# Conversations in Second Language Icelandic: Language Learning in Real-Life Environments

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To the people in my life

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# Chapter 1.0

# L2 learners in everyday life: The background of this study, data and research method

## 1.1 Introduction

Learning and using a second language is an important part of the everyday life of more and more people around the world with increased travel, technology, entertainment and education. People try to learn a new language in order to be able to successfully participate in a new society: in the workplace, in social life, in doing business, in being like everyone else who lives there, and some have an interest in the L2 and the new society (Firth, 2009; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Wagner, 2010; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). The success in the learning of the L2 has real consequences for these peoples' lives in many respects: their social lives--- in attaining membership to certain social groups; work --- finding a job, their success in cooperating with their co-workers as well as their understanding of the society and the culture. A study like this one, of Second Language Learning practices in everyday situations, is, thus, relevant for many people for different reasons.

### 1.1.1 Where language learning takes place

Traditionally, language learning and teaching take place in schools. The basic goal of L2 learning is, however, for most learners to be able to participate in the L2 society; to understand and be understood (Wagner, 2004). Nevertheless, L2 classroom practices tend to be only loosely related to the world outside; there is very little exploitation of the L2 society for the purpose of L2 learning. This is partly due to lack of knowledge of what the relevant resources outside the classroom are and how to use them. One point of the research presented here is to explore resources outside of the classroom for their potential relevance and possible exploitation for L2 learning and teaching.

Investigation into what it means to be a L2 speaker from a socio-interactional perspective, both in classroom settings and in everyday life, has only recently captured the interest of researchers (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Brouwer, Rasmussen, & Wagner, 2004; Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Firth, 2009; Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Kasper, 2004a; Kasper, 2009; Kasper &

Wagner, forthc.; Kurhila, 2004; Kurhila, 2006; Markee, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mori, 2004a, 2004b; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Mori & Markee, 2009; Seedhouse, 2004). Before going further I want to share with the reader my background and reasons for taking on this investigation.

### 1.1.2 Research interests

My research interest in Second Language Learning is rooted in my experience as a teacher of Second Language Icelandic at the University of Iceland as well as my experience in travelling and living abroad. As any other teacher, I am interested in helping my students to learn the language and take active part in everyday life in the society using the L2. It is easy for a teacher to imagine the situations that L2 learner might engage in and what they are doing and, based on membership knowledge of the Icelandic society, a teacher may suggest to her students that they go *out there* and *talk to people* for the purpose of language learning: after all (almost) everyone in Iceland speaks Icelandic. This may, however, be problematic for several reasons:

1) What we (teachers) think our L2 learners are doing in their everyday life may not be what they actually do. In Wagner's (2010) words: "In order to understand the dynamics of Second Language Use in society and its impact on language learning, we need to understand what people actually do 'out there' when they talk to each other and at least one participant is not using his or her first language" (pp. 51-52).

2) Our L2 students may need to know what to talk to the people about and how to do it: how to exploit everyday life situations for the purpose of language learning, for example, how to solicit help from an L1 speaker. Research on the former point (1) might provide this information.

### 1.1.3 'Doing being' a L2 learner

Last but not least, teachers may profit from a better understanding of how L2 learners behave in non-educational situations; how they reveal the identity of a L2 learner. It is not enough to *be* a L2 learner, rather it takes interactional work to make that identity known to others, and knowledge of what precisely a L2 learner does. In fact there are special social practices involved in adopting and maintaining a social identity, even the identity of an *ordinary* person, it does not just happen (Sacks, 1995). Sacks claims that "whatever we may think about what it is to be an ordinary person in the world, an

initial shift is not to think of an 'ordinary person' as some person, but as somebody having as their job, as their constant preoccupation, doing 'being ordinary'. It's not that somebody *is* ordinary, it's perhaps that that's what their business is. And it takes work, as any other business does" (Sacks, 1995, vol. II, part IV, p. 216).

Building on Sacks' argument, my task is to find out what second language learning in everyday situations consists of; how the L2 learners go about 'doing being a L2 learner in everyday life situations'. Therefore, in order to understand what L2 learners are actually doing outside of the classroom, I asked a few of my students to make audio recordings in their daily life on a regular basis (Brouwer & Nissen, 2003). The result is a database of longitudinal L2 interaction; some of the informants recorded themselves for 6 months or a year, but importantly one informant made weekly recordings of her everyday activities over a period of three years. In these three years my informant went from being a beginner --- she started taping herself in her second month in Iceland --- to fluency, i.e. being able to participate in variety of interactions on different topics in the L2. This is in no way remarkable: the students learning Icelandic for three years at the University of Iceland regularly become quite fluent in that time. What is exceptional, however, is to have it on tape; to be able to study the resources and practices she employed for the learning of the L2 during this period as well as examine the situations she was involved in. This study uses transcribed data from the first 7 months[1] of recording.

### 1.1.4 The main objectives of the research

The main objectives of the research presented in this dissertation are to examine (1) what it means to be a L2 learner in everyday life situations: Second language learning is an accountable everyday activity but the question is how does it play out in social interaction, i.e. how is it made recognizable, and (2) what are (some of) the methods a L2 learner deploys for 'doing' language learning outside the classroom. The results can provide important information for L2 learning and teaching practices, L2 course design and learning materials, and may also provide an answer to whether, and then how, everyday life situations can be exploited by learners as well as teachers for L2 learning and teaching. This may, and hopefully will, lead to increased awareness of what is involved in L2 learning from a social perspective, which may ignite further research in that area. This thesis has the form of anthology and consists of three

articles, one of which is co-authored, a chapter on theory and research methods, and a conclusion chapter.

## 1.2 The Data

This study participates in a new social interactional research direction, CA-SLA, which employs the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA) for investigating second language acquisition (SLA) (Brouwer, forthc.; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.). This is discussed in detail in section 1.5.

Research within the framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) requires that the data are carefully transcribed recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). These requirements are consistent with CA's main concern with the organization of social interaction; how participants organize their talk in order to achieve intersubjectivity (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). CA's insisting on naturally occurring conversation as a basis for research is rooted in Harvey Sack´s idea *order at all points* (Sacks, 1984, p. 22), which means that everyday talk-in-interaction is not merely 'imperfect' competence (Chomsky, 1965), but highly organized and therefore a worthy subject for research. To understand this organization *all details of an interaction have to be included* when transcribing naturally occurring conversation.

For doing research on L2 Icelandic within the research program CA-SLA, 'real-life' data, i.e. recordings of authentic, unprepared, naturally occurring everyday life interaction in L2 Icelandic is necessary. These data were not available in the beginning of the research in 2005, which meant that I needed to find a way to collect the data.

### 1.2.1 Collecting the data

The data were collected applying a method used by researchers in Denmark where exchange students at the University of Southern Denmark were asked to tape their everyday life interaction on a regular basis and in return they were offered feedback on grammar and pronunciation (Brouwer & Nissen, 2003). In the fall of 2005 a message was sent to all the new students in Icelandic as a foreign language at the University of Iceland (cf. Appendix E) asking for volunteers to collect data for this

research on L2 Icelandic. The message stated that the participants would be asked tape themselves when using Icelandic and deliver an hour of recordings a week to the researcher. In return they were offered feedback on their pronunciation and grammar. When approached by potential participants I told them that they would need to commit to the project for at least two years since I was after longitudinal data.

### 1.2.2 Instructions for recording

Three participants/informants started and later two more joined in. I met with them in the beginning and gave them instructions on collecting the data. They were asked to record their everyday life interaction that would have taken place regardless of the taping. They were asked not to stage conversation for the sake of recording and not to listen to the recordings before turning them in.

### 1.2.3 Procedures, changes and the roles of the researcher and the assistant

It soon became clear that asking for an hour a week was unrealistic so it was reduced to 30 minutes. It also became clear in the beginning that I would not have time to give the informants feedback on their recordings, and furthermore, I felt that listening to the recordings with them and giving comments on pronunciation and grammar (cf. Appendix E) might affect their performance in their future recordings and thereby compromise the validity of the data. For the sake of the research I wanted to minimize my involvement with the participants. I, therefore, asked my assistant to supervise the data collection and give the participants private tutoring sessions (help with their homework) for one hour a week (these sessions were also recorded, but they have not been transcribed yet) in return for delivering the recordings. The recordings were not used in the tutoring lessons. Upon receiving the recordings she labeled them, made a contents list and downloaded them onto my space on the server of the University of Iceland.

My role was providing necessary equipment for recording (first minidisc recorders, minidiscs and batteries and later MP3 recorders). I was abroad or unavailable for other reasons for most of the recording period (from May 2006 and onwards).

### 1.2.4 Anna

One of the informants, Anna, was by far the most productive. Anna, a Canadian, had been in Iceland for one month when she started recording. She recorded herself in her daily life for the period of three years. These recordings comprise 53 hours. I have transcribed data from the first 7 months (2005-2006) and also some data from the last year of recording (2008). These data are the basis for this research.
When listening to Anna's recordings it turned out that she had recorded herself in both service encounters as well as in private talk. Her interlocutors were either L1 or L2 speakers of Icelandic.

### 1.2.5 Audio vs. video

To use audio recordings instead of video recordings was a conscious decision. With audio-recorders it is easier to capture authentic, unprepared talk-in-interaction as it happens in the real world whereas the use of video requires some preparation which may distort the interaction and is, therefore, not suitable for collecting this type of data.

