as Example (2). Prior to the following exchange, Bao, a Chinese student, has just informed his Japanese recipients that China's population has decreased by 300 million since the "One-Child Policy" was enforced. Bao's turn in line 1 immediately follows elaboration by another Chinese student, Lim, that the population is still 1.3 billion. (Note that Bao's utterance in line 1 is not

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intelligible due to a grammatical mistake. Isoda appears to have misunderstood the numbers, namely, China's population prior to the enforcement of the policy, the difference that the birth control policy has brought about, and the current population. Nevertheless, nobody seems to be aware of the incoherent exchange, and the confusion does not create an observable interactional problem.)

	01	Bao:	juni-oku[:::::::::: ka juusan-oku naranakatta kedo.
			1.2 billion or 1.3 billion became:Neg but
			It didn't become 1.2 billion or 1.3 billion, but / 1.2 billion or... it didn't become 1.3 billion, but[27]
			|--gaze shift to S---
	02	Isoda:	[a mou hueteru ((laughing))
			oh already increase:and
			Oh, it's already increased.
	03	Lim:	soo da ne.
			so CP FP
			That's right.
	04	(-)	
	05	Lim:	Hue[teru n da yo ne.
			increase N CP FP FP
			It's increased, right.
	05	Bao:	[demo
			But
			|----gaze on Sugita---|.
→	06		san-oku pula shitara ((closes lips tight at the end))
			300-million plus do:if
			If you add 300 million

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[27] Because it is not clear what is meant here, two possible interpretations are provided.

→	07	Isoda:	taihen na koto ni ne: serious thing P FP ((it will be)) a serious matter, right
	08	Bao:	[((slight bow and nod to Isoda; smiling))
	09	Lim	[((laughs))
	10	Sugita:	indo ni kosarechaimasu yo ne: jikini ne India by outnumbe:Pass FP FP soon FP (China) will be outnumbered by India, right, soon, right.

In contrast with the two examples in the previous section, no vocal or nonvocal perturbations are found in this instance that indicate trouble in producing. However, Bao's contribution has two features that deserve attention.

First, the *tara* in the verb *shitara* (line 6) is a conjunctive particle used at the end of the Japanese equivalent of the [if X] clause in the two-part format [if X-then Y]. Therefore, the use of the clause-final marker *tara* informs the hearers of the shape and nature of what the speaker is going to say (i.e., the main clause that presents the "consequence" of the condition expressed in the first component). Furthermore, based on the information already provided (i.e., China's current population would be bigger by 300 million had the One-Child Policy not been enforced), it is not difficult to predict the semantic content of the predicate that is coming up. In other words, a unit ending in *tara* in general has a strong projective capacity, and the *tara* clause here has a particularly strong projective capacity.

Second, Bao closes his lips in a recognizable manner upon completion of the production of the clause ending in *tara*. This is significant because Bao's use of *tara*, a nonfinal element in a sentential unit, indicates that he is still at the midpoint of the

two-part unit he started producing when he uttered tara, yet his lips appear to suggest that he is done. His talk and visual display are incongruent. It is precisely at this moment when Isoda continues Bao's first component.

(4) **"The girl runs and + flees"** [#12]

The following fragment is taken from a group activity in which the members discuss the plot for their upcoming skit presentation. Touré, a Senegalese student, makes a proposal as to how a rowdy scene should be acted out. *Oni* refers to a demon-like creature.

01	Touré:	((expands and rounds left arm)) a dakara koo, konna kanji de ([te) nanka warui koto yatte, de oh so in-this-way, like-this impression and ( ) something bad thing do:and and Oh, so, this way, like this, (he) (and) does something bad and	
02	Miyake		[n: Uh huh
→ 03	Touré:	onna no ko ga hashitte: de girl SB run:and and the girl runs and	
→ 04	Kojima:	nige[te flee:and flees	
05	Touré:	[aoinu, aoi no ga kite[28] blue-( ) blue N SB come:and *Aoinu*, the blue one comes along	

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[28] The noun Touré attempted to produce when he said *aoinu* is *Ao Oni* (Blue Oni), one of the two main characters of this skit. *Oni* refers to a demon-like creature. Touré appears to have noticed instantly that he mispronounced the noun and is unable to recall the correct noun. He quickly paraphrases it without using the noun unavailable to him at the moment.

Touré's contribution has not shown signs of difficulty in producing when his turn (line 3) is continued by Kojima (line 4). Of interest to us here is the form of the verbs Touré uses in lines 1 and 3, *yatte* and *hashitte*. The form is called by various terms such as the *-te* form,[29] the gerund, the gerundive form, or the conjunctive form (e.g., Iwasaki, 2002; Kuno, 1973; Martin, 1975) and is a connective suffix as opposed to a termination suffix (Iwasaki). According to Iwasaki, "the *-te* form is the most typical medial form for continuous events (with the same subject)"[30] (p. 261) in spoken Japanese.[31] Among several functions of this form identified by past research are connecting two predicates and (simultaneously) representing temporal sequence (e.g., Iwasaki; Kuno; Martin; Nihongo Kyooiku Gakkai, 1982, p. 397). Now, look at a simplified version of the above fragment. The verbs in the *-te* form are in boldface.

```
01 Touré:   konna kanji de (      [ te) nanka warui koto yatte, de
             like this, ((he/Blue Oni)) (     and) does something bad and
03 Touré:   onna no ko ga hashitte: de
             the girl runs and
→04 Kojima: nigete
             flees
```

We can safely assume that the expected continuity indicated by the conjunctive *-te* form is related to co-participant completion in this instance. In fact, there are 5 instances of

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[29] The *-te* form ends in either *-te* or *-de* depending on the verb type and the base type of a particular verb.
[30] A "medial form" is a non-finite verb form used at the end of a medial clause which is linked to the next clause (see Iwasaki, 2002, p. 261).
[31] It should be noted that, in actual interaction, it is not uncommon for utterances to end in the *-te* form.

co-participant completion in my data in which the final (or near-final) element of the first component is a verb in the conjunctive -*te* form. However, there are at least three more factors to consider in this brief segment in order to explore what has occasioned Kojima's contribution. First, the occurrence of multiple verbs (as opposed to a single verb) in the -*te* form in Touré's turn-in-progress is interactionally significant.[32] Jefferson (1990) identified a list structure that can serve as a basic sequential and interactional resource. Specifically, she observed the pervasiveness of a three-part structure which could be used to monitor for utterance completion, at which point another participant can start talking or add "member(s) to the list-in-progress" (Jefferson, p. 81). This function of the list structure appears to apply to the ways in which participants orient to a series of verbs in the conjunctive form in my data in that the structure of a recognized list-in-progress furnishes projectability, which provides a resource for co-participant completion. Specifically, it is commonly observed in my data that two verbs in the conjunctive form used in succession by one participant are followed by another verb produced by another participant. In the instance analyzed here, the recognizable list in the form of [V1-te, V2-te] has already been underway when Kojima supplies another verb that constitutes an item in the list.[33]

Second, it should be noted that *hashitte* (run), the verb in the -te form that Touré

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[32] Although the entire word is indecipherable, the *te* of the unknown item in the parentheses in line 1 is clearly audible. It is quite possible that this is also the -*te* form of a verb.

[33] Note also that two deictic expressions are used in Touré's utterance in line 1, namely, *koo* (adverbial meaning "in this way") and *konna* (adnominal meaning "like this"). It has been found that participants use deictic terms to draw co-participants' attention to their gestures (C. Goodwin, 1986; Streeck, 1994). Indeed, Touré's turn is closely being attended to by his co-participants. The use of the two deictic expressions may have heightened the recipients' engagement, making it easy for Kojima to recognize the emerging list structure in Touré's turn-in-progress.

uses immediately preceding the point where Kojima steps in, does not suffice by itself for describing the action to be performed by the girl in this context (i.e., running away from the scary creature attacking villagers). One of the functions of the *-te* form is to express a means by which an action represented by the subsequent verb is performed. *Hashitte* only represents the manner in which the fleeing or the escaping is done (i.e., "by running") and does not connote fleeing/escaping itself; thus, it should be followed by some form of the verb *nigeru*. In fact, that is the verb Kojima supplies to continue Touré's turn. It should also be noted that Touré produced *de* ("and then") immediately after the verb *hashitte*. The presence of *de* informs Kojima that the second part of the appropriate expression (i.e., *hashitte nigeru*) is not coming. It is quite possible that this has prompted her to complete the verbal expression produced by Touré.

(5) **"It's boys everybody + wants"** [#24]

The following exchange takes place approximately 15 turns after the sequence presented in Example (2) in Section 4.5.1.1 ("The policy is + loosened up"). Building on Bao's comment that Chinese couples are allowed to have a second child if they meet certain conditions (to be shown in Example (6) below), Lim brings up the issue of gender-based practices regarding the birth of a second child. Bao's subsequent comment concerning the societal preference for sons solicits simultaneous co-participant completion from two of the three Japanese participants as follows. What is most noteworthy in this instance is Bao's use of a sentence-final particle *ne* in line 4.

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	01	Lim:	moshi hitori-me wa otoko no ko dattara ne, hitorik[ko shika nai
			if first-person TP male LK child CP:if FP only-child only exist:Neg
			If the first child is a boy, it has to be the only child.
	02	Isoda:	[aa:::
			O:::h
	03		a[totsugi
			Heir
			((general gaze on S)) ((gaze shift to Isoda at *ne*))
→	04	Bao:	[yappari hito. Ootko no ko ga minna ne. ((smile))
			as-expected person male LK child SB everybody FP
			As expected, people.[34] It's boys everybody
→	05	Sugita:	[hoshii no [ne ((3 upward moves of head over this turn))
			want N FP
			wants, right.
→	06	Isoda:	[hoshii, n ((3 nods over this turn))
			wants, yeah.
	07	Bao:	un hoshii, kazoku o tsuide kureru kara:
			yeah want family O succeed Aux because
			Yeah, they want ((boys)) because ((the boys)) succeed the family.

Although Bao abandons the word that starts with *hito*, his turn in line 4 is produced

smoothly and shows no visual signs of difficulty. What appears to play a crucial role here

is the use of *ne* immediately preceding the point where Sugita and Isoda supply the word

hoshii at the same time. *Ne* is categorized as a sentence-final particle, but it can be

attached to various elements within a sentence to accentuate the item that precedes it.

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[34] The English translation of the word *hito* presented here (i.e., people) is a tentative one.
Because Bao's initial utterance is abandoned after this word, it is unknown whether it was meant
to refer to "a person" or "people." Another possibility is that it was a part of the word *hitori* (one
person).

Iwasaki (2002) calls this type of *ne* "interactional particle" and states that some of those particles including *ne* "elicit the addressee's attention during the communication process, much as 'you know' does in English" (p. 285).[35]

Another point to note is that Bao directs his gaze to both Sugita and Isoda as he produces the turn that will be completed by them. It appears, then, that the particle *ne*, which vocally appeals to recipients and invites their co-participation, when used with an explicit visual request for attention, can solicit co-participant completion even when the turn-in-progress has no perturbed features.

The examination of unusual instances in which the first speaker's turn-in-progress has no perturbations have revealed that these cases can be accounted for by the presence of strong factors other than perturbations. Therefore, the overall significance of perturbations in the occurrence of co-participant completion is not invalidated. We now move on to further examine various ways in which NSs utilize interactional resources and continue or complete NNSs' ongoing turns to facilitate participation by the NNSs.

4.5.2. Grammatical Resources

In this section, four instances of co-participant completion are described whose first components contain grammatical resources that offer strong projectability. The resources discussed here are syntactically defined two-part formats and adverbial expressions that serve to narrow down the range of forthcoming predicates. This should not be taken to mean, however, that these grammatical features are the only resources that are relevant to the accomplishment of co-participant completion. On the contrary, it will

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[35] Note the the *ne* at the end of Sugita's turn (line 5) is not an interactional particle.

be demonstrated in the subsequent section (4.5.3.) that embodied actions as well as linguistic and content knowledge also play important roles to varying degrees. The following example also shows the first component that co-occurs with visual display (i.e., gaze withdrawal) associated with the first stage of a word search (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986).

(6) **"If one meets the condition, two children + may be had"** [#10]

The following exchange occurs immediately following Example (2) presented in Section 4.5.1.1. ("The policy is + loosened up") and several turns prior to the sequence presented in Example (5) above ("It's boys everybody + wants"). After commenting that the Chinese government has loosened up on its birth control policy, Bao goes on to elaborate on the situation. As stated above, while the primary purpose of presenting this example is to illustrate how a particularly powerful grammatical resource (i.e., a conjunctive particle *tara*) works, Bao's embodied actions appear to play an important role here as well. Specifically, note his use of *tara* and a numeric phrase *hutari* in line 13 as well as a restart (line 9), gestures (lines 9, 13, and 14), and gaze direction (lines 9 and 13).

06	Bao:	|-G on I-| ((L hand small up-down movements)) ((gaze generally on Isoda & Sugita)) yurun::ku natte kita n desu ne. loosen- become N CP FP (The policy has) loosen- has become loose.
07	Sugita	hu::n H::m
08	Isoda:	nanka sono= like um

	09	Bao:	------| ((lifts R hand, pats the air 3 times w/ palm down, downward movement))
			=jooken ni (-) **JOOKEN O** tsukete:
			condition P condition O impose
	10		A condition, a condition is set and
			(--)
	11	Sugita	[a:
	12	Isoda:	O:h
			[a:
			O:h
			((throws L hand in arch trajectory)) ((sticks out both index fingers vertically))
→	13	Bao:	kore jooken ni mitashitara: hutari:: ((gaze off except on *tari* when it's on Watase))
			this condition P satisfy:if two-persons
			if this condition is met, two children
	14		((3 up-and-down beats of both index fingers))
→	15	Isoda:	unde[mo ii.
			bear can
			may be had.
			|---------shifts gaze to Isoda-------| ((nods at *un*))
	16	Bao:	[e: o undemo ii:: tte iu koto de.
			um O bear can QT say thing and
			um may be had, it goes.
	17	Isoda:	((nods))

It is observable that Bao is having difficulty producing a sentence stating that Chinese couples are allowed to have two children if they meet some condition. Among a few distinctive visual displays, his gaze direction is particularly indicative of the state that Bao is in. In many cases, a word search consists of two phases, namely, solitary search and multi-party search (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986). The former is marked as

such by the speaker's gaze aversion, and the latter is marked as such by the speaker's bringing his/her gaze back to the recipient, which is taken as the speaker's invitation for the recipient to join in a collaborative search. Note that Bao withdraws his gaze, which was previously shifting between Isoda and Sugita, as he starts an utterance in line 9. It remains withdrawn for the duration of lines 13 and 14 except for a brief gaze shift to Watasae, who is sitting in front of Bao, when producing *-tari* of the numerical expression *hutari* [two persons]) at the end of line 13. This gaze withdrawal appears to indicate that Bao is at the phase of a solitary search. His vertical, up-and-down finger movements made during the prolonged vowel (at the end of line 13) and in silence (line 14) also seem to support this observation. These clues provide an opportunity for recipients to supply a word Bao seems to be trying to produce.[36]

The conjunctive particle *tara,* which marks the end of a subordinate clause, informs the recipients of the shape of the rest of Bao's turn-in-progress, and the numerical expression *hutari*, together with the semantic content of the *tara* clause, enables the recipients to project a forthcoming predicate. Based on these resources, Isoda supplies the predicate to complete Bao's turn. Bao ratifies her contribution by bringing his gaze to Isoda, nodding, and incorporating the predicate into his own utterance.[37]

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[36] Actually, the fact that a candidate word is supplied during what seems to be Bao's 'solitary' (as opposed to 'multi-party') search is inconsistent with previous research on word searches in English (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986) and Japanese (Hayashi, 2002), which has found that recipients typically supply a candidate item when the solitary search moves on to the next phase (i.e., multi-party search). The difference in this pattern between NS/NS interaction and NS/NNS interaction found in the present data will be discussed later in Section 4.6.1.

[37] By deploying the object marking particle (i.e., a postposition) *o* at the *beginning* of his resumed utterance (i.e., a place where postpositions are not normally expected) and inserting the predicate supplied by Isoda, Bao endorses the fittingness of Isoda's contribution in that it could have been produced as part of Bao's utterance.

The next example shows another instance in which a NNS's first component ends in a clause-final marker. The marker (*nara*) is also a conditional form as *tara* is.

(7) **"If they like each other + cultural differences are irrelevant"** [#18][38]

The following excerpt is taken from a group discussion in which three participants (two Japanese and one Chinese students) are discussing pros and cons of international marriage in preparation for a team debate. Approximately four minutes prior to this sequence, Gao, the Chinese student, presented his idea that international couples are no different from the couples who share the same home country in terms of the risk of disapproval by families and friends because the latter is not always celebrated, either. In the fragment shown below, Gao attempts to expand on this line of logic.

	01	Gao:	((shakes head)) ((points to notes on the desk w/ pencil)) jaa (--) e:to. kono (yoo na) ((Kato gazes at Gao at *(--) e:to*)) then uhm this (like) Then (--) uhm, (like) this
	02	Kato:	(moshi) ((looking at Gao's notes)) (if)
→	03	Gao:	kono hito wa: moshi suki-aeru nara ((Kato shifts gaze to Gao at *nara*)) this person TP if like-each-other:if If these people are able to like each other
→	04	Kato:	|--Gao--| ((shifts gaze to her own notes at *nai*)) kankee nai. relevance exist:Neg (it) is irrelevant.[39]

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[38] I was operating the video camera when this interaction was videotaped.

05	Gao:	tsuujiru to omou.
		get-through QT think
		I think ((they)) can communicate.
06	Sakuma:	te iu ka sa:.
		QT say Q FP
		Or rather

Up to this point, Gao's contributions have been generally characterized by a slower speech rate and gaze withdrawal from his co-participants, although it is observable that he is engaged in expressing his ideas rather than being unwilling to communicate. This segment is no exception. In line 3, Gao's gaze is fixed in the air in front of him as he slowly produces the first component of the [if X-then Y] format, with the subject *kono hito* (this person) that does not match the verb *sukiaeru* (like each other).[40] Following Gao's production of the clause-final marker *nara*, Kato immediately supplies a candidate predicate that completes the turn started by Gao in a way that is consistent with his previous arguments.

One observation can be made here regarding the timing of the delivery of anticipatory completion. Based on the examination of instances of co-participant completion that involve the co-construction of multi-clausal sentential units such as [X-tara + Y] ([If/When X + then Y]) and [X-kara + Y] ([Because X + Y]) found in his NS/NS Japanese data, Hayashi (2002) reports that "co-participants' delivery of the second

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[39] From their previous discussion, it seems obvious to both the participants and the analyst that the unexpressed subject is meant to be "the fact that the two people are from two different cultures."

[40] Instead of *kono hito* (this person), the subject should be either *kono hito tachi* (these people), where *tachi* is a plural suffix, the N1 and N2 format as in *kono hito to* [another noun], or a noun whose meaning is plural.

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part of these multi-clausal units is routinely *delayed* - delayed in the sense that the delivery of completion is regularly preceded by an intra-turn pause and/or some sorts of 'filled' pauses" (p. 79). It is not clear if this is also the case with NNS-NS completions in my data. Out of twenty-eight instances of Type 1 co-participant completion (i.e., NNS's utterance is continued/completed by NS) in my data, seven were instances that involve the multi-clausal sentential units mentioned above. Out of the seven instances, four were instances in which a NS second speaker's delivery of a completion of a NNS first speaker's turn-in-progress was somewhat delayed by the presence of *ma:* (well) or a lengthened final vowel followed by a micropause.[41] The rest of the instances (i.e., three instances) were cases in which the delivery of the second part of the two-part format was done without any delay. Example (7) presented above is one of them.

While the rather small number of instances does not allow us to conclude that Japanese conversationalists deal with opportunities to complete another participant's ongoing turn differently depending on whether the current speaker is NS or NNS, it is possible that co-participant completion is done differently in NS/NS and NS/NNS interactions in Japanese. Further investigation is necessary to answer this question. In any case, multi-clausal sentential units certainly seem to serve as a powerful resource that enhances the possibility of co-participant completion in both NS/NS and NS/NNS interactions.

Finally, it should be noted at this point that two different interpretations are possible for what is being accomplished by this particular instance of anticipatory

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[41] There were three instances for the former and one instance for the latter.

completion, although I will discuss in detail the kinds of actions accomplished by the practice of co-participant completion later in this chapter (Section 4.6.). Given the intra-turn pause and a hesitation marker *e:to* (uhm) that indicate Gao's lack of fluency (line 1) and Kato's attentiveness to Gao's gaze withdrawal, it is quite possible that Kato's completion of Gao's turn-in-progress was designed to provide linguistic assistance for Gao. However, the way Kato supplies the main clause (i.e., the second component) is different from other instances of Type 1 completion in that Kato's contribution is asserted and without any final particle that seeks an answer or agreement from the addressee (i.e., the speaker who started the original turn). It is also noticeable that Kato withdraws her gaze from Gao in the middle of producing the second component. NS participants in my data typically monitor NNS original speakers while continuing/completing the turn-in-progress initiated by the NNSs as if trying to see how their contributions are received.[42]

These observations, as well as Kato's previous display of her doubt about Gao's logic,[43] present another possible interpretation of this instance of co-participant completion: Kato is impatient with Gao's somewhat linguistically troubled utterances that contain logic she does not find convincing, and supplies the second part of the two-part turn started by him to expedite its completion. While it is not possible to determine which interpretation is correct, we can observe how Kato's contribution is oriented to, or rather,

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[42] These features of the units completing the turn-in-progress will be discussed later in this chapter in the section on actions being accomplished by co-participant completion.
[43] Kato and another Japanese student (Sakuma) have had difficulty understanding Gao's arguments a few times prior to this segment. In one of those moments, Kato expressed her disagreement by tilting her head and producing a response token *n:?* (huh?).

not oriented to, by Gao. Instead of acknowledging or incorporating it, Gao produces his own second component which is in line with Kato's contribution but has no formal resemblance to it.

The next two examples demonstrate how participants utilize grammatical resources other than multi-clausal sentential units that furnish strong projectability.

(8) **"Compared to ordinary marriage, the risk of divorce + is greater"** [#17]

The following excerpt comes from the discussion Example (1) is from. Unlike Example (1) in which the participants are preparing arguments for international marriage, this sequence shows their attempt to build an argument against it. Wan's turn-in-progress is completed by Kotani (line 4), who supplies the adjectival predicate for this comparative structure.

01	Wan:	|-K-| |--K--| kokusai (-) kekkon dattara ((inhales)) shuukan ga chigau shi, ma shuukyoo international marriage CP:if custom SB differ and well religion
02		no mondai ga atte: sono: ma: rikon no risuku ga hutsuu no kekkon yori (-) LK issue SB exist:and uhm well divorce LK risk SB ordinary LK marriage than In the case of international marriage, customs are different and, well, there is an issue of religion, uhm, well, compared to ordinary marriage, the risk of divorce
03		o[o( )

04	Kotani:	[ookii
		   big
		    is greater.

05	Wan:	((nods w/ gaze on Kotani))

06	Yamada:	aa:: O::h

One of the basic comparative structures in Japanese is [X *wa* Y *yori* <adjective>] (X is more <adjective> than Y).[44] *Yori* is a case particle which marks the preceding word as the standard of comparison. Therefore, it informs recipients that a comparative structure is underway and that an element whose meaning has degrees (e.g., adjective) is coming. In other words, with the contextual information and the two items being compared already expressed, *yori* (line 2) strongly foreshadows the next item in the emerging turn. In fact, based on the first two moras[45] of the word that Wan produces in line 3, which is not audible in its entirety, and his head nod in the post-completion slot (line 5), it appears that the adjective Kotani supplies (*ookii*, or "big") was indeed the item Wan had in mind.[46]

As for the occasioning of co-participant completion, Wan's turn-in-progress (lines 1-3) has vocal features indicating that he is producing it with some effort, although they do not mark his utterances as badly troubled because of his relatively high speech rate. They are an intra-word pause between two bases of the compound noun *kokusai-kekkon*, noticeable inhalation, three hesitation markers (i.e., *ma, sono:, ma:*),[47] prolonged vowels, and a pause right after the case particle *yori*. It should also be noted that Wan's gaze is withdrawn for the duration of this turn except when he briefly looks at Kotani twice in

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[44] Adjectives do not inflect for the comparative degrees in Japanese.

[45] A "mora" is a syllable-like unit in Japanese.

[46] The onset of Kotani's production of the adjective is slightly delayed than that of Wan's, but we can reasonably assume that Kotani was already ready to utter the word when the first mora was produced by Wan.

[47] "Ma" and "ma:" could function as hedges.

line 1.

(9) "Things like that and religion, they're really + not relevant, yeah" [#19]

      The participants in the following discussion are three Japanese and two Chinese

students who have just viewed a TV show in which Japanese and international people

living in Japan debated on the subject of international marriage. In the sequence

immediately preceding this excerpt, one of the Japanese students (Nakata) asked a

Chinese student (Lee) if he would be willing to marry someone from a different country.

In response to that question and further questions by another Japanese student (Nasu),

Lee expressed that he was not concerned as to where that person is from. In the sequence

below, Nasu supplies the predicate (line 7) for Lee's utterance-in-progress at a point

where it has become clear that the item Lee is producing is the adverb *zenzen*.

01	Lee:	amerika-jin demo ii desu yo. American-person P good CP FP An American person is fine, too.
02	Nasu:	are desu ka, dakara, soo da na, dakara moshi:: that CP Q therefore so CP FP therefore if
03		ja kanojo ga (--) chigau ( ) ne then she SB different FP Is it that thing? So, let's see, so, if, then, she ( )
04	Nakata:	((laughs w/ gaze on Nasu))
05	Lee:	Naka| |-------- gaze on Naka--------------- dakara soo iu no ya, ano: shuukyoo toka sore wa ne therefore like-that N and uhm religion etc. that TP FP

→	06		zenze[n
			utterly
			So, things like that and, uh:m, religion etc. they are really
→	07	Nasu:	[kankee nai <u>yo ne</u>.
			relation:Neg FP FP
			not relevant, yeah.
			--------gaze on Nasu----------
	08	Lee:	<u>ee:</u> kankee arimasu [yo.
			huh relation exist FP
			Hu:h? It IS relevant!
	09	Nasu:	[kankee arimasu ka?
			relation exist Q
			Is it relevant?
	10	Lee:	<u>**A::RU:** tte:</u>
			exist QT
			It IS!
	11	Nasu:	a wakannai ore mo kankee aru kamoshirenai. ((pulls down hat he's wearing))
			oh know:Neg I too relation exist may
			Oh, I don't know, it may be relevant to me too.
			|------------------------ gaze on Nakata--------------------
	12	Lee:	kankee aru to omou n ( )
			relation exist QT think N
			I think it is relevant ( )

Although the younger generation has come to accept the use of the adverb *zenzen* with a

word in the affirmative form and with a positive meaning in spoken language (Noda,

2000), it is primarily followed by a word in the negative form or with a negative meaning

to mean "not at all" (e.g., Daijirin, 2006). Therefore, it is not surprising that Nasu quickly

supplies the negative predicate as soon as he recognizes this adverb, which strongly foreshadows the form and/or meaning of the item to follow, before it is produced in its entirety.

