

Applying Conversation Analysis to Nonnative and Bilingual Talk

Yuri Hosoda

Kanagawa University

Gabriele Kasper

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Tim Greer

Kobe University

Jack Barrow

Osaka International University

Justin Charlebois

Nagoya Bunri University

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Recently, there has been growing interest in applying Conversation Analysis (CA) to nonnative/multilingual speakers' discourse (e.g., Firth, 1996; Kasper, 2004; Koshik, 2002; Markee, 2000; Mori, 2002). Such studies have uncovered certain distinct features of nonnative/multilingual speakers' discourse through analysis of the details of talk-in-interaction. This paper first introduces CA methodology and findings from previous CA studies. The authors then analyze nonnative and bilingual talk and demonstrate the benefits of the CA methodology. The data analyzed for this paper came from various types of interaction such as casual conversation, interaction in educational settings, and language proficiency interviews. The authors discuss how fundamental aspects of talk-in-interaction (e.g., turn-taking, sequence organization, and repair) are organized in nonnative/bilingual speaker talk and how identities as nonnative/bilingual speakers are constructed through talk.

近頃会話分析(CA)の手法を用いて非母語話者や多言語話者の談話を分析する研究が急増してきた(e.g., Firth, 1996; Kasper, 2004; Koshik, 2002; Markee, 2000; Mori, 2002)。それらの研究により、非言語話者や多言語話者の談話の特徴が徐々に明らかになってきた。本論文ではまず、会話分析の手法とその手法を使った過去の研究結果を報告し、その後その手法を使って非言語話者や多言語話者の会話の分析を試みた。本論文で取り扱われたデータは日常会話、教育現場での会話、インタビューなど様々な場面で収集された。著者はこれらのデータの分析を通して、非母語話者や多言語話者の会話において会話の基本組織(ターンのやりとり、シーケンスの構築、修復など)がどのような構成されているのか、話者のアイデンティティはどのような場面で顕著になるのかなどについて検証した。

Introduction (Yuri Hosoda)

Recently, an increasing number of studies have started to apply the Conversation Analysis (CA) approach to examine nonnative/multilingual speakers' discourse. CA was originally developed by Harvey Sacks, Gail Jefferson, and Emanuel Schegloff under the influence of Erving Goffman's approach to interaction (Goffman, 1963; 1964), and Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). From the early stages, the CA practitioners cautioned against premature theorization. Therefore, in CA research, researchers do not approach the data with any theoretically motivated focus on particular aspects of interaction. Instead, through repeated examination of audio- and video- and transcripts of naturally occurring conversation, the CA practitioners focus on examining what aspects of interaction participants themselves orient to in ongoing interaction.

The past 10 years has seen a dramatic increase in the number of CA studies on second language speakers' interaction. The major findings of these studies can be summarized as follows. First, these studies found that L2 conversations are "normal" conversations for which fundamental organizations observed in interaction between

native speakers can be applied (e.g., Gardner & Wagner, 2004). Second, the studies showed that L2 speakers and their interlocutors do not always orient to their “nonnativeness” (e.g., Kasper, 2004; Kurhila, 2004) but they also orient to their other identities such as girls, boys, patients, doctors, and the like. Third, errors or mistakes are rarely relevant to immediate interaction (e.g., Wagner & Firth, 1997; Hosoda, 2002). Fourth, L2 speakers are competent speakers who are able to use a wide range of interactional resources (Carroll, 2000; Olsher, 2003). Finally, although second language conversations are normal, there may be some particular features in L2 conversations (e.g., Wong, 2000a; 2000b).

In this paper, using the framework of Conversation Analysis, Hosoda, Kasper, Greer, and Barrow will analyze nonnative and bilingual talk in various settings. In addition, Charlebois will introduce another methodology that originated from Goffman’s work, the interactional sociolinguistics approach.