### 1.2.6 The success of the collection

The success of this collection of longitudinal data is due to the endurance and dedication of the two women involved, the informant, Anna and my assistant, S. Brynja Grétarsdóttir. As an example of their dedication is that after recording for two years as initially agreed upon, Anna volunteered to continue for another year. At that time I had no funds to pay my assistant, but she offered to continue for a year without pay. An important factor in this success is the fact that over this period of time they became friends. This made all the tutoring sessions more personal and, according to them, more enjoyable. The agreement between them was that Anna delivered the data and in return received a private tutoring session focusing on her homework. Between them they made sure this agreement was honored. More importantly, for the sake of the research, the data collection became their responsibility and Anna was accountable to my assistant (and not me) for delivering the data.
Recording oneself (almost) every week for such a long period is tiresome and calls for strong motivation and a great deal of support and encouragement throughout the period, which included summers and holidays. This support Anna received from my

assistant during the whole period, and this is, in my opinion, the key element in the success of the data collection.

### 1.2.7 Transcription method

Careful and detailed transcription of recordings is a condition for CA analysis as mentioned earlier. This includes accounting for not only all intelligible words uttered, but also other sounds, such as inbreath and *uh's*. Words are transcribed as close as possible to normal orthography. CA does not use the international phonetic alphabet (IPA). Pauses are measured to the tenth of a second, and overlaps in the talk are carefully marked. Lengthening in vowels are also measured and included in the transcript. Finally, prosodic features such as pitch and intonation are included in the transcript. Gail Jefferson (1983, 2004), one of the founders of CA, has developed a set of symbols for transcribing, which is used here (cf. Appendix B).

Transcribing within the CA framework is time consuming. A rule of thumbs is that it takes at least one hour to transcribe one minute of recording. This varies depending of the type of data, number of participants, background sounds and sound quality of the tape. I daresay that in the case of transcribing these data it took more time than the rule of thumbs states: it took around 9 months as a full time job to transcribe 6 hours and the additional 6 months as a 50% job to prepare them for the database in talkbank.org (cf. next section).

Transcribing is not always straightforward: The transcriber sometimes has to make decisions on the granularity of the transcript beyond the basic requirement mentioned above. An example of that is whether and to what degree to include background sounds: In real life data, as the one used here, there is all kinds of noise (talk, traffic, sound of people eating, drinking, doing the dishes, cooking, talking on the phone and also slamming sounds, clicking etc.). The transcriber is faced with the dual task of accounting for as much of the sound in the recording as possible (trying to recreate the situation heard on the recording), and at the same time not to crowd the transcript with all kinds of symbols making it difficult for the reader to follow. In my work I tried to balance those issues: an example is when someone is talking on the phone in the background, I reported in the comment line: *sby talking on the phone*, but I did not attempt to transcribe the part of the conversation I could hear.

#### 1.2.7.1 CLAN

For transcribing I used the CLAN software (http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/clan/). This program was originally designed for research on child language, but has been adopted to include CA. CLAN has many advantages over using word processors for transcribing: It allows the user to link the sound to the transcript, it has all the symbols necessary for transcribing, it has features for building collections of cases to use for research.

### 1.2.8 Availability of the data

Longitudinal L2 data, like the one I have, are difficult to get and, as far as I know, they are one of a kind. My data contain more 'raw material' for research than I will ever be able to deal with, although I intend to use them for my research in the future. I transcribed the data for my use for my research. It was, therefore, not in the form that I could give other researchers access to them: there were still names of people and places and personal information that needed to be erased and furthermore, during the time that I had worked on the transcripts, new features developed in transcribing as well as in the software I used. When funds became available from the SELC research center at the University of Southern Denmark to prepare the data for a closed databank for research, I embraced the opportunity. The University of Southern Denmark hired Kristján G. Björnsson for the project. Kristján's task was to erase names from the data (sound files) and find pseudonyms for the transcript, link every line of the transcript to the corresponding sound file, clean up the files according to current standard and re-transcribe some parts. This project is now finished and the part of my data that I had transcribed (from the first 7 months of recording) is now available at talkbank.org for research on L2. They are password protected and in anonymized form strictly for researchers in L2 research who must sign a statement of discretion and confidence.

### 1.2.9 Ethics of the data collection

Before starting the data collection I contacted the appropriate authorities in Iceland, *The Data Protection Authority* (Persónuvernd). I asked if I needed a permit from that institution for the data collection. They informed me that I didn't but that I needed the permission of those people involved in the recordings. I then asked if it would suffice

to inform the people being recorded of the recording and get their permission to use it for research *after* the recording had taken place. This was to ensure the authenticity of the interaction. That was allowed with the condition of immediately erasing the recordings that were not permitted by the participants in the interaction. I then asked my informants to follow these instructions.

For the purpose of protecting the identities of the people on the recordings, all names have been erased from the sound files and changed in the transcripts. I also carefully avoided using data that contained information that could either reveal the identities of these individuals or contained sensitive information of any kind. This is consistent with the requirements of Icelandic law of processing data containing personal information ("Act no. 77/2000 on The protection of Privacy as regards the Processing of Personal Data," 2000). The e-mail exchange between myself and *The Data Protection Authority* can be seen in Appendix A.

### 1.2.10 Data Analysis and finding objects for research

This section describes methods frequently used in Conversation Analysis research in analyzing data and methods used to find an object of study. When the data have been transcribed they are (sometimes) brought to *data-sessions*, i.e. a meeting where several researchers gather to look at each other's data. Typically, one participant brings data to these sessions and together they listen to audio recordings (and/or look at in cases of video data) while reading the transcript. Then the participants comment on the data. CA method is *data-driven* which means that the participants initially approach the data with *unmotivated looking,* i.e. they are not looking for specific things, rather they let the data guide them. In these sessions the participants often analyze parts of the data together and in co-operation come up with potential objects for research. The next step is for the researcher to analyze the target phenomenon in detail and build a *collection of cases* of the same or similar phenomenon, which are analysed and compared to the initial analysis. This sometimes leads to confirmation of the initial analysis, but in other cases analysis of more examples leads to changes in the initial analysis. For an overview of basic procedures in CAsee Hutchy & Wooffitt (1998) and ten Have (1999, 2002).

Parts of the data used in this study were presented at several data-sessions in different parts of Denmark: Odense, Århus, Sønderborg, Kolding and Copenhagen. The

participants in these sessions were researchers from all over Denmark and in some cases also from abroad: Australia, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany and USA.

## 1.3 The research method: CA-SLA

The study participates in a new research direction, CA-SLA, which employs the research methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA) in order to investigate Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Brouwer, forthc.; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Markee, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.; Seedhouse, 2004; Wagner, 2010; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). This section examines the basic principles and the origins of Conversation Analysis and the emergence of CA-SLA; where it comes from and why. I will also, describe its methodology, view of language learning, recent research within the paradigm and attempt to place my study within this framework.

### 1.3.1 Where does CA-SLA come from?

As stated earlier the CA-SLA research direction employs the methods and principles of Conversation Analysis. This section describes CA's methodology and also the relation between CA and EM (Ethnomethodology), which is relevant for the present study as well as for enhanced understanding of the origins of CA. Seedhouse (2004) describes the relationship between CA and EM where "ethnomethodology studies the principles on which people base their social actions, whereas CA focuses more narrowly on the principles which people use to interact with each other by the means of language" (p. 3). EM is discussed in section 1.3.1.1.1.1.

The methods and practices of CA and EM were not developed for researching second language learning which means (among other things) that the methodology has to be adjusted for serving this new purpose; certain aspects of CA may be exposed while other aspects are suppressed. Wagner (2004) notes that some L2 research using CA puts focus on the structural details of talk while others attend to the Ethnomethodological aspect of CA. In my research both aspects of CA are relevant. Before going further a brief overview of CA is in order.

#### 1.3.1.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

*Conversation analysis* (CA) "describes how, during the course of everyday life experience, participants engage in sense-making practices with one another" (Wagner, 2004, p. 613). For an overview of CA see Drew & Heritage (2006), Goodwin & Heritage (1990), Heritage (2008, forthc.), Hutchby & Wooffitt (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), Lerner (2004) and ten Have (1999). CA's analytical tools enable a detailed investigation of the sequential and temporal organization of talk in interaction that is accomplished by the participants. This is the CA way towards its main goal of research, which is to uncover the strategies and practices used by interlocutors in the structuring of social activities.

##### 1.3.1.1.1 The background of CA

The study of ordinary talk-in-interaction, Conversation Analysis, emerged as an independent field of inquiry in the sixties. At that time language use/performance was practically outside the scope of research both in linguistics and sociology: "[S]ociology and linguistics thus defined the scope of their subject matter in such a way that the relevance of talk-in-interaction fell between the disciplinary boundaries. Additionally, within both linguistics and social theory, the actual behavior that occurs within interaction was viewed as disorderly, and indeed inherently defective-mere noise that gets in the way of the ideal structures that is the real job of the analyst to investigate" (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 285). In the view expressed in Chomsky (1965), *competence* is the research focus in the field of Linguistics, whereas *performance* is not: "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (p. 3).

###### 1.3.1.1.1.1 Ethnomethodology (EM)

At the same time the field of Ethnomethodology emerged as a field within sociology, focusing on everyday social activities. The basic idea is that everyday social life is organized by people through social action. This field studies the 'rules' of everyday

behavior and puts them into words. People follow these principles of everyday social life automatically and normally unconsciously; they are seen but unnoticed, which makes it difficult to tease them out. One method (also used in comedy) is *breaching*, i.e. uncovering a principle by breaking it. On breaching experiments see Garfinkel (1963). The pioneer in this new field, Harold Garfinkel (1967), was influential in the development of Conversation Analysis. In fact, many of the basic principles of CA are originated in his work and the work of Erving Goffman (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1986; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Heritage, 1984b; Heritage, 1987; Heritage, 2008; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Schegloff, 1988).