In addition to the grammatical resource available in the immediate interactional environment mentioned above, Lee's prior remarks should be taken into account to explain Nasu's projection of what Lee was going to say. Lee has just expressed his flexibility regarding his future spouse's nationality/ethnicity. Another thing to note is an exchange regarding religion that took place approximately 4 minutes prior to this segment. At that point, it was established among the participants that both Japan and China are non-religious countries. Based on these pieces of information, it is natural for Nasu to predict that Lee will deny the weight of religion in a marital relationship. Nasu's use of the multiple particle *yo ne* indicates his assumption that the predicate he has just provided will probably be endorsed by Lee.

On the contrary, however, it is met with an explicit rejection by the original speaker. This is a rare instance in my data in which an anticipatory completion receives an outright rejection. Lerner (2004) also states, "empirical materials seem to indicate that, although acceptance and rejection of an anticipatory completion are response alternatives, rejection rarely happens. This is so because it is always possible to disregard a proffered completion" (p. 7). I suggest that Lee did not choose to simply disregard Nasu's contribution because it dealt with the core of their discussion.

In this section, we have primarily examined how syntactic features, among other interactional resources, are utilized in co-participant completion. It has been shown that

the syntactic organization of an ongoing turn is a powerful resource that helps identify a range of next possible items. However, it needs to be combined with other resources in order for recipients to specify the appropriate lexical item and determine who can legitimately supply the second component. In other words, grammatical information by itself cannot make co-participant completion happen in situated activities in which participants draw on one another's vocal and nonvocal conduct to build actions together. Next section will highlight some of those other resources, namely, embodied actions.

4.5.3. Embodied Actions

In this section, I demonstrate how gaze direction and manual gestures are utilized as valuable interactional resources in co-participant completion.[48] Gaze has been shown to play a crucial role in the organization of social activities (e.g., Kendon, 1967, 1990; C. Goodwin, 1980, 1981; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; Heath, 1984; Kidwell, 2003; Streeck, 1994). Co-present interactional participants draw on the state of gaze displayed by both the current speaker and hearer, including participants' orientation to another's gaze direction and its shift, to coordinate their actions. Gaze is particularly relevant to the transfer of speakership because the focus of attention displayed by participants' gaze direction reveals how they orient to each other and particular actions at particular moments, thereby affecting the ways in which the subsequent courses of actions unfold. In the instances of co-participant completion in the present data, gaze frequently accounts for (self-)selection of the next speaker (i.e., the participant who

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[48] While I agree with the stance that arbitrarily segregating interactive events in terms of whether they are produced vocally or nonvocally does not accurately reflect what the participants are doing (cf., C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1987), focusing on selected modalities helps us understand the complexity of multimodality in face-to-face interaction.

supplies anticipatory completion) in terms of both *who* and *when*.[49]

Other kinds of visual displays such as manual gestures have also been shown to play a crucial role in the accomplishment of co-participant completion (Bolden, 2003; Hayashi, 2002). In many of the instances examined in the present study, gestures deployed by the speaker appear to provide recipients with information that is not available elsewhere and help disambiguate what is presented in talk.

In what follows, five examples are presented to elucidate the mutual contextualization of nonvocal displays and talk in co-participant completion. The first two instances are similar in that participants' gestures, which represent different groups of people, play significant roles in the accomplishment of co-participant completion. The NNS first speaker's gestures, as well as other interactional resources such as syntactic features and gaze direction, help locate the place where anticipatory completion is possible and help project the item to come. In each instance, the first speaker's gaze shift to one of the recipients appears to have an effect on the launch of an anticipatory completion.

(10) **"Japanese and Chinese + are a little different"** [#5]

In the sequence preceding the one presented below, the participants were talking about various ethnic groups in Japan, specifically, whether one could distinguish between

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[49] Hayashi (2002) discusses the importance of mutual orientation displayed through gaze between the speaker and a recipient prior to the moment of co-participant completion in his Japanese data. In her study of collaborative turn sequences in a two-party conversation at a physics research-development company, Bolden (2003) reports two instances in which the addressee produces a completion of the speaker's turn when the speaker's gaze, which has been on an artifact, reaches the addressee.

different "Western" groups. Lloyd, an Australian student, asked a question as to whether the other participants could tell Australians from Americans. This question seems to have prompted Kato, a Japanese student, to pose a similar question to Lloyd regarding Japanese, Korean, and Chinese people. Lloyd's first turn (line 2) in response to Kato's question is characterized by a general lack of fluency. As the gazed upon co-participant, Kato makes a contribution in line 7, which completes the utterance started by Lloyd in line 5. Kato starts this turn after Lloyd halts verbally, at which point the projection of a forthcoming element has become possible.

	01	Kato:	nihonjin to: kankokujin toka: chuugokujin mikiwameraremasu? ((gaze on Lloyd))
			Japanese-people and South-Korean-people etc. Chinese-people distinguish
			Japanese, South Koreans, and Chinese - can you tell them apart?
			((scratches under nose)) |----------gaze on Kato---------|
	02	Lloyd:	a e:[:tto. nihonjin to kankokujin wa (-) sugoku niteru n dakedo (-) tokidoki
			oh um Japanese-people and South-Koreans TP very similar N but sometimes
			Uh, u::m, Japanese and South Koreans look alike a lot, but sometimes
	03	Kato:	[((laugh))
	04	Lloyd:	((extends L arm w/ fingers open and gaze on L hand))
			ano:.
			u:m
→	05	Lloyd:	|-gaze on R hand|--gaze on Kato-----
			nihonjin to chuugokujin wa. ((extends R arm, far from L arm)) ((extends L arm again))
			Japanese-people and Chinese-people TP
			As for Japanese and Chinese people
	06	(-)	((Lloyd quickly brings both hands together in front of his body with gaze on Kato))

→	07	Kato:	[chotto zenzen chigau.= ((small nods throughout this turn, gaze on Lloyd))
			a-little completely different
			((they)) are a little, completely different.
	08	Lloyd:	[ano ((moves both hands outward; gaze on Kato))
			Um
	09	Sasaki:	=a[[a
			Oh
	10	Lloyd:	[[chotto chigau. ((slight nod on each word, gaze on Kato))
			a-little different
			((they)) are a little different.

Before examining details of embodied actions and talk in this segment, it is important to

note that Lloyd's turn prior to the turn that gets completed by Kato is characterized by

vocal perturbations (M.H. Goodwin, 1983), namely, two hesitation markers (i.e., *e::tto*

and *ano:*) and two intra-turn pauses. These features suggest that Lloyd is trying to come

up with the right words. As noted earlier, this is an environment that frequently furnishes

an opportunity for co-participant completion. Additionally, the co-occurrence of the

stretched hesitation marker *e::tto* with the scratching of his upper lip,[50] which starts at

the last mora of Kato's question (line 1) and ceases after presenting the words "the

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[50] C. Goodwin (1986) reports that speakers' self-grooms that are not related to the content of talk
drive away the recipients' gaze. However, Lloyd's self-touch here does not repel his recipients'
gaze. At the onset of Lloyd's reaction to Kato's question, gaze of all of the four co-participants has
been brought to Lloyd. Interestingly, none of them avert their gaze after Lloyd's hand movement
has begun. Instead, their gaze is fixed on Lloyd while he produces this utterance except for two
brief moments when Miyake slightly looks away before returning his gaze to Lloyd. While the
difference in the recipients' attention to such movements between Goodwin's examples and the
current example is striking, they do not allow simple comparison or generalization with regard to
the nature of interaction (i.e., NS/NS and NS/NNS) and the language of communication (i.e.,
English and Japanese).

Japanese and Koreans" (line 2), indicates that he needs some time to answer the question.

Another striking feature of this interaction is Lloyd's hand movements subsequent to the utterance whose first half co-occurs with the scratching gesture. In particular, his use of both hands to represent two groups of people (i.e., left hand for the Japanese and right hand for the Chinese) to present a contrast between the two groups is noteworthy. Note that Lloyd did not utilize his hands to talk about the resemblance between the Japanese and Koreans in a previous turn, when he had less trouble producing the utterance. Let us now examine how Lloyd turns his hands into rhetorical devices. After offering his observation that the Japanese and Koreans look alike, Lloyd extends his left arm in front of his body, with palm facing Kato, as he produces a hesitation marker *ano:* in line 4. For the duration of line 4 and the first half of line 5, Lloyd's gaze, previously directed at Kato, is on his own left hand, thereby informing the co-participants that the hand is worthy of attention (Streeck, 1993).
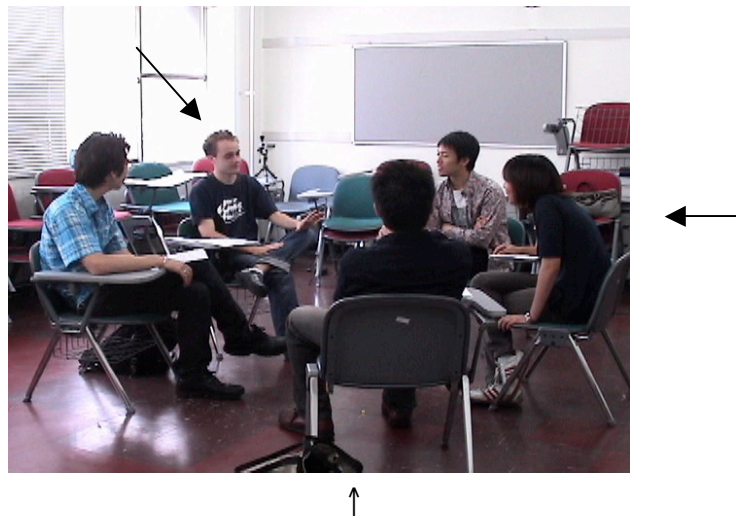
Figure 2: Line 4 Lloyd: **ano:.**   (u:hm)

In fact, he then goes on to assign a meaning to the left hand. As he produces *nihonjin* (Japanese people) in line 5, Lloyd slightly lifts his left hand and re-places it in the air as if making sure his recipients understand that the left hand represents the Japanese. As he produces the following noun *chuugokujin* (Chinese people), he extends the right arm in a similar manner, but in such a way that the right arm is placed far away from the left arm. At this point, his left and right hands have been established as representing Japanese and Chinese people, respectively. Lloyd brings his gaze to Kato after the first mora of the noun *chuugokujin* (i.e., *chu*).

↑

Figure 3: Line 5 Lloyd: nihonjin to chuugokujin **wa**. (As for Japanese and Chinese people)

Before examining the role of the hand gestures in this segment, we need to consider a few linguistic resources that enable the recipients of Lloyd's talk to predict how the turn-in-progress will unfold. First, when Lloyd offers his observation that the Japanese and Koreans look alike very much (line 2), it is presented with the contrastive conjunction *kedo* (but) at the end of the subordinate clause. The use of *kedo* strongly

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projects that what follows will be in contrast with the idea that has been just presented. In line 5, Lloyd proceeds to produce the noun phrase *nihonjin to chuugokujin* (Japanese and Chinese people), immediately followed by the topic marker *wa*. This marker functions as a so-called "contrastive *wa*" here. At this point, it is very likely that the other participants are able to predict that Lloyd is about to present an idea that is in contrast with his statement that the Japanese and Koreans look alike. In fact, Kato immediately produces the predicate *chotto zenzen chigau* ([they] are a little, completely different) to complete Lloyd's ongoing turn.[51] Kato's contribution turns out to be mostly correct when Lloyd ratifies the adverb *chotto* and the verb *chigau* by incorporating them into his subsequent turn (line 10).

Having examined the linguistic resources Kato appears to have utilized to successfully project what lexical items were forthcoming, we are now ready to discuss what role embodied actions played in relation to talk. After verbally producing the nouns for Japanese and Chinese people and securing a space for each group with his hands, Lloyd swiftly brings together his hands in front of his body with the palms facing Kato during the micropause in line 6. This movement is directly followed by a continuous movement of hands in the opposite, outward directions so that the two opposite directional movements constitute a single move.[52] It is precisely at the moment when

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[51] While the consecutive use of the two adverbs *chotto* (a little) and *zenzen* (completely) may seem contradictory, it should be noted that *zenzen* was produced after Lloyd's hands started to move in the opposite directions, showing some distance between the two groups.

[52] At first glance, Lloyd's initially putting together of his hands, each of which represents the Chinese and the Japanese, during the micropause in line 6 seems to contradict the idea that he appears to be trying to verbalize (i.e., that Japanese and Chinese people do not look alike). However, this movement is seamlessly followed by the outward movement of his hands. It appears that the first hand movement which eliminates the distance between the two groups is

Lloyd's hands launch the outward movement that Kato, Lloyd's gazed-upon, intended recipient, starts supplying a predicate to complete the utterance initiated by Lloyd. It appears that Kato took Lloyd's hand movements that do not co-occur with speech to indicate his difficulty in verbally expressing the 'distance' between the two groups of people that he is representing with his hands. In other words, the movement of Lloyd's hands did not only highlight the contrast between the two groups but also triggered the launch of the anticipatory completion. It is also to be noted that this occurred shortly after Lloyd's gaze reached Kato. Here we can confirm the power of gaze in the regulation of participant roles.

The next example presents another instance of co-participant completion in which hand gestures play a crucial role. In this segment, hands and physical space serve as reference points shared by the first and second speakers. It is also to be noted that co-participant completion is collaboratively accomplished by two participants who deploy different modalities (i.e., hand gestures and talk) simultaneously. Gaze shift appears to have an effect on the supply of the next item by one of the recipients.

(11) **"Maternal side's + grandpa and grandma"** [#4]

The excerpt below is taken from a group discussion following the viewing of a segment of a TV show in which Japanese and international people living in Japan exchange opinions on various issues. The participants are two Japanese students (Takagai

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actually done in preparation for the subsequent movement (i.e., it is done to maximize the distance that his hands subsequently travel in the opposite directions so that the effectiveness of showing the difference is enhanced).

and Kotani), a Chinese student (Gao), and a Senegalese student who remains silent in this segment. Immediately preceding this sequence, the two Japanese students made comments on recent disciplinary problems they observe among Japanese children. Gao chimes in that China has the same problem. Takagi immediately mentions China's "One-child Policy" as a possible cause, which is endorsed by Gao. The following exchange begins when Gao starts elaborating on the problem. *Hahakata no* (maternal side's) in line 8 and o*jiichan obaachan* (grandpa [and] grandma) in line 9 constitute an associative phrase.

	01	Gao:	ano: ryooshin no kyooiku shikata ga machigatte (-) gakkoo ni okuttemo (-)
			uhm parents LK discipline method SB err:and school to send:even-though
	02		(sono) gakoo seekatsu ni (-) narenai shi
			( ) school life to adapt:Neg and
			Uhm, the way parents discipline ((their children)) is wrong and (-) when they send the children to school, ( ) ((the children)) don't adapt to school life, and
	03	Takagi:	un
			Yeah.
	04	Gao:	ma ichiban, i- itsumo jibun ga ichiban desu kara
			well number-one i- always self SB number-one CP because
			Well, Number 1, they are a- always Number 1, so
	05	Kotani:	((a ball w/ both hands)) ((bounces it)) ((R hand))((L hand)) ((throws both hands down))
			a ie ni ita toki wa: hitori de: sono okaasan to otoosan de kawaiga[(ru)?
			oh home at exist when TP one-person and um mother and father P spoil
			Oh, when the child was at home, ((s/he)) was the only one and, um, mother and father spoil ((the child))?

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06	Gao:	[n:
		Yeah.
07		i- iya:, o- okaasan to o- otoosan da- dake janakute,
		i- no o- mother and o- father da- only CP:Neg:and
		No, not o- only m- mother and f- father,
		((tosses R hand)) ((L hand)) |--gaze T-|-gaze K---
→ 08		a, okaasan to otoosan, hahakata no (-) ((L hand to the right side after *kata no*))
		um mother and father maternal-side LK
		um, but also mother and father, the maternal side's
		((Gao tosses R hand)) ((Gao tosses L hand))
→ 09	Kotani:	ojiichan obaacha[n
		grandpa, grandma
10	Gao:	[soo soo soo soo
		Right, right, right, right.
11	Takagi:	[aa sookkaa:::
		oh so Q
		Oh I see!!!
12	Gao:	ma: ichiban ooi toki roku-nin de kawai (--) gatte iru n desu yo.
		well most many when 6-people P spoil N CP FP
		We:ll, at maximum, six people spoil the child.

As she attempts to have her understanding of Gao's remark confirmed (line 5), Kotani

produces five distinctive hand movements. First, she forms a ball-like object in the air

with both hands with palms facing center as she utters *ita toki wa* (when the child was [at

home]). Then she makes one up-down beat with the 'ball' as she produces *hitori de* (one

person/the only child and). These two gestures appear to refer to a child at home. Kotani

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then lifts right hand to the level of her head, moves it forward slightly, and stops it as if

placing something in that space as she produces *okaasan* (mother). She makes an almost

identical gesture with the left hand while uttering *otoosan* (father). Finally, as she

produces the first half of the verb *kawaigaru* (caress; spoil), Kotani brings both hands

down.

Figure 4: Line 5 Kotani: a ie ni ita toki wa: hitori de: sono okaasan to otoosan
(Oh, when the child was at home, ((s/he)) was the only one and, um, mother and father)

After producing a responsive token[53] (line 6), Gao immediately starts clarifying

that not only parents but also grandparents are responsible. What is significant about

Gao's turn that implies the involvement of grandparents (line 8) is the resemblance of his

gestures to Kotani's. As he produces the noun *okaasan* (mother), Gao places the right

hand, in the shape of a softly held fist, in the space in front of his right chest, with the

forearm extended. Over *otoosan* (father), he produces a very similar gesture with the left

hand. Gao appears to be utilizing the gestural representations of mother and father

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[53] It is not clear if the *n:* here is a simple continuer or the expression of (initial) confirmation of
or agreement with Kotani's understanding of his previous remarks.

established by Kotani, including which side to allocate for which parent, although the height at which the gestures are performed is lower that that for Kotani's gestures.

Figure 5: Line 8 Gao: a, okaasan to otoosan   (um mother and father)

Furthermore, not only does Gao deploy Kotani's method of embodied representation for each parent, but he also utilizes the space he and Kotani have established for mother (i.e., the right side) to represent a broader domain, the maternal side of the family. More specifically, after referring to mother and father both verbally and visually, Gao starts producing the associative phrase *hahakata no* (the maternal side's). As he produces *-hakata no,* Gao brings his left hand to the right side where his right hand is, which has been secured as the space for mother. At this point, the semantic space on the right hand side has been expanded to include the 'father' of the child's mother. Another thing to note is that Gao brings his gaze to Kotani during a micropause right after his production of this phrase.

The subsequent line (line 9) presents the continuation of Gao's utterance, which

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ends in *hahakata no*. Immediately after producing that phrase, Gao tosses his right hand

and then the left hand in the 'maternal space' in silence. Based on Gao's gaze withdrawal

after saying "it is not just mother and father" and the repetition of the nouns for mother

and father in the slot that was expected to be used for grandmother and grandfather,[54] it

seems that he made these gestures because the Japanese words for grandmother and

grandfather were unavailable to him. During Gao's tossing of his right and left hands,

Kotani, the recipient who has just received Gao's gaze, supplies the nouns *ojiichan* and

obaachan that continue the associative phrase *hahakata no* to form a noun phrase

hahakata no ojiichan obaachan (grandpa and grandma on the maternal side). Kotani's

production of *ojiichan* co-occurs with Gao's right hand gesture, and *obaachan* with the

left hand gesture.[55] In other words, the component that continues Gao's turn-in-progress

is collaboratively constructed by Gao, who uses embodied actions to bring 'grandparents'

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[54] Two interpretations are possible for Gao's repetition of the nouns *okaasan* (mother) and *otoosan* (father) in line 8. First, it could be that Gao realized that the Japanese words for grandmother and grandfather slipped his mind and repeated the two nouns he had just produced to fill a place before going on to attempt to produce a new noun phrase containing 'grandmother' and 'grandfather,' but he had to halt after *hahakata no* because the words were still not available to him. If this interpretation is correct, this is clearly a case of co-participant completion in which an utterance-in-progress is followed by a syntactically fitted unit produced by another participant. The second possibility is that the order of *okaasan to otoosan* and *hahakata no* are inverted, and *hahakata no* was actually an additional piece of information added retrospectively to modify the noun phrase *okaasan* to *otoosan*. In this case, the reconstructed, extended noun phrase is *hahakata no okaasan to otoosan* and has to be taken to mean 'the mother and the father of the child's mother." If this interpretation is correct, Kotani's subsequent contribution meaning 'grandpa and grandma' is an other-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) of the misused words. Nevertheless, what is observable in the interaction is Kotani's contribution providing a syntactically fitted continuation of the phrase *hahakata no*; therefore, this instance is treated here as a case of co-participant completion.

[55] Gao's right hand movement, which is supposed to represent 'mother' according to the two previous instances, co-occurs with the noun 'grandpa' produced by Kotani, and his left hand movement, which is supposed to represent 'father,' co-occurs with the verbal representation of 'grandma' by Kotani. This may be because 'grandpa and grandma" (as opposed to 'grandma and grandpa') is a widely used order of the two nouns when they are presented as a pair.

in the sequence, and Kotani, who presents them verbally.[56] Gao enthusiastically endorses Kotani's contribution.

In the two examples above, it appears that the first speaker's gaze shift to one of the co-participants provides an opportunity for that participant to continue or complete the turn-in-progress. The next example also presents strong support for the function of gaze in assuming speakership, although it is different from Examples (10) and (11) in that the participant whose gaze direction solicits co-participant completion is not the current speaker but the intended recipient of the current turn. Note also that, unlike the examples presented so far, this is an instance of a NS completing another NS's ongoing turn. It is included here because the first and second components by the two NSs are clearly directed to a NNS. Participants' gaze direction serves as evidence for that.

(12) **"the person to be brought + is somebody other than that"** [#31]

The group of participants in the following segment is the same as that for Example (4), although the interaction presented here took place a week later in a different class session.[57] Prior to the sequence below, the participants agreed that they would have to recruit two people from the audience on the spot during the skit presentation because there are more female characters in the plot than there are females in this group. Specifically, they need a girl with whom Red Oni,[58] the main character, falls in love and a girl that Blue Oni brings back to his village after a long journey. Two Japanese students

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[56] See Olsher (2004) for 'embodied completion,' the practice of completing a partial verbal turn with an embodied action deployed by the same person.
[57] Example (4) is from the second class session devoted to the preparation for the skit presentations, whereas Example (12) is from the third session.
[58] As noted earlier, *oni* is a demo-like creature. The plot centers around Red Oni and Blue Oni.

(Miyake and Kojima) ask Touré, a Senegalese student who will play the role of Red Oni, whom he feels comfortable with in the first situation. The excerpt begins where Touré names a female Japanese student.

01	Touré:	Satoko?
		(female name)
		Satoko?
02	Miyake:	Ko[tani-san?[59]
		Ms. Kotani?
03	Touré:	[Kota- Kotani.
		Kota- Kotani.
04	Kojima:	((nods))
		Satoko-san, un.
		Satoko-san, yeah.
05	Nasu:	((nods))
		|--------gaze on K's notes-------|---K *at re*---|--gaze on K's notes
06	Miyake:	de saigo kokuhaku suru no ga sore de:= ((body half oriented toward Touré:))
		then finally confide N SB that CP
		then, the one ((Red Oni)) confides to that he loves her at the end is that, and
07	Kojima:	=un
		Yeah.

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[59] As in any college classrooms in Japan, students in the present data go by their family names in class. It is not uncommon for students to be unfamiliar with their classmates' given names in Japanese colleges. Kojima, who is a close friend of Kotani's and refers to Kotani by given name outside of the classroom, confirms that Touré and Miyake are talking about the same person (line 4).

			|-sideway gaze on T--| ((body half oriented toward Touré))
→	08	Miyake:	tsurete kuru no wa:= ((Touré shifts gaze from his notes to Nasu at *wa:*))
			bring N TP
			the one to be brought
			((slightly downward gaze)) ((nods at *so* and *ga*))
→	09	Nasu:	=sore igai. ((assertively))
			that except
			is ((somebody)) other than that.
	10	(-)	
			|---T---| |-------K----------| ((nods after bringing gaze down))
	11	Miyake:	[soo da ne. ( )
			so CP FP
			That's right.
			|-N-| ((nods))
	12	Kojima:	[un. [[Sore igai ( )
			yeah that except
			Yeah, ((somebody)) other than that ( )
	13	Nasu:	[[((nods))

The most striking thing about this segment is that it is Nasu, who has not displayed active engagement in terms of verbal contribution and gaze direction up to that point, that provides an anticipatory completion. Although Nasu displays his attentiveness to the other three members' exchange by nodding at an appropriate place in line 5, he has remained silent.

While looking at Kojima's copy of the script that has the most extensive notes from their discussion, Miyake's body is partially oriented toward Touré, who is sitting next to him, when Miyake verbalizes their agreement on the 'casting' of Kotani (line 6). As Miyake produces a part of the utterance that mentions another role to be played by

another female student (line 8), it becomes clear that he is monitoring Touré. Miyake's body orientation is the same as it was when he produced the utterance in line 6, and he looks sideways toward Touré as he produces -*rete ku-* in the verb *tsurete kuru* (line 8). It appears that Miyake is concerned with Touré's state of understanding.

Towards the end of Miyake's turn-in-progress in line 8, Touré looks up from his script and directs his face toward Nasu.

Figure 6: Line 8 Miyake: tsurete kuru no **wa:**   (the one to be brought)

It is difficult to tell whether Touré's gaze is actually on Nasu's eyes, but it is clearly directed at the area of Nasu's face. At this point, Nasu supplies the predicate that is grammatically and semantically fitted to the utterance produced by Miyake. Although the last element of Miyake's utterance in line 8 (i.e., the topic marker *wa*) is slightly prolonged, that alone does not constitute a sign of difficulty so as to call for another participant's intervention. Therefore, it is most plausible to interpret Nasu's coming in as being responsive to gaze from Touré, the current speaker's intended recipient.