Study One: Nonnative Speakers’ Self-Repetition in Japanese (Yuri Hosoda)

This section will examine nonnative speakers’ self-repetition in Japanese. Previously, speakers’ self-repetition has been viewed as one type of hesitation phenomena, along with filled pauses and pauses. Such hesitation phenomena were automatically categorized as markers of speech processing problems and experimentally investigated (e.g., Butterworth, 1980; Wiese, 1984). On the other hand, CA studies have found that native speakers deploy self-repetitions to perform various interactional actions (e.g., Fox & Jasperson, 1995;

Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 2000). In this study, I found that both native speakers and nonnative speakers perform various interactional actions through self-repetitions.

Data

The data come from 15 sets of native speaker (NS) – nonnative speaker (NNS) conversation and 15 sets of NS-NS conversation. All sets of conversation were casual conversation between friends in Japanese.

Interactional Actions of Native and nonnative Speakers’ Self-Repetition

In the data, both NSs and NNSs used self-repetition to perform various interactional actions: (a) intensifying the repeated words; (b) locating words that were added, replaced, or deleted; (c) showing the repetitiveness of actions; (d) introducing new topics; (e) repairing overlapped elements; and (f) buying time to search for how to design the talk. In this paper, I will focus on (f), repetitions for buying time. Through the turns in which speakers do repetitions to buy time, the speakers performed several other interactional actions besides managing processing problems. The examples presented below as well as the types of repetitions listed above are the result of my analysis of multiple examples in the data. In this paper I will present the examples that best exemplify the phenomena. Example (1) below is taken from conversation between native speakers.

- (1) [Taka-Haru] Haru:NS
 01 Haru: ...nante iu ka naa aaiu naiibuna gakusei
 02 desu kara nee, e:: syuukyoutekini maa
 03 warui imi de ne, warui imi de kou ko: maa
 04 ano:: syuukyoutekini nante iu n darou na
 05 ko:u minitukete kuru ne, ko nakere ba
 06 ii na tte iu no ga minna no sinpai dat ta
 07 °kedo°

“how should I say it because they are naïve students, you know, well, religiously, well, in the bad sense,

you know, in the bad sense, this way, this way, well, uhmm, well, religiously, how should I say it, this way, {they} come back converted, you know, everybody hopes that they won’t come back converted and worries about it.”

In this example, Haru is telling Taka how he and his colleague felt about sending their students to a sister school in Utah. Just before this segment, Haru says “I shouldn’t talk about such religious matters,” and thus he himself demonstrates that what he is about to say is something delicate. What follows then are many features of a word search, such as sound stretches, non-lexical perturbations, and repetition. In the repetition, Haru repeats *warui imi de* (“in the bad sense”) and *syuukyoutekini* (“religiously”). Talking about religion is usually considered delicate, and Haru shows himself to be oriented to this propriety. Therefore, the design of his turn conveys that he is buying time to search for how to express this delicate matter, and the repeats are part of this design. Thus, in this segment, Haru is not just managing processing problems but also reporting

his worries about sending students to a particular place and expressing this delicate matter.

Similarly, close examination of NNSs’ repetition revealed that NNSs also perform various interactional actions in the same turn as that in which the speakers do the repetitions.

In Example (2), Dean does repetitions to buy time while looking for some specific word.

- (2) [Dean-Toku] Dean:NNS
 01 Dean: *ano:: mai tuki wa:: *hhhh sanze:n*
 02 *sanzen nani sanzenhappyaku en.*

“Uhhh, Monthly fee is, three thousand, three thousand, what? Three thousand eight hundred yen.”

In lines 1 and 2, in response to Toku’s question, Dean tries to answer how much a month he pays for his Internet service. Therefore, what Dean is doing in this turn is recalling the exact amount. In line 1, after establishing a topic, he produces *sanzen* (“three thousand”) with a sound stretch that serves to buy time. Then when the next item is due, he produces *sanzen* again. In line 2, he produces the word he had been searching for, *happyaku* (“eight hundred”), and when he produces the word, he goes back to *sanzen* again, saying *sanzenhappyaku* (“three-thousand eight-hundred”). Thus, in this turn, by buying time through repetitions, Dean is achieving some interactional tasks: answering Toku’s question, and recalling the exact amount. Although this example may be an example of repetition for speech planning, it is not an example of the speaker’s processing problem in the second language. Rather, it shows the speaker’s competence in using repetition as an interactional resource to achieve some interactional work.