#### 1.3.1.1.2 The emergence of CA

Conversation Analysis emerged in the research work of Harvey Sacks (Sacks, 1995) and his co-workers, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, in the 1960's. Their research focused on the structure and sequential organization of ordinary talk-in-interaction. They developed the methodology and mindset that is still used to study conversation.

##### 1.3.1.1.2.1 The Turn-Taking Machinery

In their seminal article *A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn-taking for conversation* (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), published in *Language* in 1974, the authors describe the workings of a *Turn-Taking machinery* in conversation: How participants systematically design their talk in such a way that enables mutual understanding. They found orderly speaker shifts (turn-taking) with minimal gaps or overlaps. Normally, one speaker speaks at a time. These findings are based on empirical research that takes naturally occurring data as a starting point, a data-driven research method which still is a key requirement for CA research. This turn-taking machinery has two components: *a turn construction component* and *a turn distribution component*. For the former the key concept is *turn-construction unit* (TCU) which is the basic item for building turns. A TCU is a syntactically, pragmatically and prosodically complete unit, which roughly corresponds to linguistic categories such as a sentence, a clause, a phrase or a single word (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 48). A speaker has a right to utter one TCU at the end of which is a *transition relevance place* (TRP), i.e the place where speaker shifts may occur (Sacks,

Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Speaker shifts occur with minimal gap. This is only possible since one main property of a TCU is its *projectability*, i.e. participants are able to project a possible completion point of a TCU during its delivery and can therefore design their own (next) turn accordingly. For doing this interactants make use of linguistic features such as prosody and syntax.
For turn distribution, most commonly, the current speaker selects the next speaker by addressing him or the next speaker self selects by starting to talk.

#### 1.3.1.1.3 Talk-in-interaction is orderly

Sacks idea *order at all points* (1984), i.e. that talk-in-interaction is orderly and highly structured by the interlocutors, is the baseline for all CA research. It is CA's task to uncover the methods and practices used for the temporal and sequential organization of conversation. These methods may deploy features of talk such as non-lexical items, cut offs, lengthening of sounds, pauses etc., that have traditionally been considered unimportant and thus ignored (Chomsky, 1965). This is what underlies CA's demand for detailed transcription of audio or video recordings.

#### 1.3.1.1.4 Sequential organization of talk-in-interaction: adjacency pairs

While the basic units in conversation are TCUs, conversation is driven by *sequences* where the participants take turns in speaking, building, in cooperation, sequences of talk. Some of those are well known and recurring in everyday talk. The most important for CA analysis are *adjacency pairs,* which are paired activities noticeable in talk such as a question and answer, invitation and response, and reciprocal greetings. These consist of a first and a second pair part which come right after one another, hence the name *adjacency pair* (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). This is a key concept in CA's sequential analysis, which are fundamental for establishing Intersubjectivity.
The notion of *preference organization* is tied in with the concept of *adjacency pairs*. The first pair part of an adjacency pair is designed for a specific type of a second pair part, where a question, as a first pair part, calls for an answer (rather than a greeting) as a second pair part; in other words the *preferred* second pair part of an adjacency pair in which the first pair part is a question is an answer. This provides a powerful analytic resource for CA research on the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction.

#### 1.3.1.1.5 Some CA concepts are originated in EM

The concept of adjacency pairs is based on principles in EM. One is *Normative accountability* which states that *norms* are social actions that are *seen but unnoticed,* i.e. ordinary social conduct. An example is that when greeted the norm is to respond; it is seen but unnoticed. Failure to respond to a greeting (go by the norm) is noticeable and participants can be held accountable. Speakers are able to understand each other's action with reference to *membership knowledge*. They can identify a question or a greeting in the co-participants talk because they have heard it before, or in EM terms by way of *the documentary method of interpretation*. For a detailed discussion on EM principles and the relation between EM and CA see (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b; Heritage, 1987; Heritage, 2008; Maynard & Clayman, 2003; Seedhouse, 2004).

#### 1.3.1.1.6 Repair organization in the framework of CA

The notion of *repair* is central in CA methodology. Everything in interaction is potentially *repairable*, whether or not there are errors. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks (1977) identify four ways in doing repair in conversation. Repair is either initiated by the current speaker (self) or his co-participant (other), hence *self-* and *other-initiated* repair. Furthermore, the actual repair can be carried out by either party, *self-* and *other repair*. These can be combined, i.e. *self-initiated self-repair*, in which case the current speaker (self) signals to his co-participant that there is trouble, and then repairs it himself. This is the preferred type of repair in L1 conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) but it may work differently in L2 interaction (Kurhila, 2001). *Self-initiated other-repair* refers to instances in which the current speaker (self) indicates trouble and initiates repair and (implicitly) invites his co-participant (other) to carry out the repair. *Other-initiated self-repair* can be seen when the co-participant (other) indicates trouble in the current speaker's utterance, i.e. initiates repair and the current speaker (self) repairs it himself. Finally, *Other-initiated other-repair*, which is the same as *correction,* occurs when the other party identifies trouble with the current speaker and repairs it.

#### 1.3.1.1.6.1 Repair initiation techniques

Repair can be initiated *explicitly* by asking, for example, *what does that mean?* and the like, or *implicitly* by way of speech perturbation (pauses and uhs), location of the repairable in a TCU as the final item, with try-marked (rising) intonation, cut offs, lengthening of vowels (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1979). Research has shown that different types of the implicit repair initiation are used depending on the location of the trouble: whether it is with the linguistic elements already uttered (cut off, vowel lengthening, try-marking, location in the TCU) or with the upcoming items (speech perturbations, vowel lengthening).

#### 1.3.1.1.6.2 Embedded and exposed repair

The repair itself is either *exposed* which means that it becomes the focus of attention and may lead to *a side-sequence*, i.e. the main interaction is put on hold while the participants orient to the repair (Jefferson, 1972). Repair can also be *embedded*, in which case the repair itself is embedded in another activity and does not become into focus in the interaction (Brouwer, Rasmussen, & Wagner, 2004; Jefferson, 1987). Kurhila (Kurhila, 2001) identified '*en passant'* corrections in L2 interaction. In these cases the 'other' delivers a short and unmitigated correction which is designed to minimally impact the ongoing interaction.

### 1.3.1.1.7 Identity and the *emic*-perspective in CA

Within the CA research framework the notion of *identity* is central. A basic requirement is that the participants, through their action, make their identity *relevant* in the interaction. Relevance is the key factor in the reference to identities of participants in conversation and the same goes for the understanding of social action: Certain features of the talk are *relevant* for the current interaction while others are not. The participant's display to each other, through social action, what these features are at any given moment, allowing them to reach mutual understanding. This is the basis for CA's insistence on the use of *emic* perspective: that the analyst can only use, in his analysis, the features that the participants orient to or make relevant in the interaction. One of these features is identity. Everyone has many different identities (husband, runner, cook, Icelander, father of two, son, brother, L2 learner of Danish, etc.), which

may or may not be relevant at certain points in interaction (Block, 2007; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). It is obviously difficult to determine when which identity is relevant. In the *emic* perspective, the participants have to display their orientation to certain identity for the researcher to be able to use it. Certain social activities are closely linked to specific identities: a cook cooks, a language learner learns etc. It is through a speaker's orientation to these social activities that reveals the relevant identity at a given moment. This is not saying that a certain identity is only relevant when it is revealed by the interlocutors, rather that *then* we *know* it is relevant in the interaction. This makes the concept of, for example, a L2 learner a subject for research rather than assumed, which may shed some new light on second language acquisition/learning. The next section discusses the new research program CA-SLA and its current and potential contributions to the understanding of Second language interaction and learning.

### 1.3.2 Why did CA-SLA emerge?

Second Language acquisition (SLA) has over the last decade experienced changes in research interests among its members. Some even talk about bifurcation or a split of the field into a Cognitive SLA and Social (sociocultural/socio-interactional) SLA. The psycholinguistic or cognitive SLA (sometimes labeled 'mainstream' or 'traditional' SLA) (Ellis, 1994; Long & Doughty, 2003b) has been the dominating research program for SLA research from the early 1970's, while Sociocultural SLA (Hall, 2006; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) and socio-interactional SLA (Firth & Wagner, 2007; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.) (sometimes labeled 'alternative' approach to SLA) are the newcomers. Other alternative approaches to SLA include Chaos Complexity Theory (Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) and Ecological approach (Kramsch, 2002).

### 1.3.2 1 A call for changes in SLA

These changes can be traced back to the year 1997 when a seminal article by Firth & Wagner (1997) was published as a centerpiece in the *Modern Language Journal,* and responses to that article (Hall, 1997; Kasper, 1997; Liddicoat, 1997; Long, 1997; Paulisse, 1997; Rampton, 1997) were published in the same issue, resulting in a lively debate as can be seen in Firth & Wagner (1998) and Gass (1998). The discussion

resulting from the 1997 article is still going on as the Focus Issue of the *Modern language Journal* in 2007 shows: This issue of the MLJ is exclusively on the 1997 F&W paper and its impact on the field of SLA. The F&W (1997) was one of several publications in the mid nineties, which expressed concern or uneasiness with the practices of SLA (Block, 1996; Lantolf, 1996; van Lier, 1994).F&W (1997) came forth with a sharp criticism of what they called 'main-stream' SLA.