After a micropause, Miyake endorses Nasu's contribution without bringing his gaze to Nasu. Instead, Miyake looks toward Touré again during the second half of this turn (line 11). This also appears to confirm that Miyake's utterances were meant for Toure.

This example provides evidence that gaze direction can play a crucial role not only between the speaker and hearer at a given moment but also in the whole participation framework involving all co-present parties. Gaze is indeed a powerful resource to mobilize a seemingly inactive participant to take an active role. The next example illustrates how gaze is utilized by participants in combination with another embodied action.

(13) **"Black people + are remote beings"** [#2]

The following excerpt comes from a discussion in which five participants discuss stereotypes held about various ethnic and racial groups. Three Japanese participants, Isoda, Sugita, and Watase have wondered if Japanese persons would be seen as Chinese by Americans and Europeans outside of Japan. Bao, one of the two Chinese students in this group, suggests that Chinese and Japanese students would be able to make good friends if they were studying as international students in the U.S. The excerpt begins when Watase indirectly supports Bao's idea by alluding to the psychological distance between the group that consists of Chinese and Japanese students and other groups of people.

	01	Watase:	kyorikan: ga yappari (-) dooshitemo aru ne. ((laughing quality))
			distance-feeling SB as-expected (-) no-matter-what exist FP
			A sense of distance, as expected (-) no matter what, it's there, isn't it.
	02	Bao:	((tilts [head))
	03	Sugita:	[un
			Yeah.
	04	Lim:	soo desu ne.
			so CP FP
			That's right.
	05	Sugita:	u[n
			Yeah.
	06	Bao:	[soo desu ne.
			so CP FP
			That's right.
	07	(3.0)	
	08	Lim:	(a: to)
			(u:m)
			|-----gaze on Watase------------
→	09	Bao:	yappari kokujin to ne: (n) ka.
			after-all Black-people QT? (FP) ( ) FP
			Like you said, Black people (kind of)
	10	(-)	
	11	Bao:	((tilts head with gaze on Watase))
→	12	Watase:	tooi (-) sonza[i.
			distant existence
			Remote (-) beings.
	13	Bao:	[tooi kanji sonzai ne. Afurika tte tooi kana: to iu kanji.
			distant feeling existence FP Africa QT distant FP QT say feeling
			Remote feeling, being, right. Africa feels far away, I feel that way.

In line 12, Watase completes Bao's utterance started in line 9. Three things should be noted about the ways in which co-participant completion is achieved in this instance. First, Bao's previous remarks regarding the possibly close relationship between the Chinese and the Japanese, together with the use of adverb *yappari* allow other participants to predict that what Bao is going to say is in agreement with Watase's comment that there is psychological distance between the group he and his co-participants belong to (i.e., Asians) and other groups of people in the world.[60]

Second, Bao's tilting of his head after the production of the syntactically incomplete unit in line 9 and the subsequent micropause seem to indicate that the next item in talk is unavailable to him. In other words, although Bao's turn in line 9 does not contain word search indicators identified by past research (e.g., M. H. Goodwin, 1983; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; Ikeda, November 2003) except a partially inaudible element that may be a hesitation marker, Bao seems to be engaged in a word search when he tilts his head and keeps it in that position.

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[60] Approximately 15 turns prior to Watase's utterance in line 1, he mentioned white, yellow, and black as the only recognizable features he can use to distinguish different groups of people in the world.

Figure 7: Line 9 Bao: *yappari kokujin to ne: (n) ka.*

(Like you said, Black people (kind of))

Third, Bao's gaze has already been on Watase when Watase supplies the predicate for Bao's turn. Unlike Examples (10) and (11) in which the anticipatory completion takes place immediately or shortly after the first speaker's gaze *reaches* the co-participant who will turn out to be the second speaker, this state of gaze does not account for the precise timing of the completion. However, the fact that Bao keeps his gaze on Watase after the pause following the utterance in line 9 while keeping his head tilted appears to indicate that Bao is requesting Watase's co-participation in his activity of word search.[61] In other words, it appears that Bao has used a combination of head position, which appears to have a similar function as a 'thinking face,' and gaze to select Watase as the next speaker who should provide an appropriate item to complete his turn. Watase comes in and completes Bao's turn by providing a paraphrase of what he said in line 1. Bao ratifies

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[61] As previously noted, many cases, an activity of word search starts with a solitary search in which the speaker's gaze is averted from the recipient (cf. M.H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986). This phase is typically followed by a collaborative search whose beginning is marked by the speaker's bringing gaze back to the recipient.

Watase's contribution in his subsequent turn by incorporating both of the words that Watase supplied.

Our final example in this section provides an instance in which an anticipatory completion would have been impossible without the first speaker's use of hand gestures.

(14) **"And when he does this, that thing + gets snatched"** [#13]

The following excerpt comes from the same interaction as Example (12). In this segment, the group members discuss an action scene in which *Aka-oni* (Red Oni) defeats *Ao-oni* (Blue Oni).[62] Preceding this segment, Nasu, a Japanese student who plays Blue Oni, and Toure, a Senegalese student who plays Red Oni, playfully tried out the fighting scene using rolled-up newspapers that would serve as a cudgel. The excerpt starts right where Touré proposes they make another "weapon," something that looks like a sword. He further proposes specific actions to be performed by Red Oni and Blue Oni. After a few turns produced by Touré that abound with vocal perturbations, in line 12 Nasu supplies a verb that continues Touré's utterance in line 10.

	01	Touré:	| ----------gaze on Nasu ------------------ nanka (-) kami no are toka o tsuku- nan to iu no something paper LK that etc. O mak- what QT say N Something (-) that thing made of paper and such ((we)) mak- what do you call it?
	02	Nasu:	n? Huh?

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[62] As noted earlier, *oni* refers to demon-like creatures.

	03	Touré:	Katana mi[tai
			sword like
			like a sword
	04	Nasu:	[a!
			Oh!
	05	Miyake:	[( ) a::
			( ) O::h
	06	Touré:	ka( )
			ka( )
	07	(2.0)	((Toure is thinking something with his gaze on Nasu))
	08	Touré:	|----------------------------------gaze on Nasu----------------------------------
			a, a- ato: sore o: [nanka, sore o ao-oni ga sore o mot[[tete:
			oh a- in-addition that O um that O Blue-Oni S that O be-holding:and
			Oh, th- also: tha:t, um, that, the Blue Oni is holding that and
	09	Nasu:	[((nods once)) [[((nods twice))
→	10	Touré:	---------gaze on Nasu----------
			de, koo yattara: [sore (-) ((stands up & lifts R arm at *koo*))
			then like-this do:if that
			Then, when ((Blue Oni)) does this, that
	11	Nasu:	[n
			yeah
→	12	Nasu:	((lifts both hands diagonally from lower L to upper R))
			[totte
			((he)) snatches and
	13	Touré:	[nanka sore o tsukande[[: ((grabs 'weapon' at *:* at the end))
			like that S grab:and
			like, ((Red Oni)) grabs that and

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14	Nasu:	((returns hands in the same path))
		[[( )tte:
		( ) and
15	Miyake:	n: n:
		Mm mm
16	Touré:	konna kanji (("attacks" the opponent w/ the weapon horizontally, L to R))
		like-this impression
		something like this
17	Nasu:	((nods)) ((groans with both hands on the stomach over *uo:::!*))
		a, uo:::!
		Oh, ughhh:::!

The first noticeable feature of this segment is Touré's general lack of fluency marked by various vocal perturbations.[63] Touré's excessive use of the demonstrative pronoun *sore*, which seems to be due to his lack of knowledge of the appropriate noun to refer to the weapon that he has in mind, adds to the troubled nature of his utterances because it is not clear whether he is referring to the weapon which looks like a sword or the rolled-up newspapers sitting on the desk in front of Nasu.

Let us now examine the moment of co-participant completion. The relevant part of the transcript is presented below in a simplified form so that it is easier to grasp how Touré's utterance is continued by Nasu to form a continuous syntactic unit. (Note that the verb *totte* in Nasu's line is produced in overlap with the second half of Touré's line.)

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[63] They include three occurrences of a hedge token *nanka*, a place-holder *are* (cf. Hayashi, 2002), abandoned words, three repetitions of *sore o*, and an explicit metalinguistic remark *nanto iu no*.

Touré: de, koo yattara: [sore   (-) [[nanka sore o tsukande:
Nasu: [n   [[totte

Touré: Then, when (Blue Oni) does this, [**that** (-) [[like, (Red Oni) grabs that
Nasu: [Yeah   [[(he) **snatches** and

↑

Figure 8: Line 10 Touré: de, koo yattara: sore **(-)**

(Then, when ((Blue Oni)) does this, that)

The grammatical subject of the subordinate clause *koo yattara* is understood as *Ao-oni*
(Blue Oni) based on what Touré has just said in line 8. The use of the conjunctive particle
tara indicates that Touré is not done with his current turn.[64] It also provides his recipients
with an opportunity to narrow down possible predicates that could fill the slot equivalent
to the main clause of [then Y] in the [when/if X, then Y] format. Specifically, given the
idea which has just been expressed in line 8 (i.e., Blue Oni's action of holding a weapon)
in the context of discussing an action scene and the meaning of the adverb *koo* (like

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[64] Note that turns ending with "-*tara*" are syntactically incomplete but not necessarily
"pragmatically incomplete" (Tanaka, 1999, p. 194). However, in this particular case, there are no
resources up to this point that point to the finality of Touré's utterance.

this) which precedes the verb *yattara,* the forthcoming element in the main clause is expected to be some kind of action to be performed and operate on *sore* (that), the weapon Blue Oni is holding.

While the range of possible predicates in the second component is narrowed down by syntactic as well as semantic and contextual resources to some degree, it is still not possible to project what is exactly coming in Touré's unfolding utterance without taking into account his embodied actions. The first important piece of visual information is his gesture that co-occurs with the deictic adverb *koo* (like this) and the following verb *yattara:* (when [he] does) in line 10. As he utters *koo yattara:,* Touré gets up from the desk he was sitting on and lifts up his right arm. *De, koo yattara:* (then, when [he] does like this) is interpretable as a continuation of the prior turn ending in *ao-oni ga sore o mottete:* (Blue Oni is holding that, and). The demonstrative *sore* (that) refers to a weapon; therefore the lifting up of his arm appears to be demonstrating the action of raising the weapon in the fight scene. What is meant by the adverb *koo* is only made available to Touré's co-participants through his illustrative gesture that co-occurs with *koo*.

After producing *sore* in line 10, instead of producing the following direct object marker *o* as in the three previous occurrences of the demonstrative pronoun *sore* (line 8), Touré halts. The absence of *o* in this particular occurrence of *sore* combined with the subsequent pause implies that Touré has stopped prematurely here. It is at this very moment that Nasu supplies a verb that can take *sore* as a direct object and describe an action to be performed by Blue Oni's opponent.[65]

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[65] Recall that Japanese is a predicate-final language whose canonical word order of a verb sentence is [S + O + V].

Now the question arises as to how Nasu selects himself as the provider of the second component. As in the previous examples in this section, the participants' gaze seems to play a crucial role here. Touré's gaze is on Nasu as he starts making a proposal for the action scene (line 8). Nasu looks up at the first mora of the restart (*ato* in line 8) in Touré's utterance. Because of this gaze shift, Nasu realizes that he has been gazed at by Touré. From this point on, Nasu's gaze is fixed on Touré until after he nods in line 17. Noticing that Touré's attention is on him appears to have Nasu actively assume the role of the addressed recipient (Goffman, 1981). Specifically, Nasu nods twice (line 9) and produces a vocal acknowledgment token *un* co-occurring with a nod (line 11). These responsive tokens occur in the environments that have been identified by previous research on Japanese conversation (e.g., Horiguchi, 1991; Ikeda & Ikeda, 1999a, 1999b) as typical places where so-called back-channeling frequently occurs (i.e., immediately following the current speaker's stretched vowel, the conjunctive form of a verb, and the conjunctive particle *tara*). In other words, Nasu is engaged in typical listener behavior during the course of Touré's turn-in-progress. Based on Nasu's upward gaze shift, which leads to his realization that he has been gazed at by Touré, and his subsequent assumption of the active listener role, we can safely say that Touré's gaze played a crucial role in engaging Nasu in his unfolding talk. Indeed, gaze is a social phenomenon that affects participation frameworks in unfolding interaction.

In this section, we have examined the ways in which participants make use of various embodied actions and other resources in interactions that involve co-participant completion, with an emphasis on the participants' use of gaze and manual gestures. It has

been shown that gaze direction of both speaker and hearer is a powerful interactional resource in the accomplishment of anticipatory completion, a situated activity that requires minute coordination of participation among co-present participants. The current speaker's gaze direction can select recipients or the next speaker. In the present data, it is commonly observed that a recipient comes in and completes the turn-in-progress (i.e., becomes the next speaker) immediately following the current speaker's gaze has reached that recipient. The current speaker can also inform the other participants that his/her hands should receive their attention by looking at his/her gesturing hands. Gaze is also used by the current speaker to request collaboration in utterance production from a recipient. It has been found that gaze display by participants other than a speaker (i.e., hearers and the current speaker's intended recipient) also affects the ways in which sequences involving co-participant completion unfold. Indeed, gaze direction is a display of a particular participation framework and at the same time affects the ways in which it shifts in co-participant completion. On the other hand, gestures can not only enhance the comprehensibility of the turn-in-progress but also enhance the projectability of upcoming elements in talk. They can also provide information on the presence (or the absence) of opportunities for co-participant completion.

In sum, interactional resources that participants utilize in coordinated activities are by no means limited to linguistic or vocal resources. Rather, it is the interplay of different interactional resources from multiple modalities that makes it possible for participants to analyze each other's conduct in the temporal progression of interaction. What is produced by the participants based on such analysis is a unit of social organization. In the case of

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co-participant completion, the product is not merely a strip of talk that is grammatically fitted to the unit started by another party, but it is an action that consists of multi-modal components and affects the subsequent courses of action in varied ways. In other words, completing another participant's ongoing speaking turn is not just a joint construction of a sentence. Rather, it is a joint construction of social actions, and it is achieved through both vocal and nonvocal means.

4.6. ACTIONS ACCOMPLISHED BY EMPLOYING CO-PARTICIPANT COMPLETION

The previous section of the current chapter focused on structural features of co-participant completion and investigated *how* this practice is achieved by co-present interactional participants with varied degrees of linguistic competence and knowledge of the subject matter being discussed.[66] Specifically, we have examined interactional resources and methods that the participants use at various stages in sequences that contain co-participant completion. We are now ready to turn our attention to exactly *what* it does. While all of the instances presented so far in this chapter have been presented because they fall into the category of a 'facilitative practice used by NSs for NNSs,' this broad characterization needs a closer consideration. The remainder of this chapter will consider what actions are accomplished through the practice of co-participant completion.

Previous research has identified activities during which one person may complete another's sentence such as a word search (Sacks, 1992, Volume 1), the appending of a

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[66] While NNSs in the present data are no doubt in a disadvantageous position compared to NSs regarding linguistic knowledge and proficiency, depending on the topic being discussed, they assumed an expert role because of their content knowledge.

word or phrase to a sentence that s/he finds incomplete (Sacks), and assisted explaining[67] (Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Hayashi & Mori, 1998). It has also been shown that the practice is employed to display congruent understanding (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin; 1987; Hayashi & Mori), demonstrate understanding of the others' actions (Bolden, 2003), and manage participant alignment during the negotiation of opinions or evaluations (Hayashi & Mori). The management of participant alignment includes cases in which the participants employ co-construction to establish a shared stance against the third party, work toward mutual agreement, or manipulate an anticipated disagreement. Lerner (1996b) also discussed participants' use of anticipatory completion to preempt disagreements. These findings are based on studies of co-participant completion in NS/NS interactions in English and Japanese.

Some of the action environments and actions identified above are also found in the present data that come from NS/NNS interactions in Japanese. More specifically, in my data, co-completion is employed to provide a candidate when a current speaker is engaged in an activity of a word search, append a phrase to a sentence that may be perceived as already complete (to 'recomplete'), assist a current speaker in explaining, and display (congruent) understanding. In addition to these actions, I found a recurring action achieved by NSs' anticipatory completion that has not been discussed in the previous research on NS/NS interactions, namely, providing lexical assistance for NNSs. In what follows, I discuss three common actions observed in my data that anticipatory completion produced by a NS second speakers is designed to achieve. These actions are found in the

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[67] Assisted explaining is an activity in which multiple participants who share some knowledge jointly unfold it to a third party who does not share it.

cases in which (1) a NS participant provides a NNS first speaker with lexical assistance, (2) a NS participant joins another NS (i.e., a current speaker) in helping a NNS understand what is being discussed, and (3) a NS participant proffers anticipatory agreement and displays affinity.

To illustrate these actions, examples are presented below. Before proceeding to the examples, however, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by terms such as 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' in the present discussion. While it is possible for the co-participants and the analyst to try to interpret what a particular instance of anticipatory completion is meant to do based on evidence publicly available in the vocal and nonvocal conduct of the participant who continues or completes an utterance-in-progress, the attempt to achieve a certain interactional task does not always turn out to be successful. As indicated by some of the instances of co-participant completion in the present data, a participant's contribution may not be oriented to by its intended recipient. Therefore, as in any study of actual interaction, it is necessary to look at how a certain action is actually treated by other participants in interaction. In the following examples, we will also examine the original speaker's uptake of the second speaker's contribution.

4.6.1. Providing Lexical Assistance

The most common type of action that the deployment of co-participant completion appears to achieve in the present data is providing lexical assistance for the first speaker who seems to be having a problem in producing talk. As reported earlier in this chapter, perturbations in the current speaker's turn-in-progress are closely related to the occurrence of anticipatory completion. NS participants in my data recurrently enter

into the current speaker's turn-in-progress when it has audible and/or visible signs of perturbations, and continue or complete the turn.

This immediately reminds us of an action performed by a recipient in the activity of a word search, one of the common interactional environments in which a participant completes another's sentence before it comes to completion (e.g., Sacks, 1992). Supplying a candidate word or phrase during a current speaker's word search certainly constitutes a portion of the instances that fall into the type of action under discussion (i.e., NSs providing NNSs with lexical assistance), but these two phenomena should be treated separately. NSs in the present data frequently supply an item grammatically fitted to NNSs' utterance-in-progress when the NNS does not seem to be searching for a particular word or phrase at that very moment. In other words, the NSs in my data do not necessarily wait until the moment at which the degree of the NNSs' perturbations are heightened or it has become clear that the NS is in the middle of searching for a specific item to supply. Another difference to note is that not all the candidate words/expressions produced by a recipient during a multi-party search in a word search sequence are cases of co-participant completion. Let us now look at two examples.

(15) **"fashion and, uhm, hairstyle, uhm + are slightly different"** [#7]

The fragment below comes from the group discussion Example (10) is taken from, in which three Japanese and two international students discuss Japanese people's limited knowledge of various countries. Preceding this sequence, a Korean student (Son) commented that it is impossible for him to differentiate people from Australia, New Zealand, the U.S., the U.K., and Canada. Building on that, a Japanese student (Kato)

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asked an Australian student (Lloyd) whether he is able to tell these people apart. The following exchange directly follows Lloyd's remark that he is unable to do so unless he hears them speak.

In the following segment, Lloyd's utterances prior to the point where anticipatory completion is produced are characterized by several vocal perturbations such as a prolonged vowel, intra-turn gaps, hesitation markers, and frequent use of hand gestures and gaze shifts. Right after Lloyd withdraws his gaze from Kato while producing *eto* (uhm) in line 7, Kato supplies a candidate predicate (line 8).

01	Lloyd:	minna hakujin daka[ra:: everybody Caucasian because ((They)) are all Caucasians, <u>so::</u>
02	Kato:	((big nod)) ((big nod)) [(n)<u>de</u> [su <u>ne</u> ((laugh quality)) CP FP (yeah), right.
03	Lloyd:	[eeto. maa tokidoki. ((tilted head)) Uhm. Well, sometimes.
04	Lloyd:	Ano fasshon toka ((tosses both hands in front of the body)) uhm fashion etc. Uhm, fashion and
05	Kato:	[n: ((while nodding)) Yeah
06	Miyake:	[((nods)

→	07	Lloyd:	|----------gaze on Kato--------------- |---gaze down over *eto* -((touch R side hair over *kami no*)) eto, kami no sutairu (-) wa (-) eto= ((both hands in front of body at 2nd *eto*)) uhm hair LK style TP uhm uhm, hairstyle, uhm
→	08	Kato:	=° Bimyoo ni chiga[u° ((very softly)) slightly differ are slightly different.
	09	Lloyd:	|--gaze back to K--((raise eyebrows))-| ((nods over *bimyoo ni*)) [Bimyoo ni (-) bi- ano, chigau <u>toka::</u> slightly (.) s- uhm differ etc. slightly (-) s-, uhm, different, <u>a::nd</u>
	10	Kato:	[a: a: Oh, oh.
	11	Sasaki:	[n: ((while nodding)) Yeah.
	12	Miyake	[((nods))

Throughout this sequence, Kato's attentiveness to Lloyd's speech and bodily conduct is evident through her frequent use of both vocal and nonvocal responsive tokens and gaze on Lloyd.[68] Her contribution in line 8 is produced softly and sounds as if it is made by a theater prompter. Lloyd looks up and returns his gaze to Kato, acknowledging Kato's contribution by a slight head movement and raised eyebrows. Concurrently, he incorporates the adverb *bimyoo ni* (slightly) and the verb *chigau* (differ) into his subsequent turn, thereby ratifying the appropriateness of the candidate provided by Kato.

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[68] While the other three participants' body orientations indicate that they are also attentive, their responses are not as engaged as Kato's.

The next exchange took place approximately nine minutes after the segment shown in Example (15) above. It also presents an instance of lexical assistance by a NS.

(16) "If it's an English speaking country + it's comprehensible" [#9]

Following a discussion of dialects in Japan and on the Korean Peninsula, the participants have now gone back to Lloyd's earlier comment that people from various English speaking countries are basically able to communicate with each other despite some differences in accent. The following exchange begins where Lloyd answers Kato's question concerning whether the differences can be so big as to make different varieties of English seem totally unrelated to each other. Note once again the vocal perturbations in Lloyd's utterances and his frequent use of hand gestures. Lines 6 and 7 especially abound with such features. Immediately after Lloyd withdraws his gaze from Kato, produces *ma* (well), and halts, Kato supplies a candidate predicate (line 9).

01	Lloyd:	maa eego dattara: ano: (-) *Ireland* toka *Scotland* [(-) ni ittara soo iu koto aru n well English-language CP:if uhm Ireland etc. Scotland to go:if so say thing exist N dakedo:. but Well, if ((it's)) English, u:hm... if ((you)) go to Ireland or Scotland, there's such a thing, bu:t.
02	Kato:	[n: ((nod)) uh huh
03	Kato:	a[a:: ((nods)) O:h
04	Lloyd:	[hatsuon sukotto no tokuni **tsu:**yoi [hatsuon, kita no hoo. pronunciation Scot LK especially strong pronunciation north LK region

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			Pronunciation, especially strong Scottish pronunciation, northern regions.
	05	Kato:	n[:: ((nods)) uh huh
	06	Lloyd:	tsuyoi hatsuon ga (-) aru n dakedo: eeto (--) soo da nee. (-) ano (-) strong pronunciation SB exist N but uhm so CP FP uhm ((They)) have strong pronunciation, but, uhm, well, uhm
→	07		|--------gaze on Kato----------| ((open fingers; both hands facing outward at *ma* & after (-))) eego-ken no kuni dat(-)[tara (--) ma (-) English-language-sphere LK country CP:if well if ((it's)) an English speaking country, well
	08	Kato:	[((nods))
→	09	Kato:	|---gaze on L---- °wakaru° ((head cocking / diagonal, downward head movement at *karu*)). comprehensible ((it)) is comprehensible.
	10	Lloyd:	|--gaze back to Kato--- wakaru. ((nods; palms facing each other)) it's comprehensible.
	11	Kato:	n: ((lifts head, then small nods)) Hmm.
	12	Lloyd:	ne.= ((while nodding)) FP Right.
	13	Miyake:	=[n: ((while nodding)) Yeah.
	14	Sakuma:	=[((nods))
	15	Kato:	=[((nods))

| 16 | Lloyd: | un. |
| | | Yeah. |

Note that Kato's candidate verb (line 9) is produced with a falling intonation, but the co-occurring cocking of her head appears to be something that might be called a visual version of 'try-marking' (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Specifically, Kato's head is slightly leaning to the right throughout Lloyd's utterance in line 7, but she starts to brings it to the center at the onset of her contribution, *wakaru*, in line 9. As she produces *-karu*, Kato has her head slightly cocked to the left in a manner that makes that part of the movement look like a slow head nod. Her gaze is directed to Lloyd. This visual information, along with other observable features of this segment such as Kato's frequent use of continuers (Schegloff, 1982), many of which co-occur with head nods, to encourage Lloyd to go on, provides further support for the analyst's interpretation that this instance of co-participant completion is Kato's attempt to assist Lloyd, who seems to be having some difficulty in continuing with the utterance he started. In the subsequent slot, Kato's contribution is endorsed by Lloyd when he immediately incorporates it into his subsequent turn as it is.

We have seen two examples in which a NS employs anticipatory completion to assist a NNS who seems to be having production problems. An interesting observation can be made about these examples regarding the first speaker's gaze direction, which displays the state he is in at the time when a candidate phrase is offered. In each case, the NS supplied a candidate verbal predicate to complete the NNS's ongoing utterance while the NNS's gaze is averted. Past research on word searches (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2002) has found that a recipient who is in a conversation with a

person searching for a word typically waits while the speaker's gaze is withdrawn as it indicates that the speaker is engaged in a solitary search, and that the recipient supplies a candidate when the speaker returns gaze to the recipient to request co-participation in the search. This pattern is consistent with preferences for self-repair over other-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977). However, this is not the case with the present data. NSs in my data often continue or complete a turn started by NNS first speakers by supplying an item while the first speaker still seems to be engaged in a solitary search. Another relevant observation made on the present data is that it is common for a NS to come in when there is no indication that a NNS current speaker is searching for a *specific* word to fill the *next slot* if the NNS's turn bears signs of difficulty (see Excerpts 4 and 8 in Section 4.5., for example).

These two observations may indeed point to an aspect of the practice of co-participant completion in interactions where participants have asymmetrical access to linguistic (e.g., lexical and grammatical) resources, in this particular case, NS/NNS interactions. While the practice of completing another participant's sentence is a widely observed interactional phenomenon that is not limited to NS/NNS interaction, it appears that it can serve different purposes depending on the type of interaction (i.e., NS/NS or NS/NNS interaction). In my NS/NNS data, the action of providing assistance for NNSs is observed recurrently. In fact, this seems to be the most common action accomplished by co-participant completion in this study.