Summary of Study One

In this study, it was discussed that NNSs carry out various interactional actions through self-repetition as NSs do. As previous CA studies have shown, second language interaction is not “deviant” interaction; each repetition is unique and performs a variety of interactional actions. Thus, repetitions do not always display the speakers’ speech planning and processing problems in the language. But rather, repetitions by NNSs display the NNSs’ competence in using repetitions as interactional resources to achieve various interactional work.

Study Two: Multiple Requests in Language Proficiency Interviews (Gabriele Kasper)

This section will examine multiple questions produced by interviewers in Language Proficiency Interviews (LPIs). Language Proficiency Interviews (LPIs) are normatively organized as question-answer sequences with a predetermined turn-allocation procedure (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991). Departures from the normative exchange structure are seen when answers are delayed or problematic (Schegloff, 1980; Gardner, 2004). On such occasions, interviewers ask multiple questions (MQs, Heritage & Roth, 1995) on the same referential point. This study sought to identify some of the environments in which multiple questions are produced in the same turn and to examine the formats of such questions.

Data

The analysis was based on a collection of over 100 MQs, drawn from 30 LPIs. Interview candidates were adult EFL speakers (L1 Japanese); interviewers were certified LPI testers (L1 English).

Analysis

Same-turn MQs occurred in three environments: (1) third-position repairs (not reported here), (2) topic change, (3) requests for extended action.

Topic Change

As interviewers introduce new topics very frequently, most same-turn MQs are seen in this sequential context. They can take several different formats.

Two complete questions

- (1)
- 01 I: maybe your drinking ability too
- 02 C: no...not really he[hehe
- 03 I: [hehehe Okay, um (.) what did you
- 04 study, what did you major
- 05 in
- 06 C: um (.) my major (.) um (.) international
- 07 business
- 08 I: international business
- 09 C: yes

Extract 1 shows a common relationship between the two versions of a question, viz. the second question sharpens the focus of the first (Gardner, 2004; Heritage & Roth, 1995).

This can be accomplished in various ways, for example by substituting a lexical item with a broader semantic range by a more specific item (study → major in). In this same-turn MQ structure, both versions are semantically, pragmatically (and possibly, as in (1), syntactically) complete.

Subsentential topic nominating question + question

In this question format, a first, propositionally incomplete question prefaces a complete second question.

(2)

- 01 I: Mm. (3.) Good=and, uh, how about
02 yourself?= What kind of work do you
03 do at Morimoto?
04 C: Uh I'm doing planning.

In (2), the first question 'displays the type of topic/sequence being initiated' (Schegloff, 1980, p. 140) by nominating the new topic in a subsentential interrogative format (Heritage & Roth, 1995). The second, complete question narrows the referential point of the question, thereby constraining the candidate's response options and enabling a relevant answer.

Topic-nominating statement + question series

Extract (3) shows a more extended MQ format .

(3)

- 01 I: Mm (.) okay, um (.) hm, just a sec. You said
02 you like baseball=
03 C: =Yes.
04 I: =very much. Uh (.) what do you think about
05 the- the limit of two foreign players
06 per team in Japanese baseball? Do you- wha-
07 would you (.) uh (.) like to see more
08 foreigners or would you like to see no

09 foreigners?

10 C: I would (.) I (.) would (.) I like to see no

11 foreigners.

12 I: Why?

The question turn is here composed of:

1. a prefatory topic-nominating statement (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991) (1-4)
2. an open-ended solicitation of opinion on a specified topic component (4-6)
3. a set of alternative questions on that topic component (6-8).

The 3-step procedure facilitates the candidate's production of an answer by increasingly sharpening the focus of the question and culminating in an oral multiple choice question.