#### 1.3.2.2 F&W criticism on SLA

The basis for F&W's (1997) criticism was that their SL-data revealed a totally different picture of L2-speakers' competence than the one drawn by traditional SLA research. They found L2 speakers resourceful and competent, both in their everyday life as in their work, rather than deficient. They saw interactional achievements rather than grammatical errors. The 'mainstream' SLA did not provide the methodology or practices needed for describing and understanding L2 learning and use they had seen in their data.

Firth & Wagner (1997) did not only criticize the field of SLA, but more importantly they suggested certain (fundamental) changes "(a) a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, (b) an increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and (c) the broadening of the traditional SLA data base" (p. 286). We will now examine two of these suggestions (a) and (c). For discussion on the *emic*-perspective see section 1.3.1.1.7.

##### 1.3.2.2.1 Why the need for different data and more awareness of context?

Research has shown that L2 speakers/learners appear more competent in real life situations where the interaction has real life consequences than in experimental settings or classrooms where the talk is not consequential in the same sense (Wagner & Gardner, 2004). Therefore, the SLA's limited database, experimental and classroom data, cannot account for L2-speaker's competence in real life. The use of data from everyday life settings, including the workplace, affords opportunities to increase understanding of Second language use and learning.

## 1.4 SLA after 1997

The field of SLA is still dominated by the cognitive research program, as Firth & Wagner (2007) point out: "In many ways it appears that things are more or less as they were in 1997-the mainstream is in full flow (…) and the native speaker continues to predominate as the baseline or target that learners should seek to emulate; learning is conceived as a cognitive process that is in essence context-neutral; competence is defined largely in terms of the individual's grammatical competence; *etic* prevails over *emic*; and learners in classrooms remains the standard data set" (p. 804). Nevertheless, their call for changes has resulted in some major changes in the field of SLA. New ideas and research directions, 'alternative' approaches to SLA, to which CA-SLA belongs, have been presented, and research using those methods is (slowly) increasing. Firth (2009) states that the first two requirements put forth in Firth & Wagner 1997, concerning a) taking into account the context and interactional factors of talk in interaction and b) the employment of an *emic* perspective towards fundamental concepts, are in the process of being fulfilled and points out increasing research using CA methodology for the study of SLA and also the use of SCT (Sociocultural Theory). But the third one, the broadening of SLA's database, has for most parts not been met. In that regard, it is worth pointing out that the data used in this dissertation are new to SLA research: Longitudinal, L2 conversations in everyday life situations. This is certainly a contribution to the broadening of the SLA database.

### 1.4.1 Sociocultural/Socio-interactional approaches to SLA

The recent approaches to the study of SLA, the sociocultural- and socio-interactional approach, have the common factor of emphasizing the social aspect of second language acquisition. The latter of the two is most relevant to this study while the former is only marginally relevant.

#### 1.4.1.1 Sociocultural approach

This recent approach to SLA builds on Vygotskyan Sociocultural theory (Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). One of the central arguments in this theory, and the one relevant for the present study, are that learning is accomplished in interaction with others more knowledgable or experienced. The gap (in knowledge or experience)

between the learner and the expert is the so-called Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Hall, 2006) and it is there that learning takes place in that the learner is pulled into the ZPD by the expert, i.e. becomes closer in knowledge to the expert through cooperation. This part is relevant to this study since one of the main findings in this study indicate that 1) doing language learning is accomplished in cooperation with more knowledgeable co-participants and through activities initiated by the L2 learner, which allows the L2 learner participate in interaction that is beyond his linguistic abilities. There are, however, differences in the findings of this study and the idea of ZPD: The driving force in the learning activities in the present study is the L2 learner, not the expert, which is in contrast to ZPD. Other components of Sociocultural Theory are not relevant here, such as *private speech*, and *self- and other regulation* (Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) since this is a study of L2 learning in interaction.

#### 1.4.1.2 Socio-interactional approach

This direction understands learning taking place in social interaction where it is publicly displayed and is thus available for study. In Firth and Wagner (2007) they describe this approach as employing features from three areas:

The first one is Lave & Wenger's (1991) theory of situated learning, and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). In this view learners are apprentices in communities of practice, which constitutes, for example, a workplace. As apprentices, learners' participation is legitimately limited, but increases with more experience, and that is learning. This view is taken in Brouwer & Wagner (2004) and Hellermann (2008). As Firth and Wagner (2007) point out this research program is in its beginning stages of development and this first item is the focus of several new papers, i.e. there is an ongoing discussion on the issue of the use exogenous learning theory within this program (Brouwer, forthc.; Kasper, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.; Wagner, 2010). The current discussion suggests that such a theory is not needed. This is discussed in details in section 1.5.2.

The second area that informs Socio-interactional approach to learning is Ethnomethodology (EM) (cf. discussion in 1.3.1.1.1.1), and the third one Conversation Analysis (CA) (cf. earlier discussion on CA in 1.3.1.1). This program is now known as CA-SLA, CA/SLA, CA for SLA which is the topic of the next section.

## 1.5 CA-SLA research program

This study participates in the new research program CA-SLA (Brouwer, forthc.; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Markee, 2000, 2008; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.; Seedhouse, 2004; Wagner, 2010; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). The main features of the research direction, CA-SLA are its orientation to "the social, contextual, and interactional." (Firth & Wagner, 2007, p. 805). It uses the methodology of CA (cf. earlier discussion of CA) for the investigation of SLA. Kasper & Wagner (forthc., p. 22) have put together a list of what they see as requirements for CA-SLA: Data (audio or video) are recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction or other conduct, which are transcribed according to CA standards. An *emic* perspective is adopted for the analysis of the data, which makes it necessary for the analyst to have membership knowledge of the culture or/society of the interactants. The final item listed is that analysis does not use exogenous theory. This requirement addresses, among other things, a question on whether a theory of learning is needed for CA-SLA to be able to investigate L2 learning (Kasper, 2009). According to Kasper & Wagner (forthc.) a theory of language learning is not needed in this research program. This is consistent with the *emic* perspective: the analyst only addresses the concept of learning if the participants orient to what they are doing as learning. This is discussed further in the section 1.4.2. The next section discusses the concept of L2 learning.

### 1.5.1 What is L2 learning?

It is in their contrastive understanding of L2 learning that CA-SLA and SLA part company. Following Wagner (2010), Gardner & Wagner (2004), Firth & Wagner (1997, 2007), and Kasper & Wagner (forthc.), the definition of L2 learning differs according to the perspective, *etic* or *emic*, adopted in the research. Taking the *etic* view, L2 learning is understood as an internal individual process, where exogenous theories are deployed to explain learning processes (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Gass, 1998; Long & Doughty, 2003a). In that view L2 learning takes place in classroom settings.

The opposite view, and the one taken in this study, states that "regardless of the setting in which it takes place, language learning as a socio-interactional activity

becomes analytically available through CA's *emic* perspective, showing how L2 speakers, on occasion, *do* L2 learning and thereby reflexively constitute their own identity as L2 *learners*, for the duration of the learning activity" (Kasper & Wagner, forthc., p. 25). In other words, L2 learning can be understood as an individual, internal process explained with theories of learning, or a social activity where the participants display their understanding of what they are doing as learning (Kasper, 2009; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009). The paradigm, CA-SLA, investigates learning as a social activity of doing learning but says nothing about whether anything is actually learned, or about development of L2 interactional competencies (Firth & Wagner, 2007; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.).

### 1.5.2 Does CA-SLA need an exogenous theory of learning?

CA/SLA is not a theory of language learning (He, 2004) and does not support any specific learning theory. This is seen as problematic by a number of researchers and some even question CA/SLA's ability to examine learning (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Gass, 2004; Kasper, 2009). Within this new program the lack of exogenous learning theory has been a concern for many researchers, some of which have made an effort to use such theories as Sociocultural theory (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004), situated learning theory/communities of practice (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2008) and language socialization (He, 2004). Recently, however, researchers have made the case for CA-SLA having the methodological tools for the study of L2 learning, at least learning as a social activity, without a specific theory of learning (Kasper, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.). Kasper & Wagner (forthc.) do not exclude the possible use of a learning theory accompanying CA for the study of L2 learning and suggest that this may open up possibilities for a new perspective for L2 research.

This is the study of learning as a social activity, which does not address the issue of L2 development. Research on that aspect is rare and it is not entirely clear how to study development within CA-SLA (Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Pekarek-Doehler, forthc.). This needs research and will not be discussed further here.

The present study takes the position that an exogenous theory is not needed for the study of L2 learning as a social practice: In fact that appears to be the most logical and obvious position in the light of CA-SLA's insistance on an emic perspective.

Using an exogenous theory of learning violates this basic principle of CA methodology.

Even if this investigation does not use any theory of learning some of the findings in this study, at least partly, support Sociocultural Theory's ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) (Hall, 2006; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) making the case that not only does CA-SLA research not need an outside theory of learning, but that it can actually inform and therefore benefit such theories and thus SLA.

### 1.5.3 CA-SLA research

CA-SLA research falls mainly into two categories: interaction and learning in classroom settings and in everyday life environment (Firth & Wagner, 2007). Research in the former category is concerned with different aspects of second language interaction but does not address the issue of learning (Firth, 1996; Kurhila, 2006; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002; Wong, 2000). The latter category, research on L2 learning, can be further subdivided into two groups: learning in classrooms and learning outside the classroom. Research on L2 learning in classroom settings has so far dominated this area (He, 2004; Hellermann, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Kasper, 2004a; Markee, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Markee & Seo, 2009; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2004a, 2004b; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Mori & Markee, 2009; Seedhouse, 2004; Wong, 2000; Young & Miller, 2004).