We now turn our attention to the next group of instances, namely, cases in which an anticipatory completion by a NS is directed to the addressed recipient (Goffman,

1981) of a turn being produced by another NS.[69]

4.6.2. NS Joining Another NS in Offering Help to NNS

So far, all the examples presented in this chapter are of Type 1 (i.e., cases in which a NNS's turn-in-progress is completed by a NS) except for Example 12 ("the person to be brought + is somebody other than that") in which a NS finishes another NS's turn upon receiving the gaze of a NNS, who is the addressed recipient of the turn-in-progress. In this section, I present three instances of co-participant completion between two native speakers meant to enhance a nonnative speaker's understanding of what is being discussed, where the NNS is the intended recipient of the turn-in-progress.[70] By joining in the production of a turn being produced by another NS ('NS1' as opposed to 'NS2'), NS2 aligns her/himself with NS1 and creates a new participation framework.

(17) **" the one who causes annoyance and + the one who becomes friends"** [#33]

The following fragment is from a group activity in which one Chinese and three Japanese students are trying to decide who will play what part in a skit centering around conflict between international and Japanese students. Specifically, they are discussing the

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[69] Lerner and Takagi (1999) examined a phenomenon closely related to this, namely, anticipatory completion in assisted explaining in NS/NS interactions in English and Japanese. Hayashi and Mori (1998) also studied assisted explaining as an environment for co-construction using NS/NS data in Japanese.

[70] Approximately one fifth of all the instances of co-participant completion found in the current data set are of this type. Some of the instances that fall into this structure (i.e., NS2 completing NS1's turn whose intended recipient is NNS) appear to be products of rapport between the NS participants and achieve the reinforcement of the sense of oneness between these NSs. In contrast, the instances presented here are cases in which NS2 assist NS1 to facilitate participation by NNS.

characters to be played by the two international students of the group; one of them causes trouble for his Japanese classmates, and the other will be friends with the Japanese students after remonstrating the other international student. Since one of the two Chinese students in the group is absent from this session, a Japanese student, Watase, attempts to elicit Lim's preference as to which of the two roles he is interested in playing. Immediately preceding the following sequence, Watase has mentioned that there are two alternative roles in a rather unintelligible utterance that contains *docchi ga* ([which one of the two + subject marker]). The fragment below begins where Lim displays his lack of understanding and asks Watase for clarification. Watase's turn in line 2, which shows several vocal perturbations, is continued by Kato (line 5).

	01	Lim:	n? nan to?
			huh what QT
			Huh? What?
			--| ((gaze on script)) |---returns gaze to Lim----
→	02	Watase:	e:to ryuugakusee de sono: nto:: ((inhale)) waru (-) sa o suru hoo to:
			uhm international-students P um uhm annoy(-)ance O do side and
			Uhm, among the international students, um, uhm ((inhale)), the one who causes annoy(-)ance and
	03	Kato:	n
			yeah
	04	(-)	((no uptake by Lim; Lim's gaze is on the script, silent; Watase and Kato gaze at Lim))
			----gaze on Lim-----
→	05	Kato:	nakayo[ku: naru hoo=
			friendly become side
			the one who becomes friends

06	Watase:	[sore o
		that O
		=tasukeru tasukeru tte iu ka.
		help help QT say Q
		help that, well maybe not help

Gaze directions of the participants are a key to understand the participation framework in this segment. Watase' gaze was on Lim prior to this segment when he brought up the two roles to choose from. It remains on Lim up to the second mora of Watase's turn (line 2), when Watase brings his gaze down to look at the relevant part of his script. Watase returns his gaze to Lim after checking the script. At this point, the sequential placement of Watase's turn (i.e., the slot subsequent to Lim's question), Watase's gaze direction, and the content of his talk indicate that Lim has been publicly established as the addressed recipient of the current speaker (Watase). The gaze of the other Japanese students (Kato and Yamada) fixed on Lim also indicates that Lim is the focus of attention in this sequence. Lim's gaze is on Watase until it begins to follow Watase's downward gaze shift to the script on the desk (line 2).

To make sense of Kato's continuation of Watase's turn, it is crucial to closely examine her gaze direction as a non-speaking, non-addreessed participant. Her gaze was on Lim where the above transcript begins. She briefly looks to the side at the end of Lim's clarification request in line 2, and repeats two rounds of gaze shift between Lim and the script on the desk during Watase's utterance in line 2 before she brings her gaze back to Lim again over *suru hoo to* (line 2) produced by Watase.

While Watase is elaborating on his earlier remark which was not understood by Lim, Lim's gaze is fixed on the script in front of Watase. When Watase halts after

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producing *waru(-)sa o suru hoo to* (the one who causes annoy-ance and), which

constitutes the first part of the anticipated pair [X *to* Y] (X and Y), Lim's gaze is still on

the general area of the script. He is sitting still, without producing any sort of responsive

token. In other words, Watase's second attempt has not produced the desired effect (i.e.,

Lim's display of understanding). It is at this very moment that Kato, who has been

monitoring Lim, comes in and supplies the second item in the pair.

Figure 9 Line 2 Watase: waru (-) sa o suru ho**o** to:
(the one who causes annoy(-)ance and)

A modified version of lines 1-5 of the transcript is presented below, focusing on the gaze

directions of Watase and Kato in relation to talk. The shaded parts indicate that Watase's

gaze is on Lim. Boldface indicates that Kato's gaze is on Lim.

1 Lim:	**N? Na**n to?	
	Huh? What?	
→ 2 Watase:	e:to ryuu**gaku**see de so**no:** nto:: ((inhale)) waru (-) sa o **suru hoo to:**	
	Uhm, among the international students, um, uhm ((inhale)), the one who causes annoy(-)ance and	
3 Kato:	**n**	
	yeah	
4 (-)	**((no uptake by Lim; Lim's gaze is still on the script, silent))**	

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→ 5 Kato: **nakayo[ku: naru hoo**

the one who becomes friends

As shown above, the two Japanese students' gaze directions synchronize with each other most of the time, except for minor discrepancies in lines 1 and 2. At the onset of this sequence, both Watase and Kato are gazing at Lim, the intended recipient of Watase's question that was uttered just prior to this segment. As he starts to produce a turn with some perturbations (i.e., three hesitation markers, stretched vowels, inhaling, the breaking of the word *warusa* in the middle), Watase shifts his gaze down to the script on the desk. Kato's gaze is also mostly on the script and not on Lim during Watase's turn. They both look up and return their gaze to Lim towards the end of Watase's turn (line 2). At this point, it appears that Watase is ready to transfer speakership to the gazed-upon recipient,[71] and it appears that Kato is endorsing Watase's interactional move by being engaged in the same gaze behavior and supporting Watase's utterance by producing an affirmative responsive token (line 3). Gaze directions displayed by both Watase and Kato in line 4 indicate that they are waiting for the prospective next speaker, Lim, to respond. However, Lim remains silent, with his gaze on the script. Kato, with her gaze fixed on Lim, then completes the turn started by Watase, who is also still looking at Lim. Gaze display by Watase and Kato indicate their clear alignment as co-explainers vis-a-vis Lim, the collectively appointed next speaker.

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[71] In their study of NS/NNS interaction in Japanese, Ikeda and Ikeda (1999a) confirmed Kendon's finding that speakers tend to look down during their long turns but look at the addressee when their turn is nearing the end.

It should also be noted that by closely monitoring the addressed recipient's status of understanding, which is partly displayed by his gaze direction, from the side while analyzing the current speaker's unfolding talk, Kato is able to join Watase to assume the role of co-explainer for their now mutual recipient.

The next fragment also provides an example of an explanation offered by NS1 for a NNS that is assisted by NS2, although the presence of NS2's contribution does not seem to be essential to the recipient's understanding.

(18) '"Open the port!" + he threatened' [#29][72]

The participants (three Japanese, a Chinese, and a Korean students) are discussing potential plots for their group skit presentation that they worked on individually before meeting as a group. Kotani brought an idea of incorporating some historical facts into the fiction involving Commodore Perry who came from the U.S. and demanded Japan end its "closed-door policy" in 1853. The fragment below begins where Katori, another Japanese student, asks if Cha (Korean) and Deng (Chinese) are familiar with this historical incident. Upon learning that Cha has never heard of it, Kotani starts providing a basic fact for Cha (line 5). The context and Kotani's gaze directed to Cha clearly indicate that Cha is her addressed recipient. As part of an explaining sequence, Kotani utilizes a quotation format to present Perry's demand.[73] Her second 'quote' (line 11) is appended to by Katori, who furnishes a quotative marker and a quoting verb (line 13).

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[72] I was present in the room when this discussion took place.
[73] "The practices of attributing speech in conversation furnish another environment for anticipatory completion, although English and Japanese furnish somewhat different resources for its realizations" (Lerner & Takagi, 1999, p. 59).

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	01	Katori:	((turning to Cha))
			perii raikoo toka shittemasu?
			Perry visit-by-ship etc. know
			Do you know, like, Perry's visit?
	02	Deng:	[shittemasu yo.
			know FP
			((I)) know ((that)).
	03	Cha:	[shiranai.
			know:Neg
			((I)) don't know.
	04	Katori:	shittemasu?　((gaze on Deng))
			know
			((You)) know ((that))?
			|--gaze on Cha---------------------------------|
	05	Kotani:	nihon (-) wa:: edo-jidai made sakoku shitete:[: tojiteta n desu yo.
			Japan TP Edo-Period until national-seclusion do:and closed N CP FP
			Japan was doing 'Sakoku" until the Edo Period and was closed.
	06	Cha:	[un un
			Yeah, yeah.
	07	Deng:	kuro, kurohuna desho?　((huna is Deng's mispronunciation of hune))
			black Black-Ships Tag
			black, the Black Ships, right?
	08	Katori:	soo soo soo
			Right, right, right.
			|----------------------gaze on Cha------------------
	09	Kotani:	perii ga uraga ni kite, kaikoo shinasai! (('acting out' quality for the quote))
			Perry SB (place name) to come:and open-port do:Imperative
			Perry came to Uraga (harbor name), and "Open the port!"

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	10	Cha:	a: O:h.
→	11	Kotani:	|------gaze on Cha---------- ((swings L hand forcefully over *kaikoku*)) kaikoku shinasai! [tte. ((small nods at *sai* and *tte*)) open-country do QT "Open the country!"
	12	Cha:	[((nods))
→	13	Katori:	|--gaze shift to Kotani---- odoshita wa[ke threatened case ((he)) threatened.
	14	Kotani:	[odoshite. ((he)) threatened.
	15	Sekine:	n Yeah.
	16	Kotani:	sono toki Edo Bakuhu ga awatehutameite tte no ga aru n desu kedo. that time Edo Government SB panick:and QT N SB exist CP but then the Edo Government panicked, that's what happened
	17	Cha:	((nods))

↑

Figure 10: Line 11 Kotani: **kai**koku shinasai! tte.

("Open the country!")

Note that the basic structure of quotation in Japanese is [quoted material + quotative marker + quotative verb]. While Kotani's first quote (line 9) is not followed by a quotative marker or a quotative verb, the imperative form of the verb and the performative quality of her voice distinguish it from the rest of her utterances. In the second quote in line 11, Kotani modifies the verb. In addition, the quote is followed by *tte*, an informal variation of the quotative marker *to*. Although her contribution still lacks a quotative verb (e.g., say, answer, order), the imperative form of the verb and the use of *tte* inform her co-participants that what precedes it is a quote.[74]

Nevertheless, it appears that Katori felt a need to add a reporting verb that specifies the type of action performed back then by the quoted speech. After a micropause, Katori finishes Kotani's turn by supplying *odoshita* (threatened) and the

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[74] In spoken language, it is not uncommon for a quote to be presented with the following *tte* but without a reporting verb.

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noun *wake*, which is commonly used in a predicate when wrapping up an explanation. The use of *wake* indicates that Katori's contribution is designed for Cha, the only participant who was not familiar with this historical fact. By supplying an item that completes Kotani's turn and provides additional information for Cha, Katori establishes himself as a 'co-explainer' aligned with Kotani vis-a-vis Cha, the 'explainee' (Lerner & Takagi, 1999).

An interesting thing about this instance of anticipatory completion is that, unlike the one presented in Example (17) above, NS2 displays his awareness of the dual directionality of his action by utilizing multiple modalities (i.e., his speech and gaze are directed to different co-participants during the same turn). As noted earlier, Katori's choice of the structure of the turn grammatically fitted to complete Kotani's turn indicates that it is directed to Cha. However, Katori starts bringing his gaze to Kotani after the onset of his turn. The shaded portion below represents Katori's gaze directed at Kotani. The boldfaced *ta* represents Kotani's brief gaze on Katori (thus mutual gaze orientation between the two NSs) embedded in her gaze toward Cha.

13 Katori: odoshi**ta** wa[ke
              he threatened

It appears that Katori looks to Kotani to see if his contribution is ratified by Kotani, the producer of the first component. Kotani indeed ratifies it by incorporating the verb into her subsequent turn, although she changes the form of the verb to a conjunctive form. This naturally ties to her utterance in line 16, which concludes the explaining sequence directed to Cha.

Our last example of two NSs' joint action to help with a NNS's understanding presents an interesting case in which NS2 appears to assume her role as a theater prompter rather than as an active collaborator with NS1. Nevertheless, NS1 treats NS2's contribution as directed to the NNS.

(19) **"Specifically, what kind of things, uhm + make it difficult to make friends"** [#38]

This fragment is from the same interaction that Example (17) comes from. The three Japanese students are trying to have Lim talk about his real life experience as an international student to see if there is something they can incorporate into the plot they have been working on. Another Chinese student is absent on that day. In line 3, Watase produces *doo iu tokoro ga:,* which could be a grammatical subject or direct object depending on the following predicate. Following a hesitation marker whose final vowel is stretched and a micropause in Watase's turn in line 3, Kato supplies a candidate that finishes Watase's question for Lim.

	01	Watase:	----------------------------gaze on the script------------------------------- (no:) naiyoo: te kanji: ni naru n desu [kedo ((points to the script)) content QT impression become N CP but it will be something like the content of ( ), but

	02	Kato:	|---gaze on script ---
			                                                   [°gutaiteki ni° ((leaning forward))
			                                                    °specifically°

→	03	Watase:	-------------gaze on script-------------|--Lim--|--script gutaiteki ni, doo iu tokoro ga: ano::: (-) ((K gazes on Lim)) ((K gazes at Watase))

			specifically what-kind-of points SB uhm
			specifically, what kind of things, u:::hm
→	04	Kato:	------gaze on script----------- nakayoku nari nikui friendly become-hard make it difficult to become friends.
	05	Watase:	soo °soo° Right, °right°