Requests for Extended Actions

In addition to questions, interviewers regularly issue requests for various extended actions, such as descriptions, instructions, and narratives. Often such requests coincide with topic shifts, but even when they do not, they are often composed as same-turn MQs, as in Extract (4).

(4) Spatial description

- 01 I: You live with your parents. Is it a house or an
02 apartment?
03 C: House. Yeah (.) they live in house- a house.
04 I: I see. Can you describe the house for me?
05 Can you tell me what it looks like.
06 C: Uh (.) our house is normal Japanese
07 house,

Multiple requests for extended action are not ordered according to a progressive zoom on the referential point. Rather, after some prefatory action, the repeat requests in (4) stand in a much closer periphrastic pragmatic and semantic relationship, although they include some noteworthy variation in the paired versions (Schegloff, 2004). By repeating the requests with little change in their propositional content, interviewers orient to the potential misunderstandings that requests of this sort often generate and avert undesirable derailing of the interview interaction.

Discussion

In LPIs, interviewers' same-turn MQs are proactive actions designed to enable relevant and ratable responses in interactional environments where the accomplishment of intersubjectivity is at an increased risk, such as prior misunderstandings, topic changes, and requests for extended verbal action beyond 'answering questions'. In these environments, the interviewer's extra interactional work serves as an advance investment that expedites the institutional goal of getting the candidate to produce a response projected by the question or request. Multiple questions are thus one method by means of which interviewers accomplish the institutional mandate of the LPI.

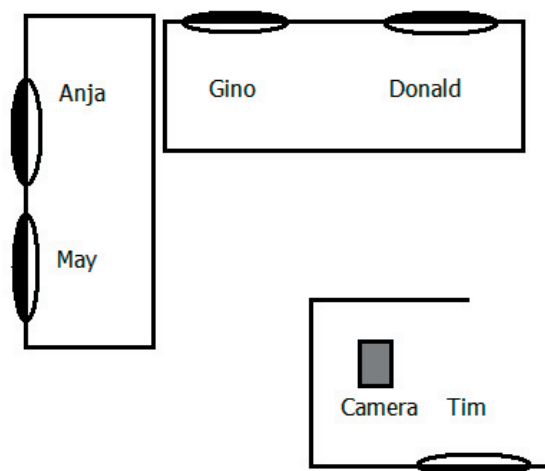
Study Three: Recipient-Specific Codeswitching in Parenthetical Sequences (Tim Greer)

This section will examine the use of asides in bilingual Japanese-English interaction. Bilingual co-participants can use codeswitching to initiate a parenthetical sequence, such as a word search or a side bid for alignment. The speaker

knowingly designs such switches for a fluent recipient of the switched-to code by accompanying the alternation with a shift of gaze, allowing the speaker to complete the aside in that language. In monolingual speech, such parenthetical sequences may be accomplished with linguistic markers, bodily conduct or through prosodic means (Schegloff, 1979). However, in bilingual interaction, codeswitching becomes an additional resource to mark the boundaries of such asides (Auer 1984). Ultimately such codeswitching in mixed language preference multi-party talk is salient to the issue of the switcher's broader macro-identity by establishing collectivities through the interaction (Goodwin 1981; Lerner 1993).

Due to space constraints, the present study can examine only one such sequence in detail. The data are taken from a conversation recorded during a focus group session with four Japanese-English bilingual teenagers as part of a broader study on language alternation in an international school. As moderator, I also appear as a fifth interactant, although one who is consistently off-camera (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Seating arrangement in focus group 3



Word Searches in Bilingual Interaction

Gaze and language alternation were massively found to co-occur in parenthetical sequences in my corpus. The co-participants were able to enlist aid from others bilingual recipients by directing the conversation towards them during the period of the switch and then finishing the sequence in the base language, as in Example (1).