Recently studies on L2 learning in everyday settings (outside of the classroom) have appeared (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Brouwer & Wagner, 2004) also Firth (2009) and please consult Wagner (forthc.) for an overview of research on L2 learning in everyday settings. This area is in large part still unknown and provides an opportunity for some interesting research as Wagner (2010) points out: "The dynamics and practices in Second Language Talk outside of educational environments, i.e. outside of environments where learning languages constitutes the main activity, has slowly grown to a serious research interest in SLA" (p. 52). The next section takes a closer look on CA-SLA research on L2 learning in everyday life settings.

### 1.5.3.1 Research on L2 learning in everyday life environment

The study presented here contributes to the investigation of learning as a social activity: doing language learning in an everyday environment. In this section we will discuss recent publications on that issue.

Brouwer's (2003) study on word searches in L2 conversation shows that only certain types of word searches in NNS-NS interaction are language learning opportunities while others are not, based on their architecture. In the cases where WS can be seen as providing opportunities for learning, the L2 speaker designs his TCU in such a way that the co-participant is invited to help. In this way the L2 speaker appeals to his interlocutor's expert knowledge of the searched for item.

Brouwer's (2004) research on pronunciation repair in L2 conversation showed the use of certain initiation techniques for eliciting the help of the co-participant for trouble in pronunciation: The repairable is typically placed at the end of a TCU, it is 'unframed', i.e. isolated from the other items in the TCU, with delays and often produced with a rising intonation, i.e. try-marked. She also showed that the interlocutors put the interaction on 'hold' while orienting to the repair sequence, which runs off as a side-sequence.

Brouwer and Wagner (2004) argue that studies of language learning have to be sensitive to the ways in which the participants establish and nurse social relations. They showed emerging orderliness of interaction between two SL speakers in the course of a few phone calls.

This investigation of L2 learning in real life settings (Theodórsdóttir, forthc., in press; Wagner, 2010) belongs here. This is obviously not a large section of CA-SLA research, but I think it is fair to say that interest is growing. So far, the main obstacles for research on L2 learning in everyday settings have been the shortage of data (Firth & Wagner, 2007). Naturally occurring everyday interactions outside of the classroom are hard to get, but as this database shows, not impossible. It simply takes work and dedication (cf. data section).

# Chapter 2.0
# Conversations in second language Icelandic: Language learning in real life environment

## 2.1 Introduction

This section sets the stage for the three articles by presenting an overview of what it means to be a L2 speaker/learner in real life interaction. I will argue that there are specific strategies involved, which L2 speakers employ to make their identity as a L2 learner relevant. Doing being a L2 learner in everyday life situation requires interactional work and is recognizable by co-participants in the interaction. In the context of doing being a L2 learner outside of the classroom, some social activities can be expected, i.e. a linguistic focus on the L2 as we will see in the three articles (cf. chapters 3-5). Furthermore, as we will see in this chapter, an activity that is noticeable and even accountable becomes legitimate within the context of 'doing being' a L2 learner (cf. excerpt 2).

The main point with the articles is to investigate methods that L2 speakers use in their everyday life for the purpose of L2 learning.

## 2.2 'Doing being' a L2 learner in everyday life

This section shows 1) there is such a thing as doing being a L2 learner in everyday life situations, and 2) how that is displayed and treated by the participants in interaction.

### 2.2.1 Three articles on language learning activities in everyday situations

The three articles (chapters 3-5) examine aspects of social activities of doing L2 learning in everyday situations, in which the focal L2 speaker engages, adopting the identity of a L2 learner, as stated earlier. Before coming to them it is in order to present the overall picture of 'doing' being a L2 learner outside of the classroom, which is the context of my research.

In the articles, as well as generally in my data, the L2 speaker, in cooperation with her participants, adopts the identity of a L2 learner and engages in activities of linguistic

focus, i.e. language learning activities. It is the L2 learner herself that initiates, and maintains these activities and is responsible for using the L2 in everyday situations with L1 speakers (cf. chapters 3-5). This study shows that the L2 speaker is very persistent in her pursuit of interacting in the L2, which is a point also made in Egbert, Niebecker & Rezzara (2004). L2 interaction does not happen by itself, it has to be made to happen and sometimes even struggled for (Theodórsdóttir, in press).
The language learning activities, in which our focal L2 speaker engages, are very intense at times, and the interaction almost resembles a language-classroom (Theodórsdóttir, in press, forthc.). One of the interesting aspects of these activities is that the participants treat them as 'normal' (cf. sections 1.3.1.1.1.1 and 1.3.1.1.5): The clerk in the bakery (cf. 2nd article in chapter 4) actively participates in assisting the low level L2-speaker to conduct her business in the L2 even when it is clear that from the point of view of the business, English is the obvious language for the interaction. Furthermore, the interaction is remarkably effortless since both participants seem to know what they are doing at any given moment in the interaction even if the clerk is not a language teacher and the bakery is not a language classroom.

#### 2.2.1.1 The duality of L2 interaction: Topic and language

One of the points made in my study is that (low level) L2 interaction has two interactional goals, conducting the business, and at the same time a linguistic goal: L2 learning (cf. all three articles in chapters 3-5). For reaching the linguistic goal, the L2 speaker employs certain strategies, some of which are described in the three articles. These strategies seem to be understood and accepted by the L1 speakers without any kind of explanation. In EM terms the participants actively show affiliation to a 'norm', i.e. what they do in their interaction has the status *seen but unnoticed*. It is clear that for these participants in this situation, i.e. a L2 learner making use of resources in the L2 community, including the solicitation of a L1-speaker for the purpose of learning the language, their activities are 'normal' and they display, with their actions, knowledge of what that means for their own and the other person's actions.

## 2.3 'Doing being' a L2 learner: Two examples from a service encounter

I will now examine two excerpts from a service encounter which contain examples of (1) how the participants in the interaction display, with their actions, what it means for them that one has made his identity as a L2 learner relevant, and (2) how a social action that is treated as dispreferred and accountable (Seedhouse, 2004), becomes legitimate and 'normal' when accounted for with reference to the status of a 'L2 learner'.

### 2.3.1 First example: Language learning and teaching at the hot dog stand

In the first excerpt Anna (the L2 speaker) is at a hot-dog stand talking to the clerk. Prior to the excerpt she negotiated with the clerk to speak Icelandic. In the excerpt she places an order for a hot dog in the L2 with the help of the clerk.

Excerpt 1a: hot dog

```
01    AN:     UH:::: (0.9) UH::::: (0.3) ég ætla að fá: (0.3)
                                         I  will to get
              I'll have

02            UH:m .ts (1.4) einn (0.6) pylsa↓
                     one        hot-dog↓
              one hot dog
03    CL:     eina (0.8) pylsu
              one        hot-dog
04            (0.4)
05    AN:     pylsu
              hot-dog
06    CL:     já
              yes
07    AN:     eina pylsu (0.8) o::: (0.5) .ts (0.2) eina kók
              one hot-dog      an                   one  coke
              one hot dog and one coke
```

In her turn in the excerpt Anna places her order for a hot dog. Her turn beginning is slow and hesitant (pauses, and uh's). Her utterance: *Ég ætla að fá* (I'll get) is delivered fluently (line 1), followed by pauses, uh's and a lengthening of the vowel of the word *fá*. This is an indication of trouble with the next item in the TCU, and this may lead to *self-initiation for other repair*, i.e. the current speaker implicitly invites the co-participant to repair or help (cf. section 1.3.1.1.6). At this point the co-participant does not offer his help suggesting an uncertainty of what exactly Anna is trying to say: even if the clerk can infer from the context that it has something to do with hot dogs, the specifics (of how Anna wants it prepared) may be unclear. Then

Anna utters *einn* (one) which may be seen as her solution to the trouble indicated earlier in the TCU. This word, however, does not complete her TCU: the key word is still missing and after a pause of half a second she utters: *pylsa* (a hot dog). Now she has managed to place an order for a hot dog in the L2. The next relevant action is for the clerk to respond by acknowledging the order (verbally) and preparing it (physically). Instead he offers a linguistic repair of Anna's utterance (line 3): *eina* (one) which is the correct feminine, accusative form instead of *einn* (masculine nominative), and *pylsu* (accusative) instead of the nominative form *pylsa*. The clerk clearly understood Anna's TCU despite her linguistic deviation, but he has now adopted the role of a language expert and opened up a side sequence of language focus while the business matter has been put on hold as described in Brouwer (2004), see also Jefferson (1972) on side sequences. Anna accepts the repaired item by repeating it (line 5) *pylsu* and thereby reveals her identity as a L2 learner. Interestingly, she only repeats one of the items offered by the clerk, *pylsu* (hot-dog), but not *eina* (one), and thereby orients to the key term here. The side-sequence of language orientation is closed with the clerk's *yes* (line 6). This activity has nothing to do with the business at hand, i.e. the ordering of a hot dog yet both Anna and the clerk participate in it, each playing their part: The clerk as a language expert and Anna as a language learner.

This is doing language learning in an everyday life situation and is a common activity in my data as we will see in the three articles. As Firth & Wagner (2007) point out L2 learners "are not content to make themselves understood but clearly demonstrate a desire to do so in ways that are viewed as appropriate and normal in their L2" (p. 811).