Throughout this segment, Watase's gaze is on the script that their current discussion centers around except when he brings his gaze to Lim as he produces *ano:::* (uh:::m) in line 3. The script is placed on the desk in front of Watase. Lim's rigid, vertical posture seems to indicate that he is not as engaged in the discussion as his co-participants are, although his gaze is fixed on the script Watase is looking at. Kato's gaze shifts among the script (i.e., the target of Watase and Lim's attention), Lim, and Watase, which suggests that she is closely monitoring the current speaker and his addressed recipient. To illustrate the participants' foci of visual attention, a modified version of the transcript is presented below, focusing on the gaze directions of Watase and Kato in relation to talk. The shaded parts represent Watase's gaze on Lim. Boldface represents Kato's gaze on Lim. Where no gaze direction is noted, Watase and Kato are looking at the script.

```
1 Watase:    (        no:) naiyoo: te kanji: ni naru n desu [kedo
                it will be something like the content of (          ), but
2 Kato:                                          [°gutaiteki ni°
                                                      °specifically°
                          ((K gazes at Watase over ano:::: (-)))
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→ 3 Watase: gutaiteki ni, doo iu toko**ro ga:** ano::: (-)

                specifically, what kind of things, u:::hm

→ 4 Kato: nakayoku nari nikui

                make it difficult to become friends.

  5 Watase: so °so°

                right   °right°

The most notable strip of gaze shift occurs during Watase's turn in line 3 when Kato looks up from the script, looks to Lim, looks to Watase, and starts bringing her gaze down to the script again as she supplies the second component of Watase's turn-in-progress. It should be noted that Lim is displaying no reaction, including no sign of understanding, and Watase is in the midst of a difficulty in producing his turn-in-progress when Kato's gaze reaches each of them, respectively. We can safely say that Kato's joint construction of Watase's turn is an attempt to help both Lim and Watase.

What distinguishes this instance of anticipatory completion from the other two presented above is that Kato does not actively take the role of co-explainer as she does in Example (17) when she keeps monitoring the recipient's status of understanding through her gaze or as Katori does in Example (18) when he looks to NS1 to check if his attempt to establish himself as co-explainer is accepted by NS1. Despite Kato's choice to remain behind the scene, Watase chooses to publicly acknowledge her contribution by saying *so so* (right, right) instead of incorporating it into his speech, thereby letting her contribution officially constitute the second half of the turn directed to Lim.

In this section, we have seen examples of co-participant completion in which a NS (NS2) joins another NS (NS1) who is providing an explanation or additional information on what is being discussed to a NNS recipient. It seems that the joint offering

of assistance to NNS is the primary action accomplished by supplying the second component of a turn-in-progress started by NS1. However, there are a few more things that can also be achieved. First, NS2 sometimes assists NS1, who seems to be having an interactional problem related to producing the ongoing turn (e.g, Examples 17 and 19). Second, it is important to note that collaborative construction of a single turn by multiple parties is not only a matter of linguistic co-construction but also a joint construction of action. Through this practice, NS2 can align themselves with NS1 to show a sense of 'togetherness.' Furthermore, this group is not just any type of group but a team of participants who have more access to certain knowledge than their recipient, NNS. By joining NS1's action of explaining, NS2 creates a new participation framework in the ongoing interaction. Another point to consider is an issue of authority. By completing NS1's unfolding turn that is meant to help NNS, NS2 is able to show that s/he is also a knowledgeable NS who is capable of assisting NNS. In other words, this can be seen as a claim of ownership of knowledge.

Finally, in the next sub-section, we will examine two examples of NS/NNS co-participant completion in which the second speaker proffers anticipatory agreement with the first speaker. Expressing anticipatory agreement simultaneously increases a sense of group togetherness when it is successful.

4.6.3. Display of Anticipatory Agreement

Any instance of anticipatory completion displays the producer's understanding of the unfolding turn initiated by another participant before the turn comes to completion. In addition, participants can display their heightened engagement in the emerging course of

action taken by another participant by employing co-participant completion, whether the completion is an early expression to support the anticipated element or an attempt to preempt a dispreferred, anticipated element. In the present data, co-participant completion is sometimes employed to display agreement with another participant's stance that has not yet been expressed.[75] Through this action that I term 'anticipatory agreement,' participants demonstrate that they are so attuned to the development of another participant's current turn that they are able to finish the turn-in-progress to show they are on the same page as the original speaker. By producing anticipatory agreement, the participants show their alignment with other participants and willingness to maintain the collaborative mode of interaction that might encourage active participation from the other participants. While not all instances of anticipatory completion are prosocial, the action of displaying anticipatory agreement in my data appears to support a statement made by Sacks (1992): "[t]here probably isn't any better way of presenting the fact that 'we are a group' than building a new sentence together" (Volume 1, p. 322). Let us now turn to the examples.

(20) **"Uhm, like, many Black people + are there!!!"** (#22)

       This fragment is from the interaction that Examples (2), (3), (5), and (6) also come from. Preceding the following sequence, two Japanese students (Isoda and Watase) asked a Chinese student (Bao) why he had chosen Japan to study abroad. Bao replied that

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[75] Hayashi and Mori (1998) discussed similar cases in their examinations of co-construction of Japanese sentential units in which participants negotiate, achieve, and display 'congruent understanding' (term drawn from C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1987) and interactively manage participant alignment.

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he was afraid of Westerners and decided to come to Japan because he would pass as a Japanese person as long as he did not speak. The following segment begins where Bao has just said that he is timid. In lines 1 and 2, Bao is searching for the name of a "scary" town in Tokyo. Harajuku is an area well-known for Tokyo street style and Japanese youth culture whose narrow streets draw international tourists.

	01	Bao:	|-------gaze on Sugita------| ((gazes off into the air)) ((laugh)) honto kowakunai? datte (-) e::to doko. 　　　　　really scary-Neg　because uhm where Really, aren't you scared?　Because... uhm, where?
	02		|---gaze on Sugita---- ee::::to (-) Harajuku de::　　((left index finger on cheek)) uhm　(place name in Tokyo) in uhm... in Harajuku
	03	Isoda:	un　((nods)) uh-huh
→	04	Bao:	|-------gaze on Watase------ ano: nanika kokujin ippai= well like black-people many Well, like, many black people
	05	Bao:	[((extends right arm [to represent a narrow street in Harajuku?]))
→	06	Sugita:	=[**iru::::**　　((rearranges herself in the chair; frowns)) 　exist 　**are there!!!!!**
	07	Isoda:	iru　((nods)) There are.

08	Watase:	soo (soo)
		Right (right).
09	Bao:	so ( ) zutto tatte
		right ( ) all-the-time stand:and
		Right ( ) ((they)) are always standing ((there)).

Bao's utterance in line 5 is enthusiastically taken up by Sugita, who supplies a verb with a stretched vowel and in a loud volume. The verb *iru* establishes *kokujin* as the grammatical subject of Bao's utterance. Note that, given the context and the two words *kokujin* (black people) and *ippai* (a lot), Bao's first component is comprehensible without the verb supplied by Sugita. Therefore, one might argue that Sugita's contribution is more of an emphatic response than an attempt to 'finish' Bao's utterance. Nevertheless, the verb *iru* is grammatically fitted to Bao's utterance and thereby presents the two different units produced by Bao and Sugita as a jointly constructed, single unit. Furthermore, the grammatical fittingness and the timing of the contribution, and the vocal features of *iru* and her facial expression demonstrate Sugita's alignment with Bao. Sugita's anticipatory agreement triggers a rapid chain of agreement displays from two other Japanese students and Bao, who builds on these displays of alignment to elaborate on his earlier comment.

The next example demonstrates one way in which anticipatory agreement is produced and additionally presents a rare example in which the uptake by the original speaker makes publicly visible the failure of anticipatory completion.

(21) **"Things like that and religion, they're really + not relevant, yeah"** [#19]

The following segment is from the group discussion that Example (9) also comes

from. Three Japanese and two Chinese students are exchanging their opinions on international marriage. Immediately preceding the following exchange, Lee, a Chinese student, was asked if he would be willing to marry someone from a different country and responded that it would not make any difference where that person was from.

	01	Lee:	---| |-------gaze on Nasu--------- dakara soo iu no ya, ano: shuukyoo toka sore wa ne therefore like-that N and uhm religion etc. that TP FP
→	02		--Nasu---- zenze[n utterly So, things like that and, uh:m, religion etc. they are really

→	03	Nasu:	[kankee nai yo ne. ((nods over *nai*))
			  relation:Neg FP FP
			  not relevant, yeah.

Nasu comes in at the very moment when it has become clear that Lee is in the middle of producing an adverb *zenzen,* which strongly foreshows a word in the negative form or with a negative meaning. Based on the previous comments Lee made and the emerging adverb *zenzen*, Nasu supplies a predicate in the negative form that supports Lee's anticipated stance with a head nod. The use of the particles *yo ne* at the end suggests Nasu's assumption that he and Lee are in agreement on this matter.

Interestingly, Nasu's completion is explicitly rejected by the original speaker in the next slot. This is a rare case in my data as well as in past research (Lerner, 2004) in that anticipatory completion is predominantly either accepted or disregarded (i.e., it is not oriented to at all) by the first speaker and is rarely met with an outright rejection like this.

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The following sequence shows Lee's uptake of Nasu's anticipatory agreement and how it is oriented to by Nasu. It starts with the last line in the excerpt presented above.

	03	Nasu:	kankee <mark>nai</mark> <u>yo ne</u>. ((nods over *nai*))
			relation:Neg FP FP
			not relevant, yeah.
→	04	Lee:	<u>ee:</u> kankee arimasu [yo.
			huh relation exist FP
			Hu:h? It IS relevant!
	05	Nasu:	[kankee arima<mark>su</mark> ka? ((covers mouth w/ left hand over *suka*))
			relation exist Q
			Is it relevant?
	06	Lee:	<u>A::RU: tte:</u>
			exist QT
			It IS!
	07	Nasu:	a wakannai ore mo kankee aru kamoshirenai. ((pulls down hat he's wearing))
			oh know:Neg I too relation exist may
			Oh, I don't know, it may be relevant to me too.
			|-------------------- gaze on Nakata---------------------
	08	Lee:	kankee aru to omou n ( )
			relation exist QT think N
			I think it is relevant ( )

A few interesting observations can be made about this segment. First, at the end of his question (line 5) attempting to confirm Lee's unexpected remark, Nasu makes a gesture (i.e., putting a hand on his mouth) which is typically used to demonstrate one's realization that one has just made a mistake. Following this, Lee provides an answer that strongly

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contradicts Nasu's prediction of Lee's stance presented in the anticipatory agreement turn. Upon hearing Lee's answer ***A::RU: tte***, which means that a potential spouse's nationality and religion do matter, Nasu modifies his attitude that he implied when he enthusiastically supported Lee's not-yet-expressed stance. While producing this turn, Nasu pulls down the hat he is wearing.

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Figure 11: Line 7 Nasu: a wakannai ore mo kankee **aru kamo**shirenai.

(Oh, I don't know, it may be relevant to me too)

The two embodied actions in lines 5 and 7 appear to indicate Nasu's puzzlement that comes from the fact that his attempt to establish an alignment through anticipatory agreement failed. Here, we can see that the first speaker's uptake is consequential. It prompted the producer of anticipatory completion to take back the stance he has just expressed and produce a new utterance which suggests that his view may be congruent with his co-participant's opinion after all. This suggests that Nasu gives priority to showing that he is attuned to his co-participants over sticking to his own opinion. It appears that proffering anticipatory agreement is certainly considered a useful device to

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demonstrate one's cooperative engagement in interaction.

We have seen two examples of co-participant completion designed to offer anticipatory agreement. It is employed for an early display of understanding, which indicates a high level of involvement in the other party's unfolding contribution. This can function as a display of affiliation toward co-participants. Affiliation is often treated as a state of belonging to the same group, but it is an interactional phenomenon that is achieved through finely tuned, moment-by-moment actions.

4.7. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to examine how the practice of co-participant completion, by which one participant continues or completes a turn initiated by another participant, is employed by native speakers (NSs) of Japanese as a way to facilitate participation by nonnative speakers (NNSs). The practice, which has been widely observed in NS/NS interaction, is also recurrently observed in the NS/NNS interactions in the present data. In this chapter, I focused on the cases in which NSs continue or complete NNSs' ongoing turns and the cases in which NSs continue or complete other NSs' ongoing turns that are designed to enhance NNSs' understanding.

I have shown that interactional participants utilize a variety of resources to recognize the opportunities for anticipatory completion and project the next item in the unfolding turn. The interactional resources available to the participants include grammatical structure, visual information such as gaze direction and gestures, context, and semantic information. Close examination of the practice has revealed how the participants closely attend to one another's vocal and visual displays to organize

participation. They draw on the interactional resources to analyze and understand the emerging structure of talk and activity in progress, and jointly construct turns and actions. Consideration of both vocal and visual aspects of the phenomenon has shown to be essential to our understanding of the ways in which participation in interaction is coordinated.

In addition to elucidating how the practice of co-participant completion is done in ongoing interaction, the analyses in this chapter have identified three common actions that the practice is employed to accomplish in the interactions that involve native and nonnative speakers of Japanese: (1) a NS participant provides a NNS current speaker with lexical assistance, (2) a NS participant joins another NS (i.e., a current speaker) in helping a NNS third party understand what is being discussed, and (3) a NS participant proffers anticipatory agreement with a NNS current speaker and displays affinity.

Although providing assistance for co-participants to encourage them to actively participate in the ongoing interaction is in no way limited to NS/NNS interaction, I have found a few features of co-participant completion which suggest that the occurrence of many instances of co-participant completion in the present data is related to the nature of interaction (i.e., NS/NNS interaction where there is asymmetry among the participants in terms of linguistic competence) in a substantial way. More specifically, close examinations of all instances of co-participant completion have revealed that the occurrence of the instances in which NNSs' turns are completed by NSs are closely related to the presence of both vocal and nonvocal features that point to difficulties in continuing with the ongoing turns. This stands in contrast with the instances in which

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NSs's turns are completed by other NSs. Another feature of co-participant completion that may be characteristic of interaction between NSs and NNSs concerns the timing to launch a completion. While previous research on NS/NS interaction has found that participants do not immediately offer assistance for their co-participants whose turn seems troubled, the current data present examples of a NS's early entry into a NNS's troubled turn.

These differences in the ways in which co-participant completion is employed in NS/NS and NS/NNS interactions demonstrate that NSs in the present data see the unfolding of NS/NNS interactions and their own participant roles differently from those in NS/NS interactions. Another noteworthy observation concerns the context in which NNSs finish NSs' turns. More than half of such instances, which constitute a relatively small portion of the entire collection of co-participant completion in the present data, occur during highly task-oriented activities in which collaborative construction of utterances is strongly predicted (i.e., writing lines for a plot together). In other words, NNSs rarely continue or complete NSs' ongoing turns unless the task at hand provides numerous opportunities in terms of both its nature (i.e., collaboration is expected) and its feature (i.e., a current speaker tends to pause in the middle of producing an item, thereby providing an opportunity to for others to come in). These findings raise another question: What are some other ways in which the participants in the present data orient to each other's differential language expertise and/or content knowledge?

The next chapter attempts to answer this question by considering ways in which NSs orient to their co-participants' differential access to resources more explicitly.

Specifically, I will show how moments of (potential) non-understanding are attended to by NSs, who employ a range of verbal and embodied devices to accomplish interactional goals. The importance of embodied actions in such efforts is demonstrated.

Chapter 5. Native Speakers as "Language Teachers"

5.1.   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will turn our attention to phenomena in which native speakers of Japanese orient to differential language expertise and content knowledge of their co-participants more explicitly than in the cases of co-participant completion examined in the previous chapter. The phenomena under investigation resemble communicative practices that language teachers use in an attempt to ensure learners' understanding and facilitate equal participation by class members. This is significant because the site for this study is not a second or foreign language classroom where focus is on language learning. Furthermore, while the setting of many interactions in the present data is pedagogical in that they took place in various group activities during sessions of a course in the Japanese language and intercultural communication, for those group activities, there were no pre-defined roles of the teacher and learners. Some of the interactions took place outside the classroom and can be characterized as casual multiparty conversations among college students. In other words, the language lesson-like practices that will be explored in this chapter took place in an environment where there is no one who legitimately has more power than others as in a formal language learning setting. Yet, the NSs in the current data play the role of 'language teachers' to facilitate NNS participants' understanding of what is going on at particular moments in interaction and help them participate in the activities at hand. This points to the ubiquity of teaching and learning opportunities in situations beyond formal instructions.

Specifically, I examine (1) instances in which NSs act as 'translators' of another

participants' utterances for other co-participants and (2) instances that involve NSs' displaying understanding of their NNS co-participants' anomalous or troubled utterances and supplying linguistic items while at the same time presenting the meanings of those items that are believed to be unfamiliar to the NNSs by enacting the actions that they represent.

While it is not uncommon for NSs to engage in explanations of words or expressions for their NNS interlocutors and such explanation sequences furnish a rich site for investigating ways in which participants with differential access to resources make sense of each other's vocal and nonvocal conduct to organize social actions, detailed accounts of this practice has been scarce.[1] When an explanation is offered for another participant's piece of talk instead of one's own, it provides further opportunities to explore complex, shifting participation frameworks in multi-party interactions that involve participants with differing levels of interactional resources. In other words, the practice used by NSs to explain another participant's contribution enable us to learn how participants, as non-speaking participants, monitor others' displayed state of understanding, frame a particular activity in relation to participant roles at the moment, make use of interactional resources for particular recipients, and align themselves with particular co-participants. However, this practice has not received attention that it deserves. The first part of this chapter (Section 5.2.) offers detailed analyses of this practice, which is designed to deal with (perceived) problems in *understanding*. It is shown that participants' creative use of embodied actions play a vital role in this practice.

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[1] A notable exception is a study of ESL tutoring sessions by Belhiah, 2005.

The next section (Section 5.3.) focuses on a practice by which NSs assist NNS current speakers' *production* of lexical items. I demonstrate how embodied actions used in concert with talk constitute an essential component of these assistance sequences, in terms of both displaying NSs' understanding of NNSs' efforts and teaching words and expressions.

A few things should be noted before examining the practices in question. First, while my focus is on the NSs' practices, I do not assume asymmetry in linguistic competence as explanatory basis for all phenomena found in NS/NNS interactions.[2] On the contrary, through examination of segments in which NNSs are more knowledgeable than NSs about the topic being discussed, I have found that relative content knowledge also plays an important role in the ways participants organize their actions. This is in line with Zuengler and Bent's (1991) finding that content knowledge affects the level of participation in NS/NNS conversations. The phenomena that I will discuss in this chapter, however, stem from the participants' differing levels of language competencies. Although these phenomena could be found in NS/NS interactions as well, we can reasonably assume that they are attributable to the participants' categories as NSs and NNSs in the discussions that follow. This will be clear as we examine the examples.

Second, although my examinations and analyses will center around NSs' practices, I also look at NNSs' conduct closely because holistic understanding of communicative practices in human communication rests on examination of sequentially organized actions. Such understanding cannot be obtained by only looking at one party. The perspective that

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[2] For criticisms of the predominant view in second language acquisition (SLA) research that takes the NNS/NS categories for granted, see, for example, Firth and Wagner (1997).

views participation as a "temporally unfolding, interactively sustained embodied course of activity" (Goodwin, 1996, p. 375), which I draw upon, also calls for the examination of both parties' behavior. As Firth and Wagner (1997) stress, interaction and communication are per definition conjointly produced.

5.2. NATIVE SPEAKERS AS TRANSLATORS

As noted in Chapter 2, scholars have studied features of NSs' speech intended to make it more comprehensible for their NNS interlocutors under terms such as "foreigner talk" (FT) (Ferguson, 1971, 1975) and "interactional input modifications" (M. Long, 1983). Previous research on NSs' speech in NS/NNS interaction in Japanese (D. Long,1992; Otachi, 1998; Shimura, 1989; Skoutarides, 1981, 1988; Yokoyama, 1993) has also identified several characteristics of such speech by native speakers (i.e., shorter sentences, fewer ungrammatical or incomplete sentences, slower speech rate, abundance of pauses, repetitions of key words, use of English words, and frequent uses of comprehension check questions and paraphrases or synonyms). While these findings mostly come from data collected in highly controlled environments, a few of the practices were also observed in the present data that were collected in non-controlled settings, namely, asking comprehension check questions and paraphrasing the words or expressions that the NS speaker assumes may be difficult for their NNS co-participants.[3]

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[3] The fact that the other characteristics reported in the previous studies are not found in the current data may be related to the fact that all of the NNSs in this study are students enrolled in a regular college course conducted entirely in Japanese and are perceived as competent users of the Japanese language.

One phenomenon has emerged in the current data that has not been previously documented: NSs occasionally explain, expound, or paraphrase an item produced by another participant, either NS or NNS, for other participants. In other words, in such cases, NSs assume the role of an interpreter who bridges a gap in terms of linguistic or content knowledge. While NSs' practices of paraphrasing and elaborating on *their own* words or expressions when interacting with NNSs have been identified as part of FT, to my knowledge, NSs' attempts to translate *another* participant's contribution for other parties have not been studied.[4]

To act as a voluntary interpreter involves at least the following things: recognizing the need to step in based on the assessment of other participants' knowledge (e.g., linguistic knowledge, cultural knowledge), monitoring the state of understanding on the part of the other participants, making judgment as to what specifically might be a trouble source if there seems to be a problem, making a decision as to what kind of information (including the choice of modality) will likely help the other participant, and actually producing the turn(s) that will help the other participants.

Let us now look at examples. The first example presents the most extensive explanation sequence of all the examples shown in this section. It is presented to demonstrate how hearers' behavior affects the course in which a particular interaction develops, how one of the NS participants assesses other participants' knowledge level, how she designs her contribution for specific recipients, and in particular, how embodied actions such as gaze shifts and gestures are used.

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[4] This may be attributed to the fact that past research on FT has mostly looked at dyadic interactions in which there is no third party.

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(1) *Saruganseki* (TV Show) [DVD 1-21:30]

      This segment involves three Japanese students, Kato, Miyake, and Sakuma, and two international students, Lloyd (Australian) and Son (Korean). Having just watched a segment from a Japanese TV show in which people from different countries living in Japan criticize Japanese people in general for their lack of knowledge about foreign countries, the five students are now discussing visa application procedures in their respective countries. The sequence below begins when Miyake rather abruptly brings up *Saruganseki*, two comedians whose adventures were featured in another TV series several years prior to the recording of this interaction.[5] The following segment presents a pre-sequence leading to another Japanese student's explanation of the proper noun used by Miyake. During this sequence, it becomes clear that the group is divided into two sub-groups (i.e., Japanese and international students) on the basis of displayed familiarity with *Saruganseki*. Clues are found in the co-participants' listener behavior.

(1-A) *Saruganseki* 1

	01	Miyake:	|--gaze K--- ano mukashi saruganseki toka uhm long-time-ago (comedians' name) etc. Uhm, a long time ago, "Saruganseki"
	02	Kato:	a::: O:::h

---

[5] The proper noun *Saruganseki* refers to the two comedians, but Miyake's choice of the verb *atte*, a verb generally used for inanimate objects, seems to indicate that he uses the proper noun as a reference to the TV series in which the comedians were featured.

	03	Miyake:	| atte: exist:and was broadcast
	04	Kato:	atta [ne. biza: toka. ((laugh)) existed FP visa etc. That's right. Visa and things like that.
	05	Miyake:	|--gaze K--| |--------------------------gaze S----------------------| [biza su- shinsee suru toki ni suGOI kuroo shiteta (de[sho) visa su- application do time extremely hard-time did (Tag) ((They)) were really having a hard time when ((they)) applied for visa (, right).
	06	Sakuma:	[n:::: ((slight nods)) Mmm::::
	07	Miyake:	|--K-| |-- ---gaze at S----| pasupooto o (-) kau toki toka ((Sakuma nods 3 times)) passport buy time etc. and when buying passports
	08	Sakuma:	un ((nods)) Yeah.
→	09	Kato:	|--Son----| |-gaze L--| |------gaze Son------------------ nanka sa- (---) saruganseki tte ano:: hi- hicchihaiku like sa- (…) (comedians' name) QT uh::m hi- hitchhike Like, sa- (…) "Saruganseki," uhm::, hi- hitchhiking

Miyake's gaze direction shows whom he considers to be his recipients for this particular topic as he brings up the Japanese TV show. Right after Miyake mentions the name *Saruganseki* (line 1), he shifts his gaze toward Kato, who immediately displays her understanding of the term with a change of state token (Heritage, 1984) *a::: (o:::h)* in line

2. Kato's mention of "visa" in line 4 indicates her understanding of the reason why the proper name was brought up by Miyake in this context. After securing Kato's approval of the appropriateness of the mention of *Saruganseki* here, Miyake shifts his gaze toward Sakuma while producing the noun *shinsee* (application) in line 5. While the meaning of Sakuma's responsive token in line 6 co-occurring with two slight nods is ambiguous, his three nods occurring during Miyake's turn in line 7 and another nod co-occurring with his own vocal responsive token in line 8 appear to indicate Sakuma's familiarity with the subject introduced by Miyake. Kato further nods three times as Miyake produces his utterances in lines 5 and 7, providing additional support for Miyake's contribution. At this point, it has been made clear that all the Japanese participants know what *Saruganseki* is and how it is related to the topic under discussion (i.e., visa applications).

In the meantime, the two international students, Son and Lloyd, have displayed no uptake. Their gaze has been fixed on Miyake, who launched this new sequence. Neither Son nor Lloyd asks for clarification nor deploys embodied actions indicative of their unfamiliarity with the subject. The absence of acknowledgment of Miyake's contribution on their part, however, seems to have come across to Kato as a possible sign of non-understanding. Following Miyake's turn in line 7, instead of responding to what Miyake has just said, Kato shifts her gaze from Miyake, who is sitting in front of her, toward Son (line 9). Kato's gaze shift appears to be her attempt to seek a clue to the status of Son's understanding of the subject from his facial expression. As she brings her gaze to Son, Kato starts a new turn with *nanka* ("like"), only to find that her intended recipient is gazing at Miyake. After producing what appears to be the first mora of the noun

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Saruganseki, she quickly abandons the word, turns her gaze toward Lloyd, and restarts by producing the full proper noun. Kato is now ready to begin the explanation sequence intended for Son and Lloyd.

Let us examine the explanation sequence more closely. The following excerpt begins with the last line in the transcript above. The line numbers are kept the same for consistency.

(1-B) *Saruganseki* **2 (TV show)** [DVD 1-21:40]

→	09	Kato:	|--Son----| |-gaze L--| |------gaze Son---------------- nanka sa- (---) saruganseki tte ano:: hi- hicchihaiku like sa- (…) (comedians' name) QT uh::m hi- hitchhike Like, sa- (…) "Saruganseki," uhm::, hi- hitchhiking
	10	Son:	|--gaze K-- n: n: n: ((two slight nods)) mh:m mh:m mh:m
→	11	Kato:	|----gaze L------ [hicchihaiku de:: ((gaze at Lloyd; nods at *hicc-* and *-hai-*)) hitchhiking by-means-of by hitchhiking
	12	Lloyd:	-----gaze K----- [aa:::: ha- hai ((upward head movement)) O::::h y- yes
→	13	Kato:	----gaze L---| |--gaze Son---| |-L-|-S---- |----L---| |--Son---- ((draws a trapezoid w/ both hands)) ((moves R hand L to R; nod))((extends Rarm)) ano (--) yuurashia tairiku (--) nan(-) oodan? (-) honkon kara::: igirisu made uh Eurasia continent wh( ) crossing? Hong Kong from Britain to uh… the Eurasian Continent… wh( ) crossing? From Hong Kong to Britain

14	Son:	( ) ((small nods))
15	Sakuma:	deshita kke. Cop FP Was that right.
16	Miyake:	un. ((nod)) Yeah.
17	Sakuma:	( ) ((nod))
18	Kato:	hicchihaiku de iku tte iu terebi no kikaku ga atte:: hitchihiking by-means-of go QT say television LK project SB exist:and ((They)) go hitchhiking, there was a TV project like that
19	Son:	n:: ((5 big nods)) Mhm.
20	Lloyd:	a:: soo O::h, is that so.
21	(--)	
22	Kato:	shini soo ni naru die-almost P become ((They)) almost die.
23	All:	((burst into laughter))

Although it seems that Kato has launched the new turn because of the absence of display

of familiarity with the newly introduced topic on the part of the two international students,

she does not formulate her turn as a question asking whether Son and Lloyd have heard

of *Saruganseki* when she can certainly do so. Instead, after the initial hesitation marker

nanka and the following false start *sa-*, Kato presents the proper noun *Saruganseki* with

the "thematizational *tte*" (Martin, 1975, p. 229), which basically presents a topic, leaving

it open what relationship it will have to other elements in the unfolding turn and thereby making it possible for the turn to develop into any of a few possible directions according to the recipients' reactions.

In this segment, gaze shifts by Kato and the two NNSs provide particularly rich resources for understanding participation structure and the nature of the activity at hand for the participants themselves and the analyst alike. In particular, Kato's distribution of gaze between Lloyd and Son throughout this segment, along with other features of her contribution, is to be noted. Following Kato's abandoning a word, both Lloyd and Son have brought their gaze to Kato at the onset of *Saruganseki* (line 9), displaying proper hearership (Goodwin, 1981). As she finishes uttering *Saruganseki tte*, Kato shifts her gaze, which was on Lloyd, back to Son. This is followed by two more perturbations, namely, *ano::* (uh::m) and a cut-off *hi-*. The latter seems to be the first mora of the loan word *hicchihaiku* ("hitchhiking") that immediately follows. These two features may indicate her uncertainty about the comprehensibility of this word. This interpretation indeed explains her gaze shift to Son, whose knowledge of English may be limited.[6] Kato nods during the production of *haiku* in the word *hicchihaiku* while looking at Son. Kato's vertical head movement appears to have elicited Son's vocal uptake and co-occurring nods (line 10). Upon confirming Son's displayed understanding, Kato returns her gaze to Lloyd. She repeats the loan word along with the particle *de* (by means

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[6] This is not to say that native speakers of English like Lloyd are actually better at comprehending Japanese loan words of English origin than nonnative speakers of English like Son. However, lay Japanese people (i.e. those who are not teachers of Japanese as a second/foreign language) tend to think that loan words from English are easy for native speakers of English. It is very likely that Kato is one of these people.

of) this time, while nodding twice (line 11). This is overlapped by Lloyd, who demonstrates his recognition of the word by lifting up his head, while producing "*a:::::*" (o::::h), which serves as a change of state token (Heritage, 1984) (line 12). At this point, Kato has secured the two NNSs' understanding of the loan word she has introduced. With the addition of the particle *de* after the second instance of the loan word directed to Lloyd, Kato is ready to proceed with the rest of the explanation.