- (1)
 ((Gino is comparing multilingualism in Europe to that in Japan.))
 01 Gino: so at least one person could speak (.)
 02 two language or three.
 03 Anja: °right°
 04 Gino: That was normal

- 05 Tim: [mm]
 06 Anja: [un] un °[I think so]°
 “Yeah, yeah I think so.”
 07 Tim: [yeah]
 08 Gino: So (.) I think because Japan was
 09 (0.2) ((shifts gaze to May))
 10 ne (.) *sakoku*
 “you know, (under) forced isolation.”
 11 Anja: un ((shifts gaze to Gino))
 “yeah”
 12 Gino: so (.) they didn’t have relations
 13 between lands so they didn’t have
 14 (0.6)
 15 no need to have another language

In line 9, Gino attempts to discuss a concept that doesn’t translate well into English- *sakoku*, a period of 250 years during the Tokugawa shogunate in which Japan enforced a national policy of isolation. The word *sakoku* explains this notion succinctly and accurately without the necessity of an English circumlocution.

Gino uses codeswitching as a communicative resource by designing the switched segment of his utterance for a specific recipient, before giving an English gloss in lines 12-13. Until the end of line 8 he has been speaking in English and his eyes are facing towards the desk. In lines 9 and 10 he shifts his gaze to May to deliver the Japanese switch and then again faces the desk as he continues to speak in English, demonstrating that he has ostensibly designed the Japanese part of his utterance for May, a known Japanese speaker.

Significantly, Gino shifts his gaze to May as he produces the word *ne* in line 9. The interactional particle *ne* commonly occurs at the end of an utterance and is used to achieve a

shared stance, similar to the function of tag questions in English, and accomplishing the work of current-speaker-selects-next by marking a transition relevance place (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). It invites a preferred response in the next turn, meaning that Gino's utterance in line 10 is designed to enlist affiliation from the recipients. Tanaka (2000) notes that turn-internal use of *ne* solicits reciprocity by marking an "acknowledgement relevance place" (Tanaka 2000, p. 1155). Anja's backchannel response delivers the demonstration of affiliation made relevant by *ne*, and Gino proceeds to produce the rest of the turn in English.

This codeswitched parenthetical sequence establishes *sakoku* as the most appropriate lexical item for the concept Gino is trying to convey. Upon confirming that the others have understood the term, Gino returns his gaze to its prior position to complete the turn that he began in English. While his Japanese switch is bracketed and subsidiary to the main talk, it is designedly for a particular type of recipient. When Gino is looking at the table, he is addressing everyone in English, but limiting his gaze to May for the duration of the switch legitimizes his use of a Japanese lexical item that in turn facilitates the ongoing talk in English. Therefore the parenthetical sequence becomes a resource for specifying concepts that do not have a succinct current-code equivalent.

Gaze in combination with codeswitching make relevant the two participant groups. Language and bodily conduct "mutually contextualize each other to build temporally-unfolding frameworks of co-participation" (Hayashi 2003, p. 123). At the discourse level, speakers use language alternation as a resource to accomplish specific communicative acts. Concomitantly they orient to what they

know about the recipient, by switching to the recipient's preferred language in participant-related switches (Auer, 1984). Knowledge of the interlocutor's identity is crucial for the production of any speech, and dramatically apparent in code-switched data like these. Ways in which the recipients respond then likewise make their identities visible in the structure of the pursuant talk.

Study Four: Syntax for Conversation in EFL Learner Talk (Jack Barrow)

This section will examine nonnative/nonnative interaction at the EFL novice level with focus on the repair practices initiated by question/answer sequences. Of particular concern are repair practices that learners collaboratively employ to complete the initiated turn-construction unit (TCU), co-constructing TCU's as an interactional achievement. How TCUs are collaboratively constructed during interaction is a focus for research of talk-in-interaction. In previous CA research, Schegloff (1979) explored discourse-within-a-sentence in which a clause is produced as an interactional achievement between participants. Also, Lerner (1991) described how two participants could jointly produce a single syntactic unit, allowing for the construction of a single sentence across the talk of two speakers. Lerner (1991) proposed that collaborative completions can show how recipients are able to inspect utterances in-progress for turn-transition places, and collaboratively construct a final component of a TCU in-progress. The yet-to-be-completed TCU projects a specifiable slot which makes it possible for recipient to produce a next that is affiliated with the TCU in-progress.