The participants' actions in excerpt 1a suggest that they see this language learning activity as an 'ordinary' part of the interaction. Anna, in line 7, repairs her TCU and continues from the point where the corrected part begins and finishes her order (simplified): *eina pylsu og eina kók* (one hot dog and one coke), which completes this activity of ordering a hot dog correctly in the L2.

### 2.3.1.1 'Well done': an assessment from the clerk/language expert

In the next excerpt, from the same interaction, following the successful ordering of the hot dog, the clerk delivers an assessment of Anna's performance in the ordering of the hot dog in the L2.

Excerpt 1b: Well done

```
(lines omitted)
15    CL:    gott hjá þér
             good by  you
             well done
16           (1.6)
17    AN:    uh::::
18    CL:    got[t   ] hjá þér að tala íslensku svona gott.
             goo[d   ] by  you  to speak Icelandic that way good.
             Well done to speak Icelandic in that way. Good
19    AN:       [gott]
                [good]
20    AN:    JÁ É É É Ég að læra íslensku já
             YES I I I I to learn icelandic yes
             Yes I learning Icelandic yes
```

Following the completion of the business of ordering the hot dog the clerk utters (line 15): *gott hjá þér* (well done). This indicates the end of the placement of the order. As a compliment it is (sequentially) relevant for Anna to deliver a second pair part. Compliment exchanges, however, are not part of a default hot dog buying. The long pause in line 16 and Anna's utterance of 'uh' in line 17 indicate that she has trouble in understanding the clerk's TCU. The clerk explains what he means in line 18: *well done to speak Icelandic in this way. Good.* Anna's response is in line 20 (simplified): *yes I am learning Icelandic.* The clerk's compliment (line 15) is understood and treated as 'normal' (line 20) in the context of a second language learner making an effort to do her business in the L2 (line 18).

In short we see L2 speaker and the clerk with a joint effort enable the L2 speaker to order a hot dog in the L2 in a grammatically correct way. They do this work in co-operation as a 'normal' part of the interaction and furthermore, the clerk's complimenting Anna on her performance in the ordering of the hot dog (lines 15-20) is treated by the participants as 'legitimate' with reference to the status of Anna as a L2 learner.

The main points here are that 'doing being' a second language learner in everyday situations requires activities that are specific to that context and recognizable to others

as that. Furthermore, 'doing being a L2 learner in everyday situations is not done solo; it's in cooperation with others. This is a point made in all three articles. Sacks (1995) makes a similar point for *doing being ordinary*, i.e. that people "may be coordinatively engaged in assuring that each of them are ordinary persons, and that can then be a job that they undertake together, to achieve that each of them, together, are ordinary persons" (vol. II, part IV, p. 216).

### 2.3.2 The second example: An accountable behavior becomes legitimate with reference to L2 learner status

Excerpt 2 is from the same situation as the previous one. Anna has been talking to the clerk about, among other things, what his customers prefer to drink with their hot dogs. The clerk had told her that they overwhelmingly preferred Coke. Just prior to the excerpt a customer has ordered a hot dog and a Coke. In her turn Anna addresses the customer and asks him what he thinks about Coke. We will examine the interesting trajectory resulting from Anna's question.

Excerpt 2: Coke

```
01    AN:     hvað finnst þér um kók↓
              what think  you about coke↓
              what do you think about coke
02            (1.1)
03    AN:     hvað finnst þér (.) um kók↓
              what think  you about coke↓
              what do you think about coke
04            (0.5)
05    CU:     HA!
              WHAT!
06    CL:     xx (.) spurja hún er að læra íslens[ku]=
                     asking she is to learn iceland[ic]=
                     asking she is learning Icelandic
07    AN:                                          [já]
                                                   [yes]
08    CL:     =spurja hvað þér finnst um kók↓
              =asking what you think about coke↓
09           (0.4)
10    CU:     jaá (0.2) mér finnst það allt í lagi.
              yees      I   find   it  all right
              yes I think it is all right
```

Anna's question (line 1) *hvað finnst þér um kók* (what do you think about coke) is not responded to and after a one second pause Anna repeats it. At this point, Anna has (repeatedly) delivered a first pair part of an adjacency pair. The next relevant action is

for the recipient to answer. Finally after a 0.5 sec pause the customer responds with raised volume: *HA!* (WHAT!). This is not an answer to Anna's question (not the pending second pair part) but a repair initiation about how to understand the first pair part, cf. Drew (1997). The format of the response; an exclamation in raised volume, indicates that this question is not according to 'norms' and with his response the customer indicates it as not only noticeable but also accountable. The account comes from the clerk in line 6 (simplified): *spurja hún er að læra íslensku spurja hvað þér finnst um kók*. (asking she is learning Icelandic asking what you think about coke). So the clerk accounts for Anna's status as a L2 learner which is her 'licence' to ask a stranger a question like that and actually get an answer. This is accepted in the next turn where the customer responds: *jaá mér finnst það allt í lagi*. (yees I think it is all right). The *jaá* is a response to the clerk's explanation (line 6 and 8). The delivery of the *yes* token includes some kind of understanding and acceptance, i.e. *change of state token* (Heritage, 1984a), and the latter part is the customer's response to Anna's original question: *I think it's all right.* The customer now treats Anna's question as legitimate (by delivering an answer), which he did not before the clerk's account.
In more general terms Anna's action is noticeable and needs to be accounted for. When her actions have been accounted for by reference to her status as a L2 learner they are treated as legitimate: she gets an answer to her question. In other words: Doing being a L2 learner in an everyday-life situation allows certain activities that are noticeable and even accountable under other circumstances.

## 2.4 An overview and comparison of the articles in chapters 3-5

The next three sections: 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 present the three articles. All three articles participate in the research direction CA/SLA and use data that are recordings of authentic, naturally occurring everyday life interaction outside of the classroom in L2 Icelandic. The articles have the same research goal: to investigate everyday talk where (at least) one of the speakers is a L2 speaker, with respect to L2 learning.

### 2.4.1 The first article: *Language learning activities in everyday-life situations: Insisting on TCU completion in second language talk.*

This paper investigates a practice: 'Insisting on TCU completion'. In this practice the L1 speaker enters the L2 speaker's hesitantly produced TCU at a point where he

understands where she (the L2 speaker) is heading. His actions make it clear that intersubjectivity has been established even if the L2 speaker has not yet completed her TCU, and therefore not reached a TRP. The linguistic materials that the L2 speaker has delivered together with the context of the talk make this early understanding possible. The L1 speakers' actions are designed to end the L2 speaker's TCU and move the interaction forward and therefore support the claim in Stivers & Robinson (Heritage, 1984a; 2006) that there is a general preference for the progressivity in interaction. The most interesting feature of this practice, however, is the L2 speaker's reaction: She actively ignores the incoming speaker and insists, sometimes with an overlap and/or a raised volume, on finishing her TCU. With her action she exercises her right to finish the TCU (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), which at the same time allows her to deliver a whole construction in the second language. Her actions are clearly not advancing the topical interaction; rather she attends to the delivery of the linguistics forms. This is especially remarkable in the cases where there are real-life consequences: In one case (cf. the Grant-interaction (excerpt 2 in chapter 3) the L2 speaker is trying to retrieve a check to support herself for the next month, and in another case (cf. the Post office-interaction (excerpt 4 in chapter 3) she is trying to retrieve a lost parcel (probably from home). In both of these cases, as well as in all the other cases found of this practice, she could have completed the business quicker (and safer) by accepting the incoming speakers' actions, but instead she ignored them and insisted on completing her TCU. A conclusion drawn from the L2 speaker's actions is that L2 interaction has a dual nature: topic and a linguistic focus. This investigation suggests that there is a difference in the interactional goals between L1 and L2 speakers: The L1 speaker has a topical focus, hence the preference for progressivity in interaction whereas the L2 speaker as a dual focus a topical and a linguistic, hence the disaffiliation to the progressivity of the interaction for the benefit of linguistic focus. Among other important points in this article is the intense nature of 'language learning activities'. These are the activities in which the participants adopt the identities of a language learner and a language expert and in cooperation orient to linguistic features, sometimes for long stretches of talk, a point also made in Egbert, Niebecker, & Rezzara (2004). It is shown that the L2 speaker is responsible for these activities: she initiates and maintains them, and solicits the assistance of the co-participant. The main finding reported in this article is that in her everyday life the L2 speaker is not only conducting her business, she is, at the same time, doing language

learning, i.e. L2 learning also takes place outside of the classroom.