To sum up the segment that we have examined in this sub-section, Kato's finely tuned use of gaze direction in conjunction with vocal devices such as a restart and a repetition that serve as a bid for attention has proven to be successful in securing the two international students' active hearership (Goodwin, 1981). This is something that could not be achieved by Miyake's original utterances that assumed participants' familiarity with the subject or by the other two NSs' responses to Miyake's contribution. Through her gaze, Kato appoints Lloyd and Son as her addressed recipients (Goffman, 1981). She carefully shifts her gaze direction between Lloyd and Son to maintain a triadic structure in which both recipients receive equal attention from the speaker. Furthermore, Kato presents the key word in this brief segment (i.e., "hitchhiking") twice so that each of her recipients can be the addressed recipient at the precise moment when the noun is produced. Once again, this is done through her use of gaze direction, which successfully solicits a desired response from each recipient. It also appears that Kato may have differentiated the two NNS recipients in terms of their linguistic knowledge associated with their native languages. Kato's contribution here is indeed an example of "recipient design" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) in this situated activity.

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Examination of Kato's talk and gestures in the subsequent turns illustrates another example of recipient design that she employs as she goes on to tell Lloyd and Son what the two hitchhiking comedians did in the TV series. Kato's talk in line 13 ("uh… the Eurasian Continent… wh[   ] crossing? From Hong Kong to Britain") co-occurs with three distinctive gestures. First, she draws a trapezoid in the air using her two hands as if tracing the Eurasian Continent. Her gaze shifts from Lloyd to Son in the middle of the noun *yuurasia* (Eurasia), during her "tracing" gesture.

↑

Figure 12: Line 13 Kato: ano (--) yuurashia tairiku
(um... the Eurasian Continent)

Next, as she produces the noun for the action of crossing the continent, *oodan*, Kato moves her right hand horizontally from left to right, with the index finger extended. Kato's gaze was back on Lloyd at the onset of this word, but it is directed to Son toward the end of the word.

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↑

Figure 13: Line 13 Kato: nan(   ) oodan?

                               (wh[   ] crossing?)

Finally, starting at the noticeably prolonged final vowel of the phrase *honkon kara:::*
(fro:::m Hong Kong), Kato extends her right arm rather slowly as if trying to represent
the distance between the two locations, Hong Kong and Britain.

↑

Figure 14: Line 13 Kato:) honkon kara:: **igiri**su made

                     (from Hong Kong to Britain?)

The series of gestures employed in Kato's contribution in line 13, combined with the co-occurring vocal features (e.g., slower speech rate and stretched vowels) and gaze shifts, indicates that her contribution is specifically designed for the NNS participants. Kato shifts her gaze back and forth between Son and Lloyd, establishing them as the intended recipients as well as monitoring their comprehension. The hedge token preceding the word *oodan* (crossing), the rising intonation at the end of the word (cf. "try-marking," Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), and a head nod at *-dan* directed to Son all appear to point to Kato's concern regarding the comprehensibility of the Chinese origin word *oodan* to the NNSs.

Note that the gestures that Kato employs in this segment are not conventionalized, prefabricated gestures. She skillfully parses the oral component of her unfolding turn, producing a gesture for each of the three key elements in her utterance to make her verbal contribution more accessible to the two NNSs. Another observation to note in this example is that the sequence starts as an attempt by the more knowledgeable to assist the less knowledgeable with a rather unusual piece of content knowledge, but in the process of providing the *factual* information, the NS employs various embodied actions so that the *linguistic* items simultaneously produced in the explanation will be more accessible to her NNS co-participants. NSs' use of gestures during vocabulary-teaching sequences will be taken up more extensively in Section 5.3.

In this example, one NS participant, Kato, emerges as an interpreter for a particular group of her co-participants, namely, NNSs, in the absence of the NNSs' response to the proper noun introduced by another NS. Kato's frequent gaze shifts

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between the two NNSs secured her the ability to closely monitor her recipients' displays of understanding. Furthermore, through her talk and gestures of which significance and recipient is communicated via her gaze, Kato succeeds in having the two international students orient to the assistance that she provides and in eliciting desired responses from them.

Now, a question arises as to how the other two Japanese students, Miyake and Sakuma, participate in this sequence. While they do not actively make verbal contributions to join Kato, the primary NS, in her effort to offer voluntary help to the two NNSs, examination of their visual displays reveals that Miyake and Sakuma join Kato as supporting actors. For instance, towards the end of Kato's utterance *yuurashia tairiku* (the Eurasian Continent) in line 13, Miyake rapidly turns his gaze to Lloyd as if trying to monitor Lloyd's reaction to, or more accurately, understanding of a phrase that is not in everyday use.[7] Miyake and Sakuma also join Kato in nodding at appropriate points such as immediately following Kato's nodding and at a transition-relevance place (Sacks et al., 1974) in Kato's turn. For example, Sakuma nods right after Kato's head nod directed to Son (line 13), which co-occurs with the potentially difficult word *oodan* (crossing). If we only looked at the verbal aspect of the interaction, we would not be able to notice this alignment among the three NSs or the overall participant structure in this particular sequence. This reminds us of the importance of investigating both vocal and visual aspects of interaction.

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[7] In the interaction examined, Miyake recurrently gaze at Lloyd, not Son, when comprehension checks are deemed necessary. This may be attributed to Lloyd's general tendency to have a greater difficulty in speaking than Son does.

The explanation sequence ends when the two NNSs have displayed understanding, and everybody laughs in response to an episode from the TV series that Kato mentions, thereby agreeing that they are back on the same page. It is at this point that Miyake, who originally introduced the topic that prompted the explanation sequence, resumes to assume the role of the primary speaker. What might look like a 'side sequence' at first glance actually turns out to be an integral part of the interaction.

The next excerpt provides another example of a NS acting as a voluntary interpreter of another NS's talk. In contrast to Example (1), the practice is employed for the only NNS participant present. As in the first example, the interpreting NS here does not only verbally expound the potentially problematic word but also uses embodied actions to make the item comprehensible to the NNS. More specifically, the NS enacts a verb used in another NS's utterance. This action is joined by the original NS speaker who produced the verb.

(2) *Settai* (Entertaining a Guest) [DVD Aka-Oni 3 - 49:15]

The participants in this segment are two Japanese students (Kojima and Miyake) and a Senegalese student (Touré), who are at the final stage of preparing for their skit presentation. (Nasu, another Japanese student in this group, is present but remains silent throughout this segment.) Prior to this sequence, the three Japanese students did a dry run without Touré, who was late for the meeting due to a train accident. When Touré arrived, the Japanese students were discussing where each character should be, in the classroom that serves as the stage or in the hallway, at particular moments in the skit. Upon arriving, Touré was informed by Kojima that they had been writing down the locations of the

characters at important junctures between the scenes. The following excerpt begins approximately two minutes after Touré joined the discussion. The participants are talking about the scene in which Red Oni[8], the character to be played by Touré, has defeated Blue Oni and saved the villagers. It has been already agreed upon by the three Japanese students that Blue Oni leaves the stage after being defeated.

	01	Kojima:	aka-oni wa sono mama denai de ((writing down notes))
			Red-Oni TP that as-is go-out:Neg
			Red Oni stays there, not going out and
	02	(-)	
	03	Kojima:	de, murabito mo sono mama da ne. ((writing down notes))
			and villagers also that as-is CP FP
			and the villagers also stay there, right.
	04	Miyake:	un ((looking at notes))
			Yeah.
	05	(-)	
	06	Miyake:	((looks up at K at (*nda*)))
			jaa, aka-oni settai suru (n [da)
			then Red-Oni entertain do N CP
			Then, ((the villagers)) entertain Red Oni with refreshments.
→	07	Kojima:	((clap hands once)) ((continuous clapping; gazes at T at the end))
			[n: koo, koo yatte yatte sugoi, su[[goi tte yattete:
			yeah like-this like-this do:and do:and amazing amazing QT do:and
			Yeah, like this, doing like this, saying "Amazing! Amazing!"
→	08	Miyake:	
			[[(((clapping))
	09	Kojima:	un ((gaze on Touré; while nodding twice))
			Yeah.

---

[8] As previously noted in Chapter 4, *oni* is an imaginary demon-like creature.

→	10	Kojima:	Aka-oni sugo:i tte yatte:
			Red-Oni amazing QT do:and
			"Red Oni is amazing!" ((they)) go

All the participants are looking at their notes until Kojima raises her upper body at the end of the verb *settai suru* (to entertain guests with refreshments) in Miyake's utterance in line 6. Miyake immediately looks up at Kojima. Kojima puts her hands together, with fingers extended, in a vertical position in front of her face at the first *koo* (like this) (cf. Streeck, 1993) in line 7, and starts rapid and small clapping motions.

↑
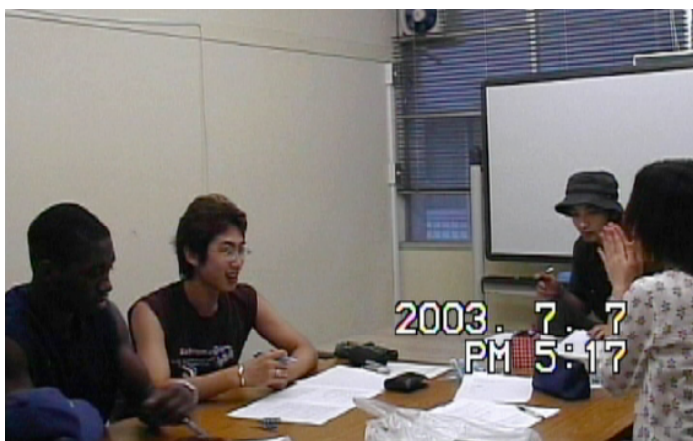
Figure 15: Line 7 Kojima: n: koo, **ko**o yatte
(Yeah, like this, doing like this)

While gesturally performing the applause that represents the villagers' appreciation for Red Oni, who rescued the villagers from Blue Oni's rampage, Kojima verbally presents the villagers' action using the deictic expression *koo* (like this). She inserts a line to be performed by those who play the role of the villagers in the skit, "*sugoi, sugoi*" (Amazing! Amazing!), in her description. The two instances of the adjective expressing admiration are produced in a distinctively high-pitched, performative voice.

Let us now consider the timing of Kojima's contribution in line 7. She starts to demonstrate the villagers' action immediately following Miyake's use of the verb *settai suru* (to entertain guests with refreshments), which, in modern Japanese, is strongly associated with the corporate or political world and is not part of everyday lexicon. While Kojima's clapping action does not fully translate the meaning of this verb into another modality, it clearly depicts one of the things that the villagers will do at the reception that they hold for Red Oni as a token of gratitude. Based on its timing and content, Kojima's utterance and co-occurring embodied action in line 7 appear to be an approximation of the referential content of the "difficult" verb that Miyake used to present his idea about the villagers' action, whose recipient is Red Oni, the character to be played by Touré. In other words, both speech and a co-occurring gesture are designed to make the potentially unfamiliar word accessible to Touré.

In Example 1 (*Saruganseki*), we saw that the explanation sequence was prompted by the absence of NNS participants' response to an unusual word when such a response was deemed appropriate. In the current example, Touré does not respond to Miyake's utterance that contains the verb *settai suru*, either. However, unlike Example 1, the absence of reaction is easily accounted for because Touré's gaze is on his copy of the script as he takes notes[9] when Miyake produces that turn. Nevertheless, Kojima immediately launches the explanation and provides an example of the actions that might constitute *settai* by performing it, namely, offering a word of admiration and clapping. A question then arises as to whether Kojima's contribution is designed to assist Touré.

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[9] It appears that Touré is writing down the information that Kojima provided regarding the characters' actions and locations in particular scenes.

Examination of Kojima's gaze direction reveals that that is indeed the case. She looks at Touré toward the end of line 7 as if trying to monitor the status of Touré's understanding. At this point, Touré has returned his gaze to Kojima, and Touré smiles when mutual gaze has been achieved. This is overlapped by Kojima's affirming token *un* (yeah).

Another notable feature of this segment is the embodied collaboration between Kojima and Miyake in acting out the villagers' applause.[10] Miyake, who used the verb that seems to have prompted Kojima's "translation," joins Kojima in clapping (i.e., cheering Red Oni) in the middle of her clapping action.[11] Here, NS/NS alignment is evident in the presence of the potentially unknowing party. Miyake amplifies his embodied action by enthusiastically acting out a villager's facial expression. As she performs both vocally and nonvocally, Kojima shifts gaze to Touré as if to monitor his status of understanding. Touré's gaze is directed to Kojima briefly toward Kojima's utterance in line 7, at the last mora of *sugoitte*, *tete* in *yattete*, and the first mora of line 9. Kojima acknowledges Touré's visual attention with *un* (yeah) and two nods. Touré returns acknowledgment by smiling.

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[10] Lerner (2002) describes gestural matching practices in which listeners deploy matching gestures in sync with speakers. For a related but slightly different line of discussion of gesture as well as speech providing an interactional resource for co-constructing talk, see Kimbara (2006).

[11] In the present data, mimetic gestures have been found to frequently provide opportunities for participants to join the gesturing participant to display mutual understanding. However, other examples of such gestural replication serving the same function are not included here because they are not cases of NSs acting as translators.
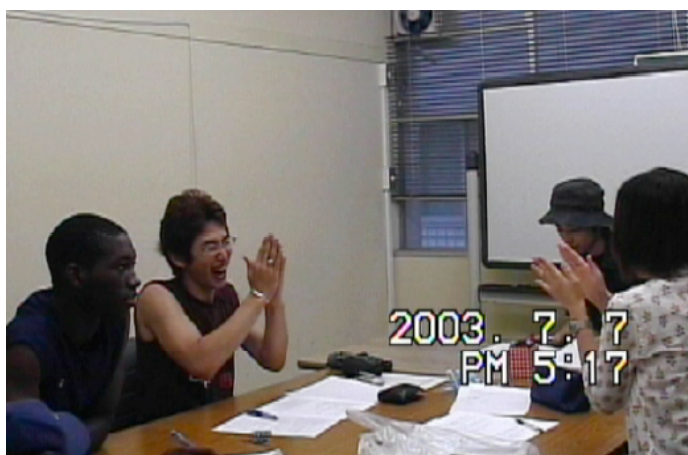
↑

Figure 16: Line 7 Kojima: *sugoi, sugoi* tte yatte**te**

(saying, "Amazing! Amazing!")

The above segment has presented an example of NS volunteering to act as a translator when there is no sign of non-understanding on the part of NNS. This suggests that communicative interaction is an ongoing interpretive work of co-present others' state. Participants monitor each other's talk and bodily conduct and evaluate the co-participants' competence (Duchan et al., 1999).

Our last example in this section is different from the previous two examples in that a NS translates a NNS's utterance for another NS, instead of translating another NS's utterance for NNS. Examination of the segment will reveal that the NS who acts as the interpreter between the NNS and another NS designs her utterance in such a way as to offer a clue to the other NS who is puzzled by the NNS's word choice *and* at the same time encourage the NNS's continuous participation in the ongoing interaction without focusing on language.

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(3) "Mask" [DVD Aka-Oni 2 - 21:16]

       This excerpt was taken from a group activity in which the members discuss

costumes for the upcoming skit presentation. Three Japanese students, Kojima, Nasu, and

Miyake, and the Senegalese student, Touré, are discussing a costume for *oni*, a

demon-like creature that can have either one or two horns. In this particular sequence,

they are concerned whether the audience will be able to recognize two *oni* characters as

such.

01	Kojima:	((fists on the sides of the head)) u::n nanka a chigau na tte wakariyasukereba, sorede tsuno ga tsuite yeah a-little oh different FP QT easy-to-understand-if and horns SB have	
02		a, oni da tte wakareba ii kara: oh oni/demon COP QT understand-if good because Yea::h, if it's easy to tell that ((the *oni*s)) are somewhat different, and ((they)) have horns and ((you)) can tell, "oh, ((they)) are *oni*," then that's fine, I guess.	
03	Touré:	°n° Yeah.	
04	Kojima:	Nee.= FP Right.	
05	Touré:	((Nasu shifts gaze from T to K at *ba* with frozen look)) =nanka **masuku** mita[i no tsukure[[ba ((covers the face with left hand)) like mask like N make-if Like, if ((we)) make something like masks	
06	Nasu:	[((gazes at Touré)) [[((gaze at Kojima))	

	07	Kojima:	((nods)) ((shifts gaze to Nasu at the second e))
			Nee.
			Right.
	08	Nasu:	**masuku** mitaino [tte ((hands cover lower face; move them inward and outward twice))
			mask like N QT
			"Something like masks"
			((vertical hands near cheeks at *ano setsubun no toki no*; 2 small moves horizontally))
→	09	Kojima:	[ano [[setsubun no toki no **masuku** ga areba[[[nee
			that (cultural-item-name) LK time LK mask SB exist-if FP
			If ((we)) had those ***masks*** for the bean-throwing ceremony, yeah.
			[[ano:: (koo yatte)
	10	Touré:	well (like-this do:and)
			Well… (doing like this)
			((upward head movement; hands put down))
			[[[aa:
	11	Nasu:	O:h
			((raise open hands again to a higher level than before; palms in & out twice))
	12	Nasu:	[kono jiki uttenaissu yo=
			this season sell:Neg FP
			At this time of year, ((they)) don't sell ((them)).
	13	Touré:	[koo nanka ((puts R hand on the face but abandons and looks at Nasu))
			like-this like
			Like this, like
	14	Kojima:	=uttenai yo nee.
			sell:Neg FP FP
			((They)) don't sell ((them)), right.

Following Kojima's suggestion that the *oni* actors wear horns so that the audience can tell

them from the human characters, Touré suggests the use of masks (line 5). His use of the

word *masuku* (mask), however, is problematic in that it is unusual and misleading in this context. Although the loan word *masuku* can be used to refer to a "mask" used in the theater, in everyday Japanese, it most likely refers to a "flu mask," which is used to cover one's mouth. While it is not possible to determine whether Touré uses it as a loan word from English that has already become part of Japanese vocabulary or as an English word due to the lack of the knowledge of an appropriate Japanese word, there are several pieces of evidence that Nasu has found Touré's word choice surprising and odd.[12]

First, Nasu shifts his gaze from Touré's toward Kojima with a blank face at the last mora of Touré's turn in line 5. His facial expression and gaze shift seem to indicate that Nasu is trying to see Kojima's reaction to that particular word. Second, he produces a distinctive gesture as he repeats the problematic phrase Touré used (i.e., *masuku mitai no* [something like masks]) in line 8. To be more precise, Nasu starts to put his open hands together in front of his mouth with palms toward face at the *ta* in *mitai*, moves the hands apart along the same path on which he put them together, and repeats the motion as he adds a quotation marker *tte*.

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[12] Kojima also did not instantly understand what Touré meant by *masuku* when he first used it in a similar context in another class session a week before. This incident confirms that Touré's word choice is problematic from the perspectives of his co-participants as well as that of the analyst. Nasu was absent from the previous session.

Figure 17: Line 8   Nasu: masuku mitaino **tte**

(Something like masks)

This sequence of gestures suggests that Nasu took *masuku* as a flu mask, not the kind of mask used for the *oni* character. The verbal and visual cues that Nasu displays, together with his tone of voice, serve as evidence that he has found the use of *masuku* odd in this context. It seems that these signs, along with the fact that Kojima also had trouble understanding Touré when he first used the noun *masuku* in a previous meeting from which Nasu was absent, prompts Kojima to act as a mediator immediately. In fact, based on the visual cues that Nasu displayed (i.e., facial expression and gaze shift from Touré to Kojima), Kojima seems to have felt the need to make Touré's utterance comprehensible to Nasu even before Nasu repeats the trouble source in line 8. In line 7, after nodding at the first mora *ne*, Kojima shifts her gaze from Touré to Nasu. Although her gaze direction is hard to determine because of the camera angle, we can see that, following this gaze shift, Kojima's body is orientated toward the general area between Touré and Nasu, slightly more toward Nasu. The issue of who is considered the recipient of Kojima's contribution will be discussed later.

In marked contrast with Nasu's reaction to Touré's utterance, Kojima, who already

knows what Touré means by *masuku*, does not orient to the unusual lexical choice made

by Touré. Furthermore, she does not attend to Nasu's displayed puzzlement about the

word *masuku*, either. Instead, Kojima demonstrates her understanding of the word by

responding with the interjection *nee* (right) in line 7, which enthusiastically supports

Touré's contribution containing the inappropriate word. Nasu's subsequent turn, which

appears to have been started as a clarification request (line 8), is overlapped by Kojima's

next turn (line 9) that further endorses and elaborates on Touré's proposal: *Ano setsubun*

no toki no masuku ga areba nee ("If we had those **masks** for the bean-throwing ceremony,

yeah"). This turn is significant in that it not only supports Touré's idea but also is

designed to provide a clue for Nasu as to what kind of mask Touré has in mind. Kojima

does so by adding a noun modifier that contains a cultural item anybody who grew up in

Japan would be familiar with; *setsubun no toki* (lit., "the time of *setsubun*"). *Setsubun*

refers to the day before the first day of the spring (according to the lunar calendar), and in

many people's minds today, it is probably most strongly associated with an event where

people scatter roasted soybeans to drive away evil spirits. In many cases, somebody plays

the role of *oni*, which represents the evil spirit, by wearing a paper or plastic mask with

elastic bands. Therefore, by incorporating the word *setsubun* into her utterance supporting

Touré's proposal regarding *masuku*, Kojima is giving Nasu a typical context in which to

understand the kind of mask Touré has in mind, thereby showing Nasu how to interpret

Touré's contribution.[13] Moreover, Kojima holds her hands vertically at the level of her

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[13] It is unknown whether or not Touré is indeed familiar with this cultural event and had in mind
the kind of masks used in the occasion. However, Kojima's mention of the bean-throwing event

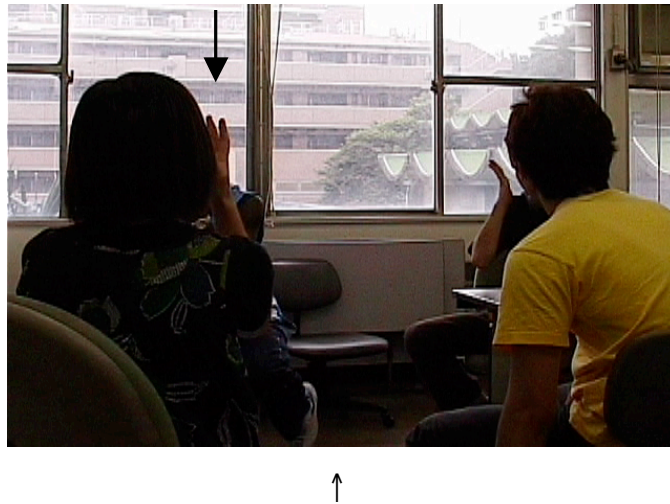face and horizontally moves them twice as if patting her cheek as she utters *ano setsubun no toki no*.

Figure 18: Line 9   Kojima: ano setsu**bun** n toki no masuku

(those masks for the bean-throwing ceremony)

It seems that this hand movement has also served to show Nasu the kind of 'masuk' he should picture (i.e., those that cover the entire face as opposed to those that only cover the mouth). Nasu immediately displays his understanding of what is meant by *masuku* and produces a change of state token, *aa:*, in line 11 and goes on to provide relevant information.

We have just seen how Kojima simultaneously supported the NNS's idea and guided one of her NS co-participants, who was puzzled by the NNS's anomalous language use, to understanding by invoking shared cultural knowledge. What, then, is Kojima's turn doing in terms of facilitating participation by NNS? Let us now examine

was surely successful in informing Nasu, who seems to have visualized a flu mask upon hearing Touré's mention of *masuku*, that the mask Touré is referring to is something to be worn by a person playing *Oni*.

this multifunctional turn from different angles.

There are a few noteworthy things about the way this turn is designed. First, it should be noted that Kojima does not only let Touré's inappropriate word choice pass, but also actively incorporates the word into her own speech. In the present data, while instances of NS participants' 'inappropriate' or 'marked' language uses are often brought to the participants' attention by other NSs,[14] NNS participants' use of lexical or syntactic items in ways that other participants find to deviate from the normative usage is seldom problematized or repaired by the others.[15] In other words, NNSs' marked language use tends to receive no attention unless it hinders communication, particularly in task-oriented activities.[16] Furthermore, several instances were found in the current data set in which NSs did not only let "inappropriate" lexical choices made by NNSs pass but also actively incorporated such expressions into their own speech. The "mask" example is one of them. A similar practice is documented by Firth (1996), who studied lingua franca interactions involving NNSs of English. He calls it "make it normal," the practice of incorporating into one's own turn marked lexical and grammatical resources furnished by

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[14] The devices through which these uses are oriented to include repeating the word in question while laughing and voluntarily providing a correct or more appropriate expression.

[15] This is closely related to the findings obtained by previous SLA research on NS/NNS or NNS/NNS talk in English (e.g., Gaskill, 1980; Schwartz, 1980) confirming Schegloff et al. (1977) study of NS/NS conversations in English, which reported that speakers who produced a trouble source frequently repaired the trouble themselves rather than having the trouble repaired by their co-participants. Hosoda (2000) also found the preference for self-initiation of repair in her Japanese NS/NNS and NS/NS data.

[16] Firth (1996) points out that the phenomenon of 'let it pass,' whether it is found in NS-NNS interactions or in other types of interactions, is generally difficult to study from a participant-centered perspective like CA because "it is often the case that we cannot know whether the 'problem' was missed by the hearer (but not by the analyst), or whether it was heard or seen by the hearer and allowed to pass" (p. 244). However, when NNS's inappropriate language use is not only allowed to pass but also actively endorsed and incorporated into NS's speech, it enables us to study the phenomenon from the participant's perspective.

the other party. This practice makes the other's "abnormal" talk appear "normal." This is exactly what Kojima's turn in line 9 does. More specifically, by incorporating the word *masuku* into her own speech without showing any sign that she thinks it is funny, Kojima is telling Touré that his Japanese is just fine. By not orienting to Touré's questionable word choice, she is also showing the other NS participants her framing of the occasion as an activity in which correctness in language use should not be made an issue and that Touré's Japanese is fine.

Second, the consideration of whom Kojima's turn is directed to reveals that the turn is more complex than it seems. In response to Touré's proposal to use *masuku* (line 5), Kojima produces an emphatic interjection *nee* and a nod simultaneously. As her head bounces upward, which constitutes the second half of the nod, Kojima swiftly shifts her gaze from Touré to Nasu at the second mora of *nee*. This appears to indicate that she feels the need to check Nasu's reaction.[17] It is difficult to tell at whom Kojima is gazing due to the angle of the camera, but her body seems to be oriented more toward Nasu than toward Touré. Her body orientation remains that way throughout her explanation turn in line 9, designating Nasu as her primary recipient of that turn. As previously noted, the phrase *setsubun no toki no* ([of] the bean-throwing ceremony), which is added to modify the trouble source that Touré produced (i.e., *masuku*), is clearly intended for Nasu who would benefit from the information. Interestingly, Kojima ends the utterance with the sentence final particle *nee*, one of the information status markers that appeal to the addressee and "requests an answer, reminds him of certain information, or urges him to agree with the

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[17] As noted previously, Nasu was absent from the meeting where Kojima did not understand what was meant by *masuku* when Touré used the word.

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speaker's information" (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 283). The use of this particle invites

confirmation on the part of the hearer as 'don't you think" does in English (Martin, 1975).

In other words, when Kojima directs her turn to Nasu, she appears to assume that her

addressee already possesses knowledge of the content of her utterance and that he is

likely to agree with her about the wish for the particular type of masks.

This contradicts our preliminary analysis that Kojima directs her turn to Nasu in

order to provide him with the context (i.e., bean-throwing ceremony) for the use of the

kind of mask that Touré has in mind precisely because it is observable that Nasu is not

following Touré's proposal nor Kojima's support for that. In other words, what Kojima is

doing with her turn in line 9 seems to be to provide a new piece of information to help

Nasu understand the NNS's previous turn while at the same time expecting Nasu to be

already in agreement with her elaboration on the turn of which the new information is an

essential part. A more straightforward and common way to help the party who is

confused by Touré's use of the noun *masuku* would be to elaborate on the type of mask

by providing a typical occasion in which it is used in an utterance whose form indicates

the speaker's belief that the information is new to the addressee.[18] However, Kojima

treats the new information as something that is already shared by the unknowing party.

What does the design of Kojima's turn tell us, then? I suggest that it is designed to

keep Touré's anomalous lexical choice unnoticed by Touré himself. By sneaking the clue

intended for Nasu into the turn whose construction presupposes Nasu's understanding,

Kojima is able to hide that she is providing Nasu with clarifying information because

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[18] This may or may not involve the use of a sentence final particle *yo*, which "enables the speaker
to present information presumed not to be available to the addressee (Iwasaki, 2002, p. 282).

Touré's contribution was problematic. In other words, Kojima's turn in line 9 is intended for two recipients, namely, an addressed recipient (Nasu) and an unaddressed recipient (Touré)[19] for two different purposes (i.e., helping Nasu achieve understand and assuring Touré that he has successfully made himself understood). It endorses the Touré's inappropriate lexical choice to avoid a face-threatening act (Cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987) and encourage his participation in the discussion while at the same time giving Nasu a specific context in which to understand what Touré meant. The two devices used by Kojima (i.e., incorporating a misused word in one's own speech and producing a turn which expounds another participant's utterance for a third party in a manner that the problematic nature of the other participant's speech is not revealed to that participant) constitute facilitative practices employed by those with more interactional resources.

The interactional phenomenon analyzed in this section has revealed some ways in which native speakers in the present data closely attend to differential interactional resources available to their co-participants' and attempt to bridge the gap. Recognizing possible trouble sources, they explicitly or implicitly act as translators, providing an explanation or elaboration on what has been verbally produced by other participants.

It has been found that participants' embodied conduct plays a crucial role in the sequences where mutual understanding is at stake. Gestures are deployed either in conjunction with speech or on their own.[20] Although hand gestures have been reported as primarily a speaker's phenomenon (e.g., Schegloff, 1984), their use is not limited to the

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[19] Touré is an unaddressed but intended recipient here. Levinson (1988) terms this type of recipient as "target," informational/illocutionary destination of message (p. 170).
[20] Jarmon (1996) argues that gestures produced in "silence" constitute nonvocal components of turns.

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current speaker in my data. To give examples from this section, while Example (1) presents the current speaker's use of hand gestures, Examples (2) and (3) involve gestures used by non-speaking participants, either addressed or unaddressed. In Example (2), Kojima, an addressed recipient who sees a potential problem in a word that another NS has just produced, launches an extended gestural sequence designed to assist a NNS co-participant as she begins a new turn as the next speaker. The original speaker, who produced the potential trouble source, joins Kojima by enacting the same embodied action as a non-speaking participant. In Example (3), Nasu, an unaddressed recipient at the time of the production of a problematic word, deploys a gesture, in puzzlement, to demonstrate his understanding of the noun that has just been produced by a NNS.

Another notable observation is that, as in the cases of co-participant completion in which a NS completes another NS's utterance-in-progress (Type 2 completion discussed in Chapter 4), NS participants frequently collaborate to assist NNSs. Example 2 is an exemplary case. Such joint actions by NSs shift the participation framework in the unfolding interaction and juxtapose those who have more interactional resources with those who have fewer resources.

We now turn our attention from the practice of explaining another participant's contribution to facilitate yet another participant's *understanding* to the practice of primarily helping participants with fewer linguistic resources *produce* utterances.

5.3. MULTIFACETED TURNS IN VOCABULARY ASSISTANCE: IMPROMPTU LANGUAGE LESSONS

This section aims to elucidate the ways in which NSs' multimodal turns

accomplish multiple functions in the face of NNS's utterance that either contains an anomalous item or shows sign of difficulty in producing. More specifically, I will examine instances in which NSs display understanding of NNS co-participants' somewhat troubled or marked contributions by supplying appropriate words or expressions while at the same time providing the meanings of those items through gestures (cf. Levinson, 2006). NSs' decision to deploy gestures as they supply linguistic items is an outcome of ongoing monitoring and evaluation of their NNS co-participants' level of linguistic competence.

The phenomenon resembles vocabulary teaching in foreign language classrooms and causes a shift in participant roles and the participation framework of settings that do not have pre-defined roles such as those found in formal instructional settings. Microanalyses of use of gestures during vocabulary explanation sequences have been conducted on interaction in an ESL classroom (Lazaraton, 2004)[21] and ESL tutorials (Belhiah, 2005). However, to the best of my knowledge, there has been no microanalysis of sequentially organized social actions focusing on NS's facilitative embodied practices in Japanese-language interaction either in formal or informal settings. The following examination sheds light on this process with close attention to both vocal and nonvocal aspects of NNSs' conduct as well. We now turn to our first example in this section.

(4) "Red Oni saves the girl" [DVD Aka-Oni 2 - 1:40] #11

This interaction is taken from a class session in which four students work together on the plot for their skit presentation. All students except Nasu, who was absent from the

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[21] The ESL teacher whose gestural use is examined in this study is a NNS teacher of English.

previous session, have brought their ideas to the group. In the segment below, Touré, the

only international student in this group, is telling the other members about his ideas for a

scene in which Red Oni rescues a girl from Blue Oni's violent behavior in the village.[22]

Note that Touré mispronounces the key word meaning "attack" in line 5 and resorts to the

use of an English word "save" in line 8. These features, combined with various indicators

of Touré's difficulty in speech production, appear to prompt one of the NSs to play the

role of a language teacher.

	01	Touré:	ano (-) sono (-) aka-oni ga: sono ao-oni ga: (-)
			uhm um Red-Oni SB um Blue-Oni SB[23]
			Uhm, um, Red Oni, um, Blue Oni
	02	Kojima:	°n° ((nods)))
			yeah
	03	Touré:	ano: sa: sono (-) mura no hito-tachi wa, oni ga kowai to itteru kara:: (--)
			uhm FP um village LK people TP oni SB scary QT say because
			Uhm, you know, um (-) villagers say they're afraid of Oni's, so (--)
	04		nanka sono ao-oni ga: (---) nanka warui (-) yatte (---) sono (-)
			like um Blue-Oni SB like bad do:and um
			like, um, Blue Oni (---), like, does (---) bad (-) um (-)

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[22] According to the plot that Touré thought up based on a well-known Japanese story, Red Oni
and Blue Oni contrive this so that the girl, whom Red Oni has been attracted to, will want to make
friends with Red Oni.

[23] The two instances of the partcicle *ga* in this line are tentatively marked as SB (Subject
Particle). Although it is likely at this point that Touré's co-participants take *Aka-Oni* as an
abandoned subject and *Ao-Oni* as its replacement because of the presence of *ga*, it is possible that
Touré is actually already in the middle of producing the construction that will not take shape until
line 3, namely, [X *wa* Y *ga kowai*] (X is afraid of Y) as in the clause *mura no hito-tachi wa oni ga
kowai* (The Villagers are afraid of Oni's).