Various compound TCU formats can be projected by recipient, allowing the recipient to begin speaking while the TCU is in progress, resulting in anticipatory completion. Furthermore, speakers can imbed parenthetical exchanges within an ongoing TCU. Bolden (2003) found that the syntax of the turn-in-progress provided recipients with clues to project the completion of the turn. However, the syntactic resources are sometimes not enough, and recipients must also rely on pragmasemantic clues, sequence organization, and gestures in making anticipatory completions.

What I would like to look at in this data collection, is how learners collaboratively construct TCU's. The points I want to make are that: 1) projectibility is based on the yet-to-be-completed parts of the learner's TCU during self-initiated repairs. 2) The recipient anticipates the missing part of the initial TCU, which can occur due to uncertainty in producing English syntax and word searches. 3) In TCU co-construction, learners utilize other resources such as gestures and sequentiality in completing TCU's.

Example (1) is a candidate example of how a word search is collaboratively completed (in this case as a code switch). This repair sequence is self-initiated verbally in the TCU of line 5, with long pauses, pause fillers, and repetition. Then, in line 6, S7 gestures making a rice ball, signing the yet-to-be-completed part. S8 infers using the Japanese term, omusubi, with rising intonation in 7, and receives verbal clarification and nodding in line 10 from S7. From line 11, an additional sequence of collaborative acknowledgment follows with laughter, and gestures and repetitions of onigiri, an equivalent.

(1) [S7S8T1: 369-388]

- 01 S8: what i:s (0.5) yo::ur (0.5) l↓:unch (0.8)
tod:ay?
- 02 S7: today?
- 03 S8: today's
- 04 Ps: (1.1)
- 05 S7: my lu↓:nch (0.3) i:s (1.1) ah:: (0.8)
r?ice (0.4)ri::ce
- 06 ((S7 gestures making a rice ball and gazes up
at S8))
- 07 S8: omusubi? ((same as onigiri or rice ball))
- 08 ((S8 gestures making rice ball))
- 09 Ps: (0.2)
- 10 S7: yes ((nodding))
- 11 S8: [ahahahaha
- 12 S7: [haha
- 13 Ps: (0.3)
- 14 S7: .hhh
- 15 Ps: (0.4)
- 16 S7: °nn°
- 17 S8: (0.7) ((gestures riceball))
- 18 S8:* onig↑ir↓i
- 19 Ps: (0.7)
- 20 S7: onigiri: (0.9) onigiri.

In line 3 of Example (2), S7 indicates a word search by two long stretches. S8, informed in an earlier sequence that S7's sister is 27 years old, anticipates the remaining part of the TCU as "working" in line 4. S7 confirms S8's inference at line 6 and completes the final part of her TCU in line 9. S8's anticipated try at completion in line 9 is parenthetical, as S7 details the occupation at line 9 after accommodating S8's collaborative try.

- (2) [S7S8T1: lines 755-767]
- 01 S8: what (2.0) what does (0.3) she do↓ing
- 02 Ps: (1.1)
- 03 S7: she:: is::
- 04 S8: working?
- 05 S8: um?
- 06 S7: wo↑rk↓ing=
- 07 S8: =working
- 08 Ps: (1.0)
- 09 S7: wo↑rk↓ing (0.7) um (0.3) working
(0.8) sales- woman.
- 10 Ps: (.)
- 11 S8: ah: yes:
- 12 Ps: (0.7)
- 13 S7: yes

The point to be made here is that projectibility is based on the yet-to-be-completed parts of the learner's TCU during the repair work. The recipient (S8) anticipated the final part of the initial TCU in line 3, and S7 repeated and expanded upon it in line 9. In this instance, recipient's anticipation of the next try during self-repair initiation resulted in a clause-TCU completed as an interactional achievement. The recipient anticipates the next part of the TCU based upon the syntactic and non-verbal information provided up to that moment. The examples above may help to explain how nonnative speakers in pairs can collaborate in repairing conversation, particularly when the learner-speaker is indicating trouble by initiating self-repair. That learners can collaboratively construct TCU's based upon utilizing various resources, including English-specific syntactic clues, is an indication of growing sophistication in the maintenance of conversation in a foreign language.