### 2.4.2 The second article: *Second Language Interaction for business and learning*

This article's main goal is to identify and analyze opportunities for L2 use and learning in everyday-life interaction. The object of analysis is an interaction between a L2-speaker (Anna) and a L1-speaking clerk in one service encounter (a bakery). The idea for this paper is rooted in the first article: We know from the findings of the first article that the L2 learner may engage in specific activities and use certain practices in her pursuit of L2 learning, but we don't know how these activities is situated within a conversation: the research reported in the first article is a typical CA research which is based on a collection of instances of a single practice. This article, on the other hand, identifies and analyzes all the examples of language orientation found in one visit to the bakery: how does the L2 learner open and exploit an opportunity for speaking and learning the L2 in real life environment. This investigation revealed a carefully organized and dynamic interaction between the participants, in which the L2 speaker, with the help from the L1 speaker (the clerk) manages to conduct her business of buying baked goods. The double focus, topic and language, of this service encounter, was clear from the beginning when the L2 speaker, before the topical interaction started, negotiated with the clerk that the upcoming interaction be in Icelandic (the L2). Right there the L2 speaker made her identity as a L2 learner relevant and with his acceptance the clerk agreed to help. Anna (the L2 speaker) is a low level L2 speaker and her linguistic resources are limited. She takes advantage of this opportunity to focus on linguistic features of the L2 while conducting her business, and solicits the help of the clerk as a language expert. Anna is clearly the driving force in these activities. During the course of the interaction we see Anna constantly initiating linguistic focus, which is, however, always related to the topical interaction. Interestingly, these activities escalate as the interaction progresses becoming more and more bold, to the point of this looking more like a language classroom than a service encounter. We see the L2 speaker dedicated to exploit this opportunity fully for the purpose of L2 learning. The role of the clerk is important to the L2 speaker's goal. The clerk has, however, a bit of a dilemma: His focus, as a clerk in the bakery, is on the business side of the interaction – after all he is there to sell bread, not teach

language, but he has entered into an agreement with his customer/low level L2 speaker to do the business interaction in Icelandic, even if the use of English could have been more beneficial with respect to completing the business quickly. During the course of the interaction we see the clerk's efforts to meet this dual goal for which he uses a specific practice: On a number of occasions he poses a question to the L2 customer as a part of the normal conduct of the business. He uses Icelandic as agreed and then waits for an answer. When no response is forthcoming he translates his question to English, which may be seen as his topical focus: he has to make sure that the customer understands him. We see an escalation in these activities, as well as Anna's, as the interaction moves forward: At first the clerk's action took two turns at talk with a pause in-between: Anna was given an opportunity to respond to the question before it was translated into English. Towards the end of the interaction, the clerk's activity takes one turn at talk: the pause between the Icelandic and the English version is gone and thereby the opportunity for the L2 speaker to respond to the Icelandic version. This suggests that in the few minutes of this interaction the participants establish a social relationship which allows their interaction to become increasingly bold.

This study supports the findings of the research presented in the first article on the point that L2 learners may 'do' language learning in everyday-life situations. The main point here is that with her actions, and the help of the L1 speaker, the L2 speaker is able to do more than she would have without it. These findings resemble some of the aspects of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which is one of the main ideas in Sociocultural theory: A learner is able to accomplish more with the help of an expert (cf. section 1.4.1.1)

A final point made in this article is to the nature of L2 learning: What Anna was learning here is to conduct her business in this specific situation in the L2. This suggests that L2 learning may be, to some degree at least, situated.

### 2.4.3 The third article: *It takes two to do language learning – intersubjectivity and linguistic foci in naturally occurring L2 interaction*

Co-author is Søren Wind Eskildsen, University of Southern Denmark.

The study reported in this article investigates the specifics of an interactional practice in which the L2 speaker substitutes an English term in the face of lacking vocabulary

in the L2. This study is inspired by the findings in the second article where English is used as a help language and also our general interest in strategies used by L2 speakers for doing language learning outside of the classroom. The target practice is available as a resource for L2 use and learning in the social context of L2 interaction in Iceland, where knowledge of English is common among the inhabitants. The findings in the study indicate that the basic work of this practice is achieving intersubjectivity. While this main function is true for all (33) cases, in some (17) instances another function of this practice is invoked: a word search. This is done by means of turn design, and is dependent on the reaction of the participants. Research on word searches have identified certain productional features used for indicating trouble and soliciting the help of the co-participant: turn-final placement of the trouble item, preceding non-lexical speech perturbations and try-marking (rising intonation).

This study found one of these features to be the most important in terms of soliciting the co-participants' help in a word search, namely isolating the item from the rest of the turn by way of non-lexical speech perturbations. In 31 of the examples the English word is turn-final, both in the cases that turned into a word search and the ones that did not. This suggests that the turn-final placement may not be the decisive factor in the unfolding of the practice, and we presented examples with both rising and falling intonation which led to similar reactions from the co-participants, and in fact in our collection, falling intonation is much more common than rising (try-marking) intonation in the cases that turn into a word search. One of our main points is that in the cases where the practice turned into a word search, this was not found to be required for the maintenance of intersubjective meaning. We suggest that some of these word searches were oriented towards as L2 learning activities. Brouwer (2003) argued that not all word searches provided opportunities for language learning which is supported by the findings in this report. In the cases of doing L2 learning the L2 and L1 speaker adopt the roles of language learner and language expert respectively and orient to finding a word in the L2, even if the topic of the talk does not call for such activity; the participants understand each other without this extended activity of focusing on the L2. A crucial factor in whether the practice can be understood as a language learning activity, is the reaction of the L2 speaker in the third turn of the practice as described in 4.3. A main point of this study is that the L2 speaker's public display of an orientation to the new item in the third turn of the practice accounts for

whether or not the word search is understood by the participants as an activity of doing learning.
In this study, as in the second article, Anna starts off with limited linguistic resources, using her limited vocabulary and soliciting new words in the L2 from her co-participant. This practice allows her to participate in more advanced conversation in the L2 than she would otherwise be able to.
An important point made in this study is that for doing language learning in an everyday situation, specific strategies are needed, and that these activities are accomplished in co-operation and through joint effort of both participants in the interaction, which supports the findings in the second article: *Second language interaction for business and learning*.

The next three chapters contain the three articles in the order they were written.

# Chapter 3.0

# The first article: *Language Learning activities in real-life situations: Insisting on TCU Completion in Second Language Talk*[2].

## 1.0 Introduction

The study reported here is part of a project which investigates second language learners' conversations outside of the classroom. The second language speakers' participation in different activities in the second language community may be relevant for their success as language learners. It is, however, unclear in what ways and to what degree second language speakers deploy activities in mundane talk that orient towards linguistic norms, forms and correctness. Do they use specific practices or do they just participate on joint terms with all the other speakers and – as Firth & Wagner (2007) argue - language learning comes out of participation in second language interaction? More knowledge about learners' activities outside of the classroom is relevant for language teaching as well as for a better understanding of language learning practices, and beneficial to the development of language learning/teaching material. This study intends to contribute to language teachers'

awareness of language-related activities in which their students might engage outside of the classroom.

This study participates in a new research direction, CA for SLA, which is described in Firth & Wagner (2007) as the study of second language use in its interactional detail in order to investigate second language acquisition/learning (SLA).

This paper looks specifically at a practice where the second language speaker fights for the floor and insists on completing a TCU, while intervening talk by another speaker has made it clear that he or she has already been understood. This is shown in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 1

```
01    AN:  þ↑ú vinnur (0.4)
           y↑ou work
           you work
02    MA:  ég er (.[hh)]
           I am
03    AN:            [Á] fiskibát. bátur
                     [ON] a-fishing-boat. boat
                     on a fishing boat boat
```

In line 2, the co-participant enters the SL-speaker's ongoing turn. As will be shown in section 4.1, line 2 is a correction of Anna's candidate formulation in line 1 - but Anna ignores the correction. She competes by overlap and increased volume for the floor, and finishes in line 3 the TCU she had begun in line 1.

I will refer to this practice as 'Insisting on TCU completion', analyze it in its interactional detail (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), and discuss it with regard to language orientation.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes the database used in this study. Section 3 presents an example of 'Insisting on TCU completion' in SL-talk. This example will be analyzed in detail in order to describe what precisely is involved in this practice in terms of turn organization (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). It will be shown that this practice is embedded in environments where the SL-speaker orients to features of language form. The fourth section discusses more examples displaying some variations from the first one. These will be analyzed and matched against the first one. In section 5, I will discuss the interactional significance of this practice with respect to a preference for progressivity (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Finally, section 6, contains the concluding remarks.

## 2.0 The Data

In order to study learners' activities outside of the classroom, a few foreign students at the University of Iceland have been asked to make audio recordings of their daily life interactions on a regular basis. This method was first described by Brouwer & Nissen (2003). The data used in this study are taped by Anna, a Canadian student. She is a beginner of Icelandic who came to Iceland in the fall of 2005. Anna started recording herself after having been in Iceland for a month. When listening to her recordings, it turned out that she recorded both service encounters, in stores, offices, banks etc. and also private talk, such as dinner table conversation, talk during driving in a car etc. Anna taped approximately half an hour of interaction a week for 3 years[3] in her daily life. The corpus of her audio recordings comprises 53 hours of talk. This study uses transcribed data from the first 5 months (approx. 7 hrs.).

The analysis of these conversations would have been easier if Anna had taped herself on video. But since I am trying to get access to the unprepared authentic conversations that happen in real life, video recording might have been counterproductive: the use of video would require setting up video cameras and adjusting them to capture both participants in the conversation, which might easily have distorted the interaction.

## 3.0 Insisting on completing one's TCU. A prototypical case

### 3.1. The sequential organization

In the next excerpt we see an example where a SL-speaker insists on finishing her TCU (lines 2-9). This is part and parcel of a rather intensive orientation to language form in the talk.