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	05		((lifts L hand a little, open fingers)) tatoeba: sono onna no ko o: koo asou tte iu no for-example that girl O like-this asou[24] QT say FP
	06	Touré:	((brings down L hand)) nanka[25] warui koto o shiyoo to shite:= like bad thing O try-to-do:and For example, ((Blue Oni acts on)) that girl, like this, *asou*, is that how ((you)) say (it))? like, ((he)) tries to do bad things ((to her))
	07	Kojima:	=un [un Uh huh
	08	Touré:	((L hand a little up)) ----------------gaze on Kojima--------------------- [sono, aka-oni ga *save* sun no, hiiroo mitai ni nat[te um Red-Oni SB save do N hero like P become:and um, Red Oni saves ((the girl)), acting like a hero
→	09	Kojima:	((swings L hand L to R on *te:*)) [a:: tasu[[kete: O::h ((he)) helps ((her))
	10	Touré:	[[( )tte:.
	11	Touré:	----gaze on K--- de, onna no ko mo nanka suki ni natte: then girl also like come-to-like:and Then, the girl also falls in love ((with Red Oni))

[24] Based on the idea that Touré has just presented in line 3 and the co-occurring gesture, it appears that Touré meant to produce the verb *osou* (to attack). The first vowel is clearly mispronounced, so it is not "normalized" in the transcript.

[25] Based on the syntactic environment and the intonation, I concluded that the other two instances of *nanka* (line 4) in this segment are hedge tokens which express uncertainty and tentativeness. However, it seems that this particular instance of *nanka* (line 6) could be a variation of the indefinite pronoun *nanika* (something). If this is the case, the translation should be "((he)) tries to do something bad ((to her))."

| 12 | Kojima: | n: n: n: |
| | | yeah yeah yeah |

The most noticeable thing about this segment is Touré's overall difficulty in completing his turns. Prior to producing the turn about Blue Oni's rampant behavior, Touré attempts to start an utterance twice with two different nouns. His utterances in lines 1 and 3-4 abound in hesitation markers such as *ano* and *sono* and pauses, and contains a hedge token (*nanka,* or "like"). Furthermore, Touré discernibly mispronounces the verb *osou* (attack) as *asou*. The fact that he attaches *tte iu no* to the verb indicates that he is at least aware of the possibility that his choice may not be correct. [Noun + *tte iu no*] may be taken as simply displaying that the speaker is uncertain about the choice of the word or expression that precedes it or as seeking confirmation of the preceding item. Kojima, Touré's intended addressee, does not orient to the mispronounced word and produces a continuer *un un* in line 7.

Being unable to come up with the Japanese verb for Red Oni's crucial action (i.e., to rescue the girl from Blue Oni), Touré inserts the English word "save" in his utterance in line 8, with his gaze on Kojima: *sono, aka-oni ga* **save** *sun no, hiiroo mitai ni natte* (Um, Red Oni saves ((the girl)), acting like a hero). His pronunciation suggests that "save" is meant as an English word (i.e., Touré is aware that he is substituting the English word for the proper Japanese word that is unavailable to him). However, it is possible that Touré mistakenly thinks that the English word "save" has become part of the Japanese vocabulary[26] (i.e., Touré thinks that he is using a Japanese loan word *seebu* although he

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[26] There is a Japanese loan word *seebu*, which has its origin in the English word "save," but its meanings do not include "rescuing someone" as in the example under discussion.

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is not successful in fitting the pronunciation to the way it is pronounced in Japanese). In either case, we can assume that Touré's co-participants hear it as an English word inserted into a Japanese sentence due to his lack of the appropriate Japanese word because the loan word that originated in English does not suit this context. After producing "Um, Red Oni saves (the girl)," Touré elaborates on the clause by adding a phrase that expresses the manner in which Red Oni saves the girl: "acting like a hero." Once again, he uses a word of English origin, *hiiroo* or "hero." As in the previous case, it is unknown whether Touré used this noun as a Japanese loan word or an English word inserted into a Japanese sentence. However, considering that the English word "hero" has become part of the Japanese lexicon as a loan word, it is expected that the additional information provided here will enhance the comprehensibility of Red Oni's action. In fact, it is precisely at the moment when Touré has produced the verb *natte* for Red Oni's becoming, or acting, like a hero (*hiiroo mitai ni natte*) that Kojima displays her understanding of the action to be performed by Red Oni.

Subsequent to Touré's elaboration on his own clause containing the word "save," Kojima produces the change of state token (Heritage, 1984) *a::* (o::h) in line 9. This is immediately followed by the verb *tasukete:* (help) in the conjunctive form, with the final vowel prolonged. Now, let us consider what the turn (*a:: tasukete:*) is doing. We can see that it functions in at least two ways. First, it displays Kojima's understanding of Touré's previous turn. By producing the change of state token, Kojima demonstrates that understanding has occurred. More importantly, she then provides 'evidence' of her understanding by actually supplying the verb in Japanese that corresponds to the English

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verb "save." Secondly, her turn provides Touré with the appropriate Japanese verb that had been unavailable to him. In other words, the turn is multifunctional in that it allows Kojima to demonstrate her understanding of Touré's turn, specifically of the non-Japanese item, and at the same time teaches Touré the correct Japanese verb.

I have just described the dual function of the turn as displaying Kojima's *understanding* and teaching a lexical item. However, we should note at this point that the content of Kojima's understanding of Touré's effort is not verbally accessible to Touré himself. In other words, since Touré does not have a suitable Japanese verb to express his idea in the first place, he has no means by which to verify whether the verb that Kojima chose to represent the action Touré has in mind is correct or not. How Kojima attempts to secure Touré's understanding of her understanding becomes clear if we take into account the visual aspect of Kojima's contribution. A slightly simplified version of line 9 of the above transcript is presented below. The first mora of the turn, *a*, is in overlap with the last mora of Touré's turn, *sono, aka-oni ga* save[27] *sun no, hiiroo mitai ni natte* (um, Red Oni *saves* ((the girl)), acting like a hero). The shaded part indicates where the description in the double parentheses applies to.

9 Kojima: a:: tasukete: ((swings L hand to R on *kete:*))[28]
                   O::h ((he)) helps ((her))

As she produces the verb *tasukete:*, she swings her left arm from lower left to upper right,

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[27] Recall that the word save is uttered as an English word.
[28] No information is available on Kojima's gaze direction for this segment because the video camera only captured her from behind, but her body and face is oriented toward Touré during this turn.

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with the "stroke" (Kendon, 2004, p. 112) of the movement excursion being at *kete:,* as if snatching the girl from Blue Oni, who had captured her.

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Figure 19: Line 9   Kojima: a:: tasu**kete:**

(O::h [he] helps [her])

This mimetic gesture serves as a visual representation of the co-occurring piece of talk produced by Kojima, thereby providing Touré with an opportunity to determine whether Kojima's understanding, or interpretation, agrees with what he tried to say when he used the English verb "save."

We should note that Kojima's gesture also fulfills multiple functions just as her verbal and vocal turn does. More specifically, the embodied action employed with the verb *tasukete:* not only visually presents Kojima's understanding of the English verb that Touré used but also attaches meaning to the newly introduced verb *tasukete.* The latter allows Touré to judge whether or not his intended meaning has got across and helps him learn the new word. Presenting new words with accompanying gestures is indeed a common strategy that L2 teachers use when teaching new vocabulary to help the students

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grasp the meaning (Lazaraton, 2004).

In sum, Kojima's multimodal turn in line 9 serves at least three functions: It (1) displays her understanding of Tourés troubled utterances, (2) supplies an appropriate linguistic item to Touré, and (3) presents the meaning of the word that is believed to be unfamiliar to Touré by enacting an actual action involved in it.

The next example presents a rather elaborate sequence in which a NS displays her understanding of a NNS's unfolding talk by producing an utterance that contains a series of action verbs that the NNS might produce himself. Each of those verbs co-occurs with a hand gesture produced by the NS. The interaction takes place approximately 13 and a half minutes after Example (4) taken from the same class session.

(5) "How about some tea" [DVD Akaoni 2 - 15:10]

Prior to the following segment, Miyake, one of the Japanese students, has proposed that they name one female student in the audience on the spot to be one of the characters in the skit since the group has only one female member, Kojima. After initial reactions of surprise to the novel idea, Kojima withdraws into silence and appears to be pondering on the feasibility of Miyake's proposal. Nasu, the other Japanese student, does not comment on the idea. Both Nasu and Miyake are gazing at Kojima when Touré selects himself as the next speaker (line 1) after an eight-second lapse.

	01	Touré:	de: sono ao- ao-oni, sono aka-oni ga: (-) suki nan da kedo:
			and um blue- Blue-Oni um Red-Oni SB like N CP but
			And, um, Blue- Blue Oni, um, Red Oni (-) likes ((the girl)), but

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	02	Kojima:	un
			uh huh
	03	Touré:	nanka sono ao-oni o: nan te iu no yuzuru tame ni:
			like um Blue-Oni O what QT say N make-way in-order-to
			lik, um, Blue-Oni, what do ((you)) say, in order to make way
	04	Miyake:	[un ((a big nod at *n*, followed by a small nod))
			yeah
	05	Kojima:	[((nod))
	06	Touré:	nanka sono=
			like, um
	07	Miyake:	=abarete ((big nod; gaze on T))
			runs amuck
	08	Touré:	[onna no ko o
			girl O
			the girl
	09	Kojima:	[un ((right after this, shifts gaze from T to M and back to T))
			yeah
	10	Miyake:	((nod))
	11	Touré:	nanka [sono
			like, um
			((tosses R hand, palm down)) ((R hand scooping motion, palm up)) ((R hand scooping))
→	12	Kojima:	[onna no ko ni: koe kakete chotto asondekanai tte ocha demo ikaga
			girl P speak-to a-little hang-out:Neg QT tea P how-about
			((Blue Oni)) speaks to the girl, "why don't ((you)) play ((with me)),"
			"How about some tea?"

			((thrusts R arm w/ extended fingers; stop))
→	13	Kojima:	(-) tte yatteru tokoro **o** aka-oni ga tomeru mitai na kanji?
			QT do scene O Red-Oni SB stop like like
			((and)) Red Oni stops ((Blue Oni)) in the act or something like that?
	14	Touré:	ja nakute nanka warui koto o shiyoo to suru no ne
			Neg something bad thing O try-to-do N FP
			no, ((he)) tries to do bad things
	15		[nanka attack toka
			like *attack* etc.
			u:m, like attacking
	16	Kojima:	[un ((nods))
			yeah

As noted earlier, when Touré starts a new turn in line 1, the gaze of Miyake and Nasu has been fixed on Kojima, who appears to be thinking about what needs to be done to implement Miyake's proposal. It appears that Miyake and Nasu are waiting for Kojima to assume speakership again to continue with the topic. However, Touré not only selects himself as the next speaker but also brings up a different topic when the matter regarding Miyake's proposal has not been settled yet. More specifically, Touré goes back to an idea that was agreed upon by the group members about 5 minutes prior to this segment and starts to elaborate on the details of one scene.[29] A few features in Touré's utterances in lines 1and 3, namely, a false start (*ao-*), two restarts (*ao-oni* and *aka-oni ga*), and an

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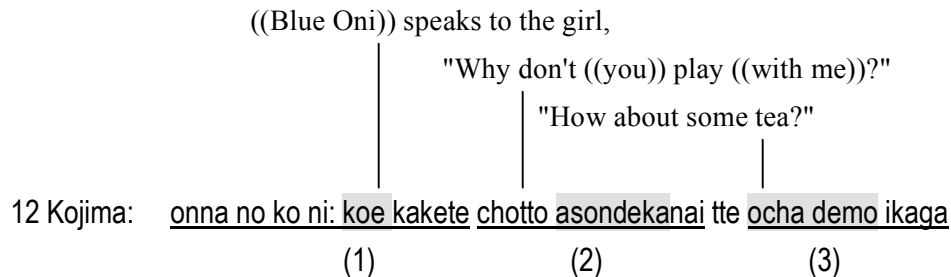[29] The scene revolves around Blue Oni and his best friend, Red Oni, who has fallen in love with a girl in the village. According to the plot that the participants have agreed upon, Blue Oni also secretly loves the girl, but he offers to help Red Oni impress and befriend the villagers, who are afraid of the Onis, by acting violently in the village and giving Red Oni an opportunity to rescue the girl from Blue Oni.

incorrect particle (the prolonged *o* following *ao-oni* in line 3)[30], indicate that he is confused about Blue Oni and Red Oni, and these features in turn present a confusing picture of Touré's idea to his co-participants. Nevertheless, his use of the verb *yuzuru* toward the end of line 3 is clear enough to convey that he is talking about Blue Oni, who decided to suppress his feelings toward the girl. This is evident in the subsequent responses by Miyake (line 7) and Kojima (lines 12 and 13). Specifically, Miyake supplies a verb *abarete* (run amuck), which appropriately describes Blue Oni's action, for Touré. Kojima's contribution in lines 12 and 13 are the focus of our discussion in this example.

Touré's use of the direct object marker *o* following the noun meaning "girl" in his troubled contribution (*nanka sono, onna no ko o, nanka* [like, um, the girl, like]) seems to indicate that he is trying to produce a verb which represents some action done to the girl. Immediately following the second occurrence of *nanka*, Kojima starts a new turn based on her understanding of what he has been trying to verbalize. She describes Blue Oni's action, performs two lines to be acted out by Blue Oni, and describes Red Oni's action. Kojima concludes this turn with an expression seeking confirmation of her reading of Touré's intention (*mitai na kanji?*). The turn translates as follows: "((Blue Oni)) speaks to the girl, 'why don't ((you)) play ((with me)),' 'How about some tea?' ((and)) Red Oni stops ((Blue Oni)) in the act or something like that?" The following fragment taken from the transcript above illustrates Kojima's inference and demonstration of how Touré's utterance may unfold. Each underline indicates the part corresponding to the linked translation. The shaded part indicates where the description of bodily conduct for each

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[30] The particle *o* used in this environment marks the preceding noun *Ao Oni* (Blue Oni) as the direct object of the verb *yuzuru* (give up). This contradicts the plot.
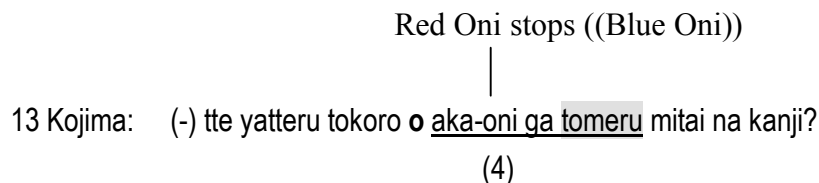
numbered part applies to.

((Blue Oni)) speaks to the girl,

"Why don't ((you)) play ((with me))?"

"How about some tea?"

12 Kojima: onna no ko ni: koe kakete chotto asondekanai tte ocha demo ikaga

                        (1)   (2)   (3)

(1) tosses right hand, palm down, as if trying to get the girl's attention

(2) scooping/pulling motion with right hand, palm up; slightly raises upper body from
    the chair, leaning toward right

(3) smaller scooping/pulling motion with right hand, palm up; slightly raises upper body
    from the chair at demo

Red Oni stops ((Blue Oni))

13 Kojima: (-) tte yatteru tokoro **o** aka-oni ga tomeru mitai na kanji?

                                              (4)

(4) thrusts right arm with fingers extended; stops it firmly at the end

What is most striking about this segment is that Kojima enacts a co-occurring embodied
action for each action that she describes verbally. First, as she utters the word *koe* in *onna
no ko ni koe kakete* ([Blue Oni] speaks to the girl), Kojima moves her right hand forward
with the palm facing down, as if trying to put it on somebody's shoulder. The trajectory of
her forearm stops when her hand has reached the level of her elbow that has served as a
fulcrum. This action has the appearance of the kind of action that a Japanese person
would perform if s/he were trying to get somebody's attention to speak to that person.
While this gesture does not fully cover the referential content of "speaking to [the girl]"

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since it does not show the actual talking, the gesturing hand enacts a movement that is typically part of the action that is being referred to in that it depicts the movement performed to get the addressee's attention.[31]

Figure 20: Line 12   Kojima: onna no ko ni **koe** kakete

([Blue Oni] speaks to the girl)

Next two items are found in her performance of the lines of the skit to be acted out by Blue Oni, namely, *chotto asondekanai* ("Why don't you play with me?") and *ocha demo ikaga* ("How about some tea?"). At *asondeka,*[32] Kojima rapidly extends her right forearm forward with the palm facing up and pulls it back toward her body through a higher path, as if scooping and pulling something/somebody. This appears to be a "picking up" motion. When Kojima performs this, her upper body is slightly raised from the chair and is leaning to the right as if representing an attempt to reach the target. In other words, her

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[31] See Kendon (2004, p. 160) for a discussion of techniques of representation used in gesture including enactment, which is the technique used here.
[32] *Asonde* is the conjunctive form of the verb *asobu* (play; hang around). *Asondeka* is a part of *asondekanai?*, which is a more casual, contracted version of *asonde ikanai?* (Why don't you [come and] play [lit. play and go] with me?).

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gesture represents the pragmatic action that the utterance is supposed to perform as opposed to the activity it is referring to.

↑

Figure 21: Line 12   Kojima: **ason**dekanai tte

("Why don't [you] play [with me]?")

This is also the case with the next item, *ocha demo ikaga* ("How about some tea?"). It is to be noted that the utterance is a polite variation of a typical expression used in "picking up" situations and the purpose of the invitation is not necessarily having some tea together. Indeed, as in the previous case, Kojima does not employ a gesture that bears resemblance in shape and movement to the activity being referred to (i.e., in this case, drinking tea). Instead, as she produces *ocha demo,* she produces a smaller version of the manual gesture used for the second item (i.e., the "picking up" gesture). Kojima raises her upper body slightly at *demo* while still leaning to the right. This posture marks the continuity of the two lines to be acted out by Blue Oni. It also sets apart the activity that Kojima is engaged in over the duration for which this posture is maintained (i.e., performing what Blue Oni will actually do in the skit by acting it out rather than

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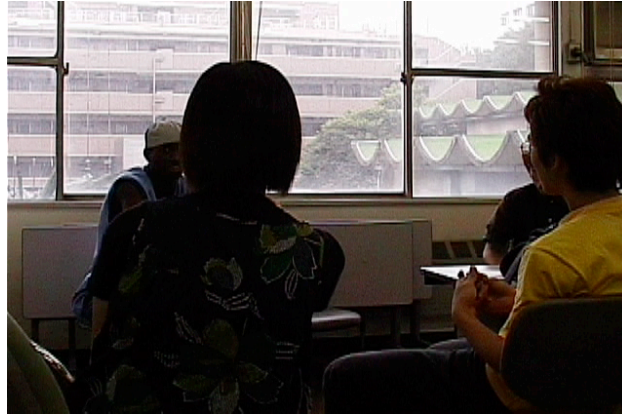describing it) from the activity in which it is inserted.

Figure 22: Line 12   Kojima: ocha demo **ika**ga

("How about some tea?")

When she is done with the two lines for the skit, Kojima returns to the "home position" (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) of her upper body and produces the fourth and final distinctive embodied action. As she produces the verb *tomeru*, meaning "stopping" Blue Oni from engaging in misbehavior in this context, Kojima thrusts her right hand and arm with the palm facing down and the fingers extended. The excursion of this movement stops firmly when the arm reaches the point furthest from the body. In other words, this rapid, horizontal movement is synchronized with the verb of stopping somebody.

↑

Figure 23: Line 13   Kojima: aka-oni ga tome**ru**

(Red Oni stops [Blue Oni])

As we have seen above, Kojima volunteers to speak for Touré based on her understanding and interpretation of his troubled utterances. In so doing, Kojima employs a specifiable hand gesture for each unit of talk representing an identifiable action as if marking the boundaries of these actions for Touré to clearly see. At the same time, each of her gestures provides a visual representation of the corresponding items in her speech. In other words, having observed that Touré is experiencing difficulty producing his utterances, Kojima set out to supply both lexical items and the syntactic structure that appeared to be unavailable to Touré. Furthermore, she employed a hand gesture for each of these items, visually offering the (partial) semantic contents of these items or the actions that they are meant to accomplish. She also utilizes her posture as a visual version of quotation marks to set apart the lines for the skit from the surrounding parts of her speech.

As in Example (4) above, both oral and embodied components of Kojima's turn in this segment are multifuncitonal. The oral component (1) displays Kojima's interpretation

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of what Touré has been attempting to say based on her understanding of the fragments produced by Touré so far and (2) supplies a model sentence to Touré. Unlike the previous case in Example (4) in which Kojima supplies a Japanese word to replace the word "save" that Touré used, however, Kojima's contribution here is a proposal as to how to put Touré's not-yet-expressed thought into words. Therefore, it is less definite. As for the embodied actions, they (1) visually present Kojima's interpretation, (2) show the meanings of the words that are supposedly new to Touré; therefore (3) provide the materials that Touré can utilize in order to evaluate whether or not Kojima's understanding of Touré's unfolding talk agrees with what he means in case the linguistic items in Kojima's turn are indeed unfamiliar to Touré. Further research should explore the issue as to whether the 'division of labor' observed between form and meaning here (i.e., the oral components of turns provide the linguistic forms whereas the nonvocal components provide the meanings) is a common one in foreign language classrooms or NS/NNS interaction in general.

The next segment presents an example in which NS supplies an appropriate word when another NS overtly displayed her incomprehension of the word that NNS used. In other words, the NS who 'teaches' vocabulary to the NNS simultaneously serves as a translator for another NS as in the examples in Section 5.2.

 (6) "Attack" [DVD Akaoni 2 - 15:32]

This example is a segment that directly follows the one presented above (Example 5). The last three lines of the excerpt above are presented again at the beginning of the following transcript. The line numbers are kept the same for consistency. The fragment

below begins where Touré indicates that what Kojima has presented as Touré's idea about

Blue Oni's action is not in line with his own idea[33] and immediately proceeds to present

his idea of 'bad behavior.'

14	Touré:	ja nakute, nanka warui koto o shiyoo to suru no ne
		CP:Neg:and something bad thing O try-to-do N FP
		not ((so)), ((he)) tries to do bad things, you know
15		[nanka attack toka
		like *attack* etc.
		u:m, like attacking
16	Kojima:	[un ((nods))
		yeah
17	(--)	
18	Kojima:	atakku? ((higher pitched voice; leans forward toward Touré: at *ku*))
		((opens R arm at *nan*; opens L arm at *ka*))
19	Touré:	un nanka=
		Yeah, like
20	Miyake:	=a haha ((laughs))
21	Touré:	Nan te iu no.=((puts arms down))
		what QT say N
		How do ((you)) say ((it))?

[33] Note that *ja nakute* at the beginning of Touré's utterance in line 14 is an inflected form of the copula *da*; therefore, according to the canonical grammar, it should follow a noun or nominal adjective. However, in spoken discourse, it is common for an utterance to start with *ja nakute* when the speaker builds on the previous speaker's utterance as in the case of [Not X(, but Y)], where X represents the previous speaker's utterance and Y represents what follows *ja nakute*. X is omitted in the construction in which an utterance starts with *ja nakute*. *Ja nakute* is the conjunctive form of *ja nai*, which is an informal negative form of *de wa nai*.

→	22	Miyake:	=nagut[tari ((pulls R fist & extends it; nods twice at *ri* and right after that))
			Hit ((her)) and so on
	23	Touré:	[asou
			asou ((mispronounced for *osou*, which means "attack"))

In presenting his idea about Blue Oni's action, Touré uses the word "attack" (line 16).

While it is not clear whether Touré used this word as a loan word from English that has

become part of the Japanese lexicon or as an English word, his pronunciation suggests

that Touré has likely resorted to the use of an English word for lack of knowledge of an

appropriate Japanese word. However, the unusual manner in which Kojima reacts to

Touré's lexical choice appears to indicate that she took it as a Japanese word, whose

meanings do not fit into this context.[34] Kojima's reaction is unusual in that it overtly

marks the word produced by Touré as incomprehensible. After a gap immediately

following Touré's turn containing the trouble source, Kojima produces the word *attakku*[35]

with a rising intonation in a voice that is distinguishably higher in pitch than her

surrounding utterances, while at the same time leaning forward toward Touré at the last

mora, *ku*, thereby clearly displaying her surprise and non-understanding (line 18). As

discussed under Example (3) in this chapter, NNS participants' incorrect or inappropriate

use of lexical or syntactic items is seldom oriented to or repaired by others in the present

data. This is in line with previous research on NS/NNS interaction (e.g., Hosoda, 2000;

Kim, 2004) that has found preferences for self-initiation over other-initiation of repair.

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[34] *Daijirin* (Matsumura, 1999) lists four definitions for the Japanese word *atakku*, namely, an offensive action in a sport or game, an attempt to climb to the summit of a mountain or try a difficult route in mountaineering, tackling a challenging task, and the beginning tone in an instrumental or vocal performance [translations mine].

[35] Note that Kojima pronounces this word as a loan word in Japanese instead of an English word.

Kojima's reaction, however, can be accounted for if we consider the nature of the particular interaction in which it occurs. Unlike other instances of NNSs' misuses of linguistic items, Touré's lexical choice, according to Kojima's displayed uptake, not only sounds unconventional but also hinders communication at a critical moment. The participants are engaged in a discussion of the plot for their upcoming skit presentation and are currently working on an important action scene; therefore, it is crucial to reach a consensus for the successful completion of the class project. In other words, in this highly task-oriented activity, achieving mutual understanding is urgent if communication is at stake.[36]

Having learned that he was not able to make himself understood by Kojima, Touré opens his right arm and then left arm, with both hands loosely open, as if trying to scare somebody as he utters a hedge token *nanka* (like) in line 19. Following Miyake's laugh token (line 20), Touré produces an explicit word search indicator, *nante iu no* (How do you say it?), thereby inviting his co-participants to collaborate in his search for an appropriate linguistic item. Miyake immediately responds to this invitation by supplying a verb *naguru* (hit; strike; punch) in the *-tari* form (*naguttari* in this case), implying the presence of other verbs of a similar kind.[37] Miyake's choice of the verb form here is

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[36] Note that a particular interaction's being highly goal-oriented in itself does not mean that participants' misuses of linguistic items are always problematized. In the current data, in the same type of class sessions where other groups of students discussed their skit projects, there were instances in which such errors made by NNSs were let pass when they were (1) peripheral in terms of the course of the discussion or (2) linguistically incorrect but comprehensible. Another point to note regarding the highly goal-oriented nature of interaction is Kim's (2004) finding that self-initiated self-repair was the most common repair practice used by NNS TAs in lab hours when teaching NS students. According to Kim, this is strikingly different from findings in the SLA research looking at less demanding ESL classroom interaction.

[37] The *-tari* form is typically used in a sequence, but it can also be used by itself. In that case,

indeed fitting because *naguru* is one of many possible actions that collectively constitute a more generic action represented by "attack." The following fragment taken from the above transcript highlights Miyake's co-occurring gestures.

((puts arms down))

21 Touré: Nan te iu no.=

              How do ((you)) say ((it))?

((pulls R fist at *na* and extends it forward at *guttari*))

22 Miyake: =Nagut[tari ((nods at the last more, *ri*))

              Hit ((her)) and so on

Following the "preparation" phase (Kendon, 2004, p. 112) at which Miyake pulls his right fist toward his body at *na* in *naguttari*, he extends the right arm forward as he utters the rest of the verb with his gaze on Touré.

Figure 24: Line 22   Miyake: nagu**ttari**

(Hit [her] and so on)

other actions are not stated but implied.

Miyake nods at the end of the verb as if assuring that he understood what Touré meant by "attack" and is assisting him based on that understanding.

As in the previous examples in this section, our focus here is on multifunctional nature of Miyake's turn that appears to be designed to assist the NNS. First, Miyake's turn in line 22 displays his understanding of Touré's use of the word "attack." He demonstrates his understanding by responding to Touré's request for an appropriate Japanese word. While it appears that Miyake's understanding has already occurred when he laughed cheerfully following Kojima's reaction to Touré's lexical choice and Touré's attempt to clarify it with a gesture, it is not until Miyake supplies the verb *naguttari* with the co-occurring gesture that his understanding is made public with evidence. Second, as mentioned above, Miyake displays his understanding of Touré's effort by providing the Japanese verb. In other words, Miyake 'teaches' the word to Touré. Third, Miyake's turn does not only supply the linguistic form of the new verb for Touré but also attaches the meaning to it through another modality (i.e., embodied action). Indeed, it is not uncommon in foreign language classrooms that learners misunderstand the meaning of a word that the teacher has provided, yet they are able to repeat or produce the word in question. Similarly, in the case of Miyake's assistance for Touré, although it is offered immediately following Touré's request, there is no warrant that Miyake's candidate verb is understood in accordance to the referential content that Miyake intended if it is not produced with the co-occurring gesture. In short, the gesture here is not merely a compensatory strategy in the face of failed communication nor a strategy to "enhance" an utterance by visually reiterating what has already been said verbally. It is an integral,

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indispensable part of Miyake's assisting turn and offers a kind of information that cannot be conveyed by the verbal component of this turn.

Finally, it should be noted that Miyake's turn designed for Touré also serves as assistance for Kojima, who did not initially understand what was meant by "attack." Kojima displays no vocal uptake for Miyake's verbal or gestural contribution, but she appears to have a glimpse of Miyake's fist movement at *tari* as Miyake produces the verb *naguttari*, with her body still oriented toward Touré, who is seated in front of her.[38] Even if Miyake's gesture is only caught by Kojima's peripheral vision, we can assume that she has heard Miyake's utterance, which does not need a gestural affiliate for its meaning to be understood by NS. Although no sign of a change in the state of Kojima's understanding is observed in the limited view of her bodily conduct in this segment, the fact that she completes Touré's unfolding utterance in the subsequent sequence (see line 28 in the example below) indicates that understanding has occurred at that point, possibly owing to Miyama's contribution. Just as Kojima in Example (3) ("Mask") showed earlier, Miyake serves as a translator for another NS who had trouble in understanding, while at the same time offering assistance to NNS.

The absence of acknowledgement of the verb that Miyake supplied on the part of Touré may be accounted for if we look at the overlap between their utterances (lines 22 and 23). Given the timing, it is quite possible that Touré, following his own metalinguistic utterance *nante iu no* ("How do you say it?"), was preparing to utter the word *asou* when Miyake starts to produce *naguttari*. Although Touré observably

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[38] Due to the angle of the camera, Kojima is captured from the back in this segment. Her gaze direction is mostly unknown, but her posture is oriented toward Touré.

mispronounces the word of which correct pronunciation is *osou*, nobody attends to it. This is in striking contrast with his misuse of the word "attack," which prevented mutual understanding from taking place and was explicitly treated as problematic by Kojima. This time, the class of verbs that *asou* belongs to has been already established, although the Japanese participants may not have understood what was meant by *asou*. Again, a linguistic error is not treated as relevant unless it gets in the way of achieving a communicative goal.

Our final example in this section is a direct continuation of the segment presented above.[39] Following Miyake's supply of the Japanese verb for "attack," Touré starts to elaborate on his idea about the actions to be performed by Blue Oni and the girl in the rowdy scene.

(7) "Run and escape" [DVD Akaoni 2 - 15:43][40]

In the following segment, when Touré's utterance comes to a point where his choice of a verb is not quite right, Kojima comes in to continue Touré's utterance with another verb. As she produces the verb, Kojima employs a gesture that enacts part of the body movements involved in the action represented by that verb.

	22	Miyake:	nagut[tari ((pulls R fist & extends it; nods at *ri*)) Hit ((her)) and so on

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[39] The last two lines of the transcript for the example above are presented at the beginning of the following transcript. The line numbers are kept the same for consistency.

[40] The utterance that concerns us here was previously presented as the second component of an instance of co-participant completion in Example (4) "The girl runs and + flees" in Chapter 4.

	23	Touré:	[asou *asou* ((mispronounced for *osou*, which means "attack"))
	24	Touré:	((opens arms)) ((moves L arm inward)) ((opens & closes arms)) a dakara koo:, konna kanji de (-) (ka [tte) nanka warui koto [yatte, de oh so in-this-way, like-this impression and ( ) something bad thing do:and and Oh, so, this way, like this, ((he)) (and) does something bad and
	25	Miyake:	[a: a: ((3 upward head movements)) Oh, oh
	26	Nasu:	((raises head)) [a: Oh
	27	Touré:	onna no ko ga hashitte: de ((extends R arm forward; palm down)) girl SB run:and and the girl runs and
→	28	Kojima:	nige[te ((swings arms back and forth a few rounds; bent at elbows)) flee:and flees
	29	Touré:	[aoinu, [[aoi no ga kite⁴¹ ((moves L arm horizontally, swiftly, inward)) blue-( ) blue N SB come:and *Aoinu*, the blue one comes
	30	Kojima:	[[((small nods))

Having been unable to get his meaning across verbally thus far, Touré resorts to the use

of two deictic expressions and concurrent arm movements in presenting his idea about

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[41] It appears that the correct name for the character Blue Oni has temporarily slipped Touré's mind here. He instantly notices that he mispronounced it when he said *aoinu* and restarts the turn. Instead of trying to recall the correct noun, Touré employs a strategy of referring to it as the "blue one."

Blue Oni's action (line 24). He opens his arms and lifts them upward, with his fingers loosely open, as if scaring someone.[42]

↑

Figure 25: Line 24   Touré: a dakara **koo**
(Oh, so, this way)

He then moves the left arm as if slapping someone. The utilization of vocal and nonvocal resources turn out to be successful: Following Toué's arm and hand motions, Miyake produces two change of state tokens indicating that understanding has occurred. Immediately after Touré has uttered *warui koto* (bad thing) during the same turn while producing a smaller "scaring gesture," Nasu, who has been quiet, displays his understanding by raising his head as he produces a change of state token and then nodding. Touré smoothly goes on to describe what he thinks the girl should do next (i.e., she runs away from Blue Oni). This is the turn that will catch Kojima's attention.

As he utters the verb *hashitte* (line 27), Touré swiftly extends his right arm forward, with palm down. It appears that this motion represents both the action of

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[42]   Although Touré's arms are mostly visible in this segment, his face is not visible due to the configuration of himself and Kojima. Therefore, no information on his gaze direction is available.

running and the path through which the girl runs. An important thing to consider here is that, as noted in Chapter 4 (Example 4), the verb *hashitte* does not accurately represent the action to be performed by the girl in this context (i.e., running away from Blue Oni, who is attacking the villagers) because it merely means "running" (i.e., going faster than by walking) and not "running *away*." Following *hashitte*, Touré produces a conjunction *de* (and) for the second time in the utterance containing a series of actions. It is at this moment when Kojima comes in to provide a more appropriate verb, *nigete* (flee; escape; get away)[43] (line 28). The following fragment highlights the turns of our primary concern here:

```
  27 Touré:   onna no ko ga hashitte: de   ((extends R arm forward; palm down))
                  the girl       runs      and
→ 28 Kojima:  nigete     ((swings arms back and forth a few rounds; bent at elbows))
                flees
```

As she supplies the verb, Kojima employs a gesture typically associated with the action of running. She swings her arms, bent at the elbow, alternately, producing a few small rounds of the motion. Her gaze is fixed on Touré.

Although Touré's utterances prior to Kojima's turn in which Kojima offers vocal and nonvocal assistance have features of trouble in production (e.g., mispronunciation,

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[43] The verb *hasshite* is in the conjunctive *-te* form, one of whose functions is to express a means by which the action represented by the subsequent verb is performed. Therefore, if Touré had attached another verb *nigeru* (or its *-te* form nigete) to *hashitte* to form a verbal phrase *hashitte nigeru* (i.e., flee/escape by means of running), it would have worked for the scene under discussion. In fact, there was still a possibility that Touré would add the main verb *nigeru* to *hashitte* at the end of *hashitte*. However, this possibility is ruled out when Touré has produced the conjunction *de*, which indicates that the second part of the appropriate expression (*hashitte nigeru*) is not coming. This is precisely when Kojima steps in.

hesitation markers) as in the previous three examples examined earlier in this section, there is no sign of difficulty when Kojima steps in. The fact that the 'problem item' (i.e., *hashitte*) is produced fluently indicates that Touré is probably unaware of the problem. Nevertheless, his wrong lexical choice prompts Kojima to attend to that and supply the right verb while at the same time making a gesture involved in the action in question.

This multimodal turn is doing a few things. First, it demonstrates Kojima's understanding of Touré's contribution thus far. As mentioned before, the correct verb *nigeru* can be considered a replacement of the verb produced by Touré, but it happens to continue the verb produced by Touré to form a new verbal phrase *hashitte nigeru.* Here, the first component (*hashitte*) represents the manner in which the action represented by the second component (*nigeru*) is performed (i.e., flee/escape by running). In any case, it is not possible to provide an appropriate verb without understanding the prior speaker's utterance. Therefore, Kojima's verbal contribution serves as evidence of her understanding of Touré's contribution.

Second, by supplying the verb, Kojima is showing Touré proper language usage. Third, the "running gesture" (i.e., the movement of arms involved in the actual action of running) that Kojima employs as she utters the verb *nigete* visually informs Touré that they are picturing the same action even though they have used different verbs. More specifically, Kojima's gesture is typically used when enacting the action of running, or the action for which Touré produced the verb. On the other hand, there is no conventionalized gesture for the action of running away, for which Kojima supplied the verb, although the action of running away in the particular scene being discussed by the

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participants certainly involves the action of running. In other words, there is a semantic overlap between the referential content of the verbs produced by Touré and Kojima. It is this overlapping part that Kojima's gesturing hands represent, thereby covering partial referential contents of both verbs and serving as a link between the two. This visual information assures Touré that his utterance has gotten across even though Kojima is supplying a verb different than the one he has used.

Finally, let us look at the subsequent turn produced by Touré. As in Example (6) in this section, Touré neither acknowledges nor endorses Kojima's contribution. This is once again accounted for by the fact that the next item in Touré's utterance seems to be already under way when Kojima supplies the verb. The last mora of the verb *nigete*, produced by Kojima, is overlapped by the onset of Touré's next piece of talk (line 29). This suggests that Touré was preparing to proceed to the next utterance when Kojima provided the correct verb for him. Despite the absence of acknowledgement or any form of uptake from Touré, Kojima supports him by producing small, consecutive head nods, starting immediately following Touré' initial mispronunciation of the noun for Blue Oni (line 29).

In this section, we have examined a common structure in which NSs provide vocabulary or expressions for NNSs, who are faced with production problems, utilizing both vocal and nonvocal resources. It has been shown that embodied actions, fine-grained gestures in particular, play a vital role in such occasions. NSs display their understanding of the NNSs' troubled utterances, supply new words or expression, while at the same time offering their meanings through gestures.

5.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we examined the communicative practices used by NSs of Japanese that indicate their heightened awareness of (potential) communication problems. I have demonstrated the ways in which NSs act as translators in instances where there seem to be problems in understanding. The multi-functional and multi-modal sequences that resemble practices found in foreign language classrooms have also been explored. We have seen that opportunities for teaching and learning abound beyond classrooms, and that those opportunities can be used to make ad hoc language lessons. The importance of the integration of embodied practices into the whole process is evident.

One notable observation is that, with one exception, the NSs stepped in and 'acted as the teacher' when NNSs did not seek assistance. This poses an interesting question as to who is entitled to act as an authority. One might assume that language proficiency determines who possesses more power in situations like this. However, unlike the student in the foreign language classroom where the teacher has a legitimate power, the 'student' in the interactions in this study can either endorse (by acknowledging or incorporating the candidates) or dismiss the candidates supplied by the NSs. In fact, that is what happens in some examples. This is another example that reminds us that researchers should not view the NNS as a deficient communicator who passively receives help from the NS. In fact, NNSs in the present data deploy various devices to solicit assistance from NSs, for example, use of loan words (i.e., English in the current data), mimetic gestures, and metalinguistic remarks that serve as word search indicators. In the interaction we have examined, it is the interplay of various factors such as differential linguistic resources

possessed by participants, equal social status, and differing levels of cultural knowledge that affect how the interaction unfolds.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In language teaching and SLA research, native speakers have long been given the dominant status in that their speech is treated as a model against which nonnative speakers' proficiency is measured. Despite its role as a point of reference, NSs' actual language use, as opposed to idealized speech, in NS/NNS interaction has rarely undergone close examination. Predominantly, NNSs' linguistic proficiency (or lack thereof) has been the researchers' central concern, whether it be communication strategies or errors in speech produced by NNSs, especially learners.

By contrast, in this project I have focused on interactional competence displayed by NSs of Japanese. This approach is grounded on the recognition that interaction is inherently co-constructional and that it is ultimately necessary to investigate the conduct of all parties involved in interaction if the conduct of a single party is to be explained. Therefore, while the primary purpose of this project is to elucidate NSs' communicative practices that have been previously uninvestigated, my report on those practices comes from close examination of both NS and NNS conduct, including speaking and non-speaking participants at a particular moment. This is also consistent with the assumption that utterances and actions are contextually understood by reference to what precedes and in turn shapes the subsequent course of action. The focus on NSs' interactional competence is also motivated by the increase of contacts with NNSs that is happening globally. Although Japanese is not considered a so-called "lingua franca," the number of users of Japanese as a second or foreign language is on the steady increase. Therefore, it has become important for NSs of Japanese, as in the case of a number of

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other languages, to be able to communicate effectively with NNSs. This calls for investigation into interactional processes in such encounters.

Through close examination of prominent communicative practices by which NSs of Japanese facilitate participation by NNSs, this dissertation has shed light on ways in which participation is organized in multiparty interactions among participants with differential language expertise. Focusing on interactional competence, rather than incompetence, has provided new and productive insights into the study of NS/NNS interaction (cf. Firth & Wagner, 1997). The communicative practices employed by NSs who are not language professionals point to the ubiquity of opportunities for vernacular teaching and learning. This study further contributes to the emergent body of research on the dynamic, intertwined relationships between participants' vocal and nonvocal actions in NS/NNS interaction.

6.1. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

I have focused on three practices that NSs employ to facilitate participation by NNSs. First, in Chapter 4, I reported on the phenomenon most frequently observed: the practice of co-participant completion by which one participant continues or completes a turn initiated by another participant. Through detailed analyses of instances, I have shown that listeners utilize a variety of resources available in the current speaker's unfolding turn to recognize the opportunities for anticipatory completion and predict the next item in an emerging utterance. Primary resources used to recognize the opportunity are perturbations such as sound stretches, pauses, restarts, and truncated words, as well as certain metalinguistic comments, hesitation markers, and gaze shift. Primary resources

for the projection of the next item are grammatical structure and hand gestures.

By examining all instances of co-participant completion identified in the present data, I have found that this practice is employed differently depending on whose turn is in progress (i.e., NS's or NNS's) and the presence or non-presence of perturbations. In other words, perturbation in the unfolding turn, which might suggest difficulty in continuing with the ongoing turn, has emerged as a recurring feature of co-participant completion when NNSs' utterances are continued or completed by NSs. This feature is not dominant in the instances in which NSs' ongoing turns are completed by other NSs. Another feature that seems to be characteristic of the way this practice is used in NS/NNS interaction concerns the timing to launch a continuation or completion. Unlike previous research on NS/NS interaction which reported that assistance for a co-participant is rarely immediately offered, the current data document NSs' early entry into NNSs' troubled turns. Taken together, these findings suggest that the NSs in the present data indeed employ the practice of co-participant completion as a way to assist NNSs.

I have also demonstrated that this practice is frequently employed by NSs to continue or complete other NSs' ongoing turns that are designed to enhance NNSs' understanding. Specifically, non-speaking NSs have been found to commonly monitor both the current speaker (another NS) and the addressed recipient (NNS), shifting gaze between the two, and join the current speaking NS in the turn offering some information for the NNS. The second NS's joining the first NS to co-construct the ongoing utterance creates a new participation framework in which the two NSs are aligned and the NNS is turned into their mutual recipient. This finding reinforces the importance of examining

shifting participation frameworks and configurations in the unfolding interaction where participants draw on one another's vocal and visual displays to analyze the emerging structure of talk and others' states of understanding, and jointly construct turns and actions.

Under the broad characterization of the action achieved by the practice of co-participant completion as "facilitation of participation by NNS," I have identified three specific actions that the practice is employed to accomplish: (1) a NS participant provides a NNS current speaker with lexical assistance, (2) a NS participant joins another NS (i.e., a current speaker) in helping a NNS third party understand what is being discussed, and (3) a NS participant proffers anticipatory agreement with a NNS current speaker and displays alignment with the NNS.

Chapter 5 turned our attention to the other two practices by which NSs orient to their NNS co-participants' differential language expertise and content knowledge, and do so more explicitly than in the case of co-participant completion. I have demonstrated that NSs employ a range of impromptu verbal and embodied devices during moments of (potential) non-understanding. First, I have described ways in which NSs act as 'translators' of another participant's utterance for the third party when there seem to be problems in understanding. Verbal devices include providing additional information, paraphrasing, and providing an example. Moreover, it has been observed that words are not only 'translated' through language but also into gesture (i.e., the word in question is performed gesturally). Frequent collaboration between NSs through the use of gesture has been found to create new participant alignments. I have also found that the use of

gestures is wider than previously reported (i.e., gestures are frequently utilized not only by current speakers but also by non-speaking participants). Second, I have identified and described multi-functional and multi-modal sequences that follow NNSs' turns displaying production problems. I have shown ways in which these sequences serve as impromptu vocabulary lessons. The examination of the above two practices suggests that opportunities for teaching and learning abound beyond language classrooms and that participants make use of those opportunities to engage in ad hoc language lessons. The practices employed in these situations are characterized by multimodality.

6.2. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

When studying communication between people who do not share a first language or cultural background, a question often arises as to whether the communicative phenomena reported in the study are unique to the kind of interaction (i.e., NS/NNS interaction as opposed to NS/NS interaction), the language of communication, and/or cultures that the participants bring in. Although it is certainly a legitimate question to ask when studying communicative phenomena observed in actual interaction in natural settings, it is often unclear whether or not the phenomena in question are culture-specific and can be accounted for by the participants' membership in specific social groups. The approach I have taken for the present study, including the size of my data set, is not geared toward investigation into relationships between particular interactional phenomena and culture.[1]

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[1] This is also the case with other attributes held by participants that are true outside a particular interaction (e.g., nationality, gender, age).

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I suggest that a more fruitful line of inquiry that is compatible with the present approach is cross-linguistic research on the same interactional practices. For example, Egbert (1996) has found that the same mechanism of repair is at work in American English and German but that it is also sensitive to the specific linguistic resources used by speakers of a given language. With regard to the timing of the delivery of co-participant completion that involves the co-construction of multi-clausal sentential units in Japanese,[2] Hayashi (2002) reports that co-participants' delivery of the second part is routinely delayed in NS/NS interaction in Japanese in comparison to instances from NS/NS English interaction. While this seems to suggest potential differences in the way co-participation completion is accomplished across languages, the instances of NNS-NS completions[3] found in the present data do not necessarily support Hayashi's finding. This points to the possibility that the organization of the practice is also contingent on participant identities (i.e., NS/NS or NS/NNS interaction).[4] By exploring the mechanism of the same practices across languages and different kinds of interaction, we can gain a better understanding of ways in which participants coordinate action.

There is an aspect of interaction that has been found in the present data but has

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[2] Examples are [X-*tara* + Y] ([If/When X + then Y]) and [X-*kara* Y] ([Because X + Y]).

[3] This refers to co-participant completion in which the first speaker is NNS and the second is NS.

[4] On a more basic level, based on the existing body of literature on second language conversations, Wagner and Gardner (2004) state that no interactional phenomena have been found exclusively in second language talk. Rather, differences between second language and first language everyday conversations can be explained by their frequency of occurrence (Wagner & Gardner). Expanding this idea will lead to the possibility of interactional universals (Levinson, 2006). Levinson proposes the notion of "interaction engine," which is underlying universal properties of human interaction independent of variations in language and culture. Levinson stresses that the idea is not to be taken to mean that the interaction engine produces cross-cultural uniformity. Rather that it provides the building blocks for cultural diversity in social interaction.

not been taken up. Although the interactions examined in this study are predominantly prosocial and coopetative, there are a few moments in which NSs do not attempt to facilitate participation by NNSs and the NNSs are excluded from the ongoing activities. I have found that, in these cases, the NNSs actively utilize responsive tokens (e.g., head nods, laughter following NSs' laughter) and procedural talk (as opposed to talk concerning the content of the discussion). These strategies used by NNSs deserve close analysis in future research.

Finally, another issue for future exploration concerns power, or more specifically, a claim to the ownership of the language through actual communicative behavior. In the present data, NSs are found to recurrently act as a 'translator' or a 'teacher' when NNSs do not seek assistance. Unlike formal learning settings where the teacher has legitimate power, the interactions examined in the present study take place among peers who share the status of "student" enrolled in the same course. While it is possible that a (perceived) age difference among particular students has affected turn distribution and other ways in which the course of action unfolds,[5] it seems reasonable to assume that differential language expertise is closely related to the participants' views regarding who is entitled to act as an authority.

While NNSs in this study are by no means passive recipients of support from NSs, as seen in the ways in which the NNSs endorse or do not endorse (or even overtly

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[5] There was one instance in which a Japanese student shifted speech from direct (casual) style to distal (polite) style the moment she learned that another Japanese student was one year older than she was. A male Japanese student stated in a reflection paper at the end of the course that he tried to assume a leadership role in a group project because he knew that he was the only senior in the group.

dismiss) the NSs' contributions, it has also been found that the environment in which the NNSs continue or complete their NS co-participants' ongoing turns is limited to occasions that naturally and predictably afford such completions (i.e., activities in which the participants collaboratively write lines for skits). It is possible that the slow tempo at which such activities proceed provides more opportunities for the NNSs to complete others' turns, but it is also possible that the perception of their own authority that comes from the level of language expertise (and possibly the knowledge of the old Japanese story that the skit is based on) has affected the ways in which the interactants participate in the ongoing activities. Exploring the relationships between language expertise, content knowledge, membership category, and interactional practices from the perspective of power will enable us to see the interplay of locally situated social practices and factors brought in from outside the temporal and spatial immediacy of the occasion. Different states of participation in interaction that arise from power relationships can actually have consequences not only in the symbolic recognition of those with fewer interactional resources but also in redistribution on broader social contexts (cf. Cloud, 2001). Without democratic participation in face-to-face interaction by all parties, there is no democratic participation in broader social contexts.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

1. Symbols Used in the Original Japanese Line

[the point where overlap begins (The onset of overlapping utterances is indicated by vertically aligning multiple lines.)

=   adjacent, "latching" utterances

Speaker A	I'm done=
Speaker B	=Then it's my turn

(The second utterance is latched immediately to the first.)

(---)   approximate length of silence with a single dash representing a tenth of a second

(.)   micropause

:   A colon indicates extension of the sound or mora it follows (More colons prolong the stretch, as in colo::::n)

.   A period indicates a falling / stopping intonation.

,   A comma indicates a continuing intonation.

?   A question mark indicates a rising intonation.

<u>high</u>   higher pitch than the surrounding talk

CAPITAL   louder volume than the surrounding talk

CAPITAL/BOLD much louder volume than the surrounding talk

°soft°   voice quieter than the surrounding talk

> <	delivered quicker than the surrounding talk
( )	unintelligible
(uncertain)	uncertain hearing
(( ))	transcriber's notes
wor-	truncated word

2. Embodied Actions

    ((lifts L hand))   ((L hand small, 5 up-downs))
susunde, chotto (--) eeto seesaku wa ne,

In the above example, the first note in double parentheses applies to the duration indicated by the first shaded part. The second note in double parentheses applies to the second shaded part.
The letter L in the transcriber's observations refers to Left. R refers to Right.

|----------------board------------------|----Lim----|
gutaiteki ni, doo iu tokoro ga: ano::: (-)

The speaker's gaze is on the chalkboard for the duration indicated by |------ board-----|, and on Lim for the duration indicated by |----Lim----| .

3. Symbols Used in the English Translation Line

((   ))   The enclosed item is unexpressed in the original Japanese utterance.

4. Abbreviations in the Interlinear Gloss

CP   various forms of copula verb *be*

EMP   emphatic marker

FP   final particle

LK   nominal Linker

N   nominalizer

Neg   negative morpheme

O   object particle

P   particle (other)

Pass   passive

Q   question particle

QT   quotative particle

SB   subject particle

Tag   tag question-like expression

TP   topic particle

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