Study Five: The Japanese Experience in American Communities of Practice (Justin Charlebois)

Using the framework of interactional sociolinguistics, this section will investigate the involvement of Japanese students in American communities of practice. Similar to CA, the focus of interactional sociolinguistics is on talk-in-interaction. Interactional sociolinguists draw their data from naturally occurring interactions (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Tannen, 1984). At first glance, interviews may appear to be an unnatural environment; however, they are a speech event that many people in American society have grown accustomed to (Schiffrin, 1994). Applying an interactional sociolinguistic approach to semi-structured interviews, the involvement of Japanese international and exchange students in American communities of practice was investigated. A community of practice is a group of people who over a period of time share in the same set of social practices with a common purpose in mind (Wenger, 1998). In short, these are the different groups that individuals simultaneously belong to. A preliminary finding was that the students did not participate in many American communities of practice.

The main finding of this study, however, was that Japanese conceptualize the whole notion of community of practice membership differently than Americans. In short, Japanese community of practice membership requires regular attendance at social events regardless of personal desires. Involvement in an American community of practice, on the other hand, tends to be based more on individuals' personal desires. Of course that is determined by the social occasion. Excerpts from the interview transcripts will be analyzed below to illustrate this.

Chiharu was a member of a community of practice consisting of other Japanese students. She expressed dissatisfaction with the attendance requirements imposed on her as shown in the excerpt below.

(1)

01 Justin: Is there anything you could have done personally to prepare to join either of these

02 two groups?

03 Chiharu: Prepare? U:h...personally?

04 Yeah if I could say, "oh I don't feel like going out today."

05 I mean to Japanese group. I could say it would have made things easier.

06 But sometimes I couldn't say that.

Another interviewee, Kayoko, identified the campus Outing Club as a community of practice. She contrasted membership in an American community of practice with one in Japan.

(2)

01 Kayoko: But I think compared to other groups like a fraternity or many casual groups, so

02 we get, we had a meeting once per week, but there's nobody pressure you to join

03 the meeting.

04 Then, on weekends, if we go on that trip we can go, but if we have something to

05 do we don't have to go.

06 Justin: Okay.

07 Kayoko: I like that style because in Japan if we organize, if we belong to some

08 organization we have to u:m attend the meeting or join, so that's why I like that

09 style, so if I'm busy I didn't go.

Both Kayoko's usage of the phrasal modal 'have to' and subsequent stress on 'have' indicate the compulsory nature of participation in communities of practice in Japan and support Chiharu's comments. She contrasts this with the American style in lines 1-5 which does not stipulate mandatory attendance. Kayoko elaborates on this further into the interview.

(3)

01 Justin: So do you feel like you changed or acted differently when you were in these

02 different groups; differently than you would have acted in Japan?

03 Kayoko: Uh I think uh...I didn't have to go there, so I didn't feel it's like organization.

04 But I think if I belonged something in Japan maybe I feel more obligation to

05 attend the meeting or to join, so I like the way in the States...yes.

06 Justin: Yeah.

07 Kayoko: Uhuh, so for me one of the reasons to join the club is to meet friends, to meet

08 new people.

09 So: I think it was good to join the organization.

10 Justin: Did you experience any difficulty in joining?

11 Kayoko: Uh but when I didn't attend, I feel um should I go today or like eh ISA you know

12 many, I know the member so it's the same in Japan too.

13 I wonder if they feel bad if I don't go there.

This excerpt seems to suggest some conflicting feelings for Kayoko. Membership in American communities of practice is paradoxical in nature for her; while she likes the American style of community of practice membership, she does not feel as though it is an actual organization as expressed in line 3. Kayoko seemingly identifies the concept of “organization” as involving mandatory attendance. Furthermore, lines 11-12 suggest that while she is aware of the way Americans approach community of practice membership, she still possesses Japanese notions about involvement.

Goffman’s (1967) terms of deference and demeanor are relevant to the current study. One type of deference, presentation rituals, involves making others feel as though they are accepted by the group. In the case of Chiharu and Kayoko the invitations extended to them by their respective communities of practice is how deference was manifested. If either one of them had refused, especially on a regular basis, they would have risked exhibiting bad demeanor. Demeanor refers to the elements of the individual’s behavior conveyed through his/her actions, which conveys to others the presence or absence of certain desirable qualities. In Japanese society, those who do not know how to be interdependent and are seen as too individualistic are often regarded as selfish (Yamada, 1997), thus reflecting bad demeanor.

The original purpose of the current study was to investigate Japanese involvement in American communities of practice. The preliminary findings suggest that Japanese and Americans conceptualize the whole notion of involvement differently. Membership in Japanese communities of practice requires placing the needs of the group over one’s own and participating in social gatherings

on a consistent basis. This differs from American community of practice membership where participation is governed more by personal desires.

Conclusion

In this paper, the authors applied Conversation Analysis methodology to the analysis of nonnative and bilingual interaction.

Hosoda compared casual conversation between native speakers (NSs) with conversation between native speakers (NSs) and nonnative speakers (NNSs), and demonstrated that NNSs may carry out various interactional actions through self-repetition in the same way as NSs do. Kasper examined the environments and formats of multiple questions in Language Proficiency Interviews (LPIs) and found that multiple questions are one means by which interviewers accomplish the institutional mandate of the LPI. Greer examined a focus group session with four Japanese-English bilingual teenagers in an international school and revealed that knowledge of the interlocutor’s language preference enabled bilingual speakers to use codeswitching as a communicative resource. Barrow investigated nonnative/nonnative interaction at the EFL novice level and showed that novice level learners are capable of collaboratively constructing TCU’s based upon utilizing various resources, including English-specific syntactic clues. Finally, using the framework of interactional sociolinguistics, Charlebois analyzed semi-structured interviews with three Japanese participants and suggested that Americans and Japanese frame involvement in communities of practices differently. As demonstrated in the five studies in this paper, microanalytic studies of nonnative and bilingual discourse

have potential to uncover nonnative and bilingual speakers' competence and practices in interaction by empirically and precisely describing the speakers' orientation in the interaction on a the moment-by-moment basis.

Implications for Second Language Teaching and Testing

The preliminary findings of the five studies outlined in this paper have several implications for language teachers, testers, and program coordinators. First, educators must recognize that nonnative speakers are not "incompetent" speakers: they are skilled speakers who are able to make meaning in interaction with other native or nonnative speakers. Furthermore, nonnative speakers do engage in the same types of interactional work as native speakers (e.g. turn-taking, repair practices, self-repetition). These findings should encourage teachers to help students become aware of conversational staples such as turn-taking and repair and incorporate them into extended speaking activities. Second, the observations on codeswitching as a discursive resource in word search sequences provide language teachers with evidence for justifying occasional L1 use in English classrooms. Third, students who intend to study abroad may require awareness-raising of the host culture's 'contextual presuppositions' (Gumperz, 1982) to maximize their time abroad, as demonstrated by the work on communities of practice. As suggested by earlier work, study abroad in and of itself does not guarantee increased pragmatic proficiency (Kasper & Rose, 2002). Finally, microanalysis of language proficiency interviews affords a detailed and in-depth understanding of interview interaction and is therefore an indispensable qualitative approach to evaluating the validity and reliability of oral language assessment measures.

Taken as a whole, the findings from these five studies highlight the importance of studying natural interaction to gain insight into the way that native, nonnative and bilingual speakers maintain social order through talk-in-interaction.

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