When this conversation takes place, Anna has been in Iceland for two months. She is at a public office to pick up her monthly check (her grant). Prior to the excerpt, Anna had asked for the person (by name) in charge of the grant and was informed that this person was available. Anna might now have asked whether she can see her, but instead she raises the issue of the check and claims that this person sometimes leaves a check in a certain place at the front desk (cf. lines 2-9). This shift from asking for a person to referring to the check might indicate that Anna's business is not the person herself, but the grant. In that light Anna's asking for the person in charge of the grant

seems to be an attempt to indicate her business, rather than wanting to see the person. In other words, the clerk at the front desk has been given a clue to what Anna is doing there[4], and may be expected to pick up on it. The pause in line 1 may be indicative of Anna waiting for the clerk to act. When no such action is forthcoming, indicating that the clerk has not understood her, Anna makes another attempt to make herself understood:

Excerpt 2a: Grant

```
01          (0.9)
02    AN:   uh:uh:m:: (.ts) (0.4) °uh° uh::: (0.2) uh
03          s (0.2) t uh:: stund↑um: .hh (0.3) h↑ún:
                          sometim↑es:          sh↑e:
            sometimes she

04          (0.9) uh::: (0.9) leggja::: (.) affí- (0.2)
                              put:::        che-
             put che

05           ávís::::[:sun]
             che::::[:ck]
             check
06    C1:             [Ávís]un (.) já
                      [Che]ck     yes
            check yes
07    AN:   [uh:::::]
08    C1:   [þe-  j ]á ÞÁ ertu að sæ[kja]
            [the- y]es THEN are-you to pi[ck-up]
            The- yes then you are picking up
09    AN:                           [HÉR]na. hérna.
                                        [HER]e. here.
            here here
10    C1:   þá ertu að sækja styrkinn þinn.
            then are-you to pick-up grant-the your.
            Then you are picking up your grant
```

Anna starts her turn with a long stretch of hesitation markers interspersed with pauses (line 2), before uttering *s* and then *t* after a short pause, but she abandons this attempt and produces further hesitation marker. Then she utters *stundum* (sometimes) (line 3), which she possibly has started to produce in the first segments of this line. Following an in-breath and a short pause, Anna refers with *hún* (she) with rising pitch to the person who normally handles the grant. After stalling for nearly 2 seconds, she produces *leggja* (put) stretching the final vowel (line 4). This might indicate trouble in finding the proper next element in her TCU (word search). After a micro pause Anna utters *affí-* and then following a short pause she repairs the pronunciation to *ávís:::::sun* (check) (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 64). The stretched *s* in *ávís:::::sun* can be heard as an indication that Anna still has trouble

with the word: she has abandoned and then repaired an earlier version of the word. The initial trouble may have been in the pronunciation, since that is what she repaired. The stretching of the *s*, however, may have something to do with the form of the word, more specifically the part of the word still to come. During the stretching of the *s* and the possible search for the form of the word, the clerk overlaps Anna, treating what she does as a possible search for the form of the word, offering the correct form of the word *ávísun* (check) that Anna actually comes up with by herself in the overlap.

At the start of the turn, Anna has been at pains to keep her turn with hesitation markers and pauses without actually starting it. When she has managed to produce: *Stundum hún leggja ávís:::* (sometimes she put che:::) (lines 2-5), the clerk takes the turn. Anna's TCU is not finished, she has not yet arrived at a transition relevance place (TRP) (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) but it is quite clear what she is going to say. She has arrived at a recognition point; i.e. the point of a TCU where its trajectory is understood although it has not been completed. At precisely this point, the clerk responds to the possible word search, (ávísun), which is a repaired version of the trouble word, and confirms (já), and possibly closes the topic of the trouble word[5]. Now both speakers move on. Anna produces a hesitation marker in overlap indicating that she is keeping her turn (line 7), and the clerk starts with *þe-* (line 8), which he abandons. Then he produces a second *já* (yes), and restarts his turn. The raised volume of the word *ÞÁ* (THEN) can be heard as the clerk claiming his turn. The clerk's: *ÞÁ ertu að sækja* (THEN you are picking up) (line 8) provides a candidate understanding of Anna's action. In terms of intersubjectivity, Anna's turn has been understood before the TCU has been finished completely. In Jefferson's words "a recipient/next speaker seems to be orienting, not so much to completeness as to adequacy" (1984, p. 2). The clerk's action is designed to move the interaction forward: his action of formulating Anna's business is the next relevant action following her talk and would, if accepted by Anna, discontinue her troubled turn, and speed up the interaction.

During the delivery of the word *sækja* (pick up), Anna overlaps the clerk's talk with the projected final element of the TCU she started in line 2: *hérna* (here). The raised volume of *HÉRna* (HERe) suggests that Anna is insisting on completing her TCU, and thereby treating the clerk's contribution as an interruption. Once out of the overlap, Anna repeats the word *hérna* (here) in normal volume. The clerk abandons his talk and lets Anna finish. At this point in the conversation Anna has finished her

TCU: *stundum hún leggja ávísun hérna* (sometimes she put check here), but the final element in the clerk's TCU: *þá ertu að sækja* (then you are picking up) is still pending. In line 10, the clerk restarts for the third time, and finally manages to finish his TCU: *þá ertu að sækja styrkinn þinn* (then you are picking up your grant).

In this segment, Anna in line 9 is not responding to the preceding talk by the clerk and the clerk in line 10 is not responding to Anna's intervening talk. Both ignore the other speaker's talk and proceed with their own.

Interestingly, Anna never states her business: *I am here to pick up a check for my grant* in the conversation. Instead, what she has uttered can be seen as clues as to the nature of her business: she names the person in charge of the grant, and then she claims that this person sometimes leaves a check at the front desk. Furthermore, her hesitant and troubled turn may be indicative for her identity as a foreign student coming for her grant. The format of Anna's talk can be seen as inviting the clerk to formulate what her business is, and that is exactly what the clerk does. He is able to infer her business and to formulate it: *þá ertu að sækja styrkinn þinn* (then you are picking up your grant) (line 10).

The clerk starts his utterance with the word *þá* (then) often seen in *if-then* formulations (Jefferson, 1986), but there is no *if*-part. The linguistic materials Anna has delivered together with the context of the talk may be seen as clues for the clerk to infer her business. This is indicated by the clerk's *then*, which treats Anna's talk as the *if*-part.

To conclude my observations thus far: in the excerpt, Anna managed to utter a complete phrase in Icelandic: *Stundum hún leggja ávísun hérna* (sometimes she put check here). She put great effort into producing every little detail of her TCU including the final part: *hérna* (here) that seems somewhat unnecessary for the ongoing interaction, since the clerk had already displayed an understanding of her business. Anna, when pursuing her turn, indicates that she not only is picking up the check, but orients as well to the features of the language.

Anna's TCU (seen in lines 2-9) is obviously a struggle for her; there is hesitation, several pauses, a search for a form of a word, and the pace is very slow. But it seems as well a struggle with her co-participant for the right to talk. Anna's hesitation marker in line 7 is in overlap with the beginning of the clerk's further talk and later Anna is overlapping the clerk's talk with the projected final element of her TCU.

In excerpt 2a we saw a pattern, 'Insisting on TCU completion', that can be described

as follows:

(1) Anna produces a slow and hesitant turn.

(2) When the other participant recognizes what Anna is doing, but not at a TRP, he starts to speak. He enters her turn by assisting her and then keeps the turn. His actions are designed to move the interaction forward.

(3) Anna overlaps the incoming speaker, ignores his contribution and insists on completing the TCU herself.

In terms of action, Anna has produced an action, which her co-participant recognized early. Still she has managed to complete her TCU. The research by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) shows that a speaker has a right to utter one TCU and Anna has now exercised that right.

In more general terms, we can see that Anna is very persistent in speaking Icelandic in a situation where the communication has real-life consequences; she is picking up the check to support herself for the next month. Even when lacking necessary vocabulary (i.e. the Icelandic word for *grant*), Anna sticks to speaking Icelandic, using the linguistic resources available to her to complete the TCU successfully. Anna is a native speaker of English and could have switched to English at any time during the interaction, which would have enabled her to complete her business quickly and safely. The Icelandic clerk would not have had any understanding problem with the language shift[6]. Furthermore, when faced with candidate understanding of her business she ignores it in order to complete her TCU. That is not necessary for the business since intersubjectivity had already been established. Obviously, she is doing more than picking up her check, she is also orienting to the language.

## 3.2 Attending to some linguistic materials extracted from the preceding topical interaction

In the talk after excerpt 2a we see the participants attending to the language, more specifically to some linguistic materials used in lines 2-10 (excerpt 2a). I will discuss the talk following excerpt 2a to demonstrate that Anna's insisting on TCU completion feeds into a longer interaction about features of language.

It turns out that Anna does not know the word *styrkinn* (grant) used by the clerk in line 10, which is a keyword in her business. This may explain her troubled turn

beginning (cf. lines 2-4): lacking the word for *grant*, she was unable to state her business in the simplest way: *I'm here for my grant*.

Excerpt 2b: Grant

```
10    C1:  þá ertu að sækja styrkinn þinn.
           then are-you to pick-up grant-the your.
           Then you are picking up your grant
11         (0.4)
12    AN:  uh:
13    C1:  (það) heitir styrkur.
           (it) is-named a-grant.
           It is called a grant.
14    AN:  styrkur [uh] hvað (0.5)
           grant        what
           Grant what
15    C1:           [já]
                    [yes]
           yes
16    C1:  það er [það er s-]
           it is  [it is g-]
           It is it is a g-
17    AN:  >what does that mean<
18        (0.3)
19    AN:  (.hn)
20    C2:  >scholarship<
21         (0.3)
```

Anna is expected to act on the clerk's candidate formulation of her business (seen in line 10), but instead she hesitates, indicating trouble, which the clerk in line 13 apparently analyzes as a problem with this word. The clerk takes the word out of the context and introduces its unmarked form (nominative singular): *það heitir styrkur* (it is called a grant). The clerk confirms Anna's repeat (lines 14-15), but there is further trouble: in line 14 Anna starts a question with *hvað* (what). The clerk makes two attempts at responding to Anna's unfinished question (line 16): *það er- það er s-* (it is- it is g-*)*. In line 17 we see what the problem is: Anna doesn't understand the meaning of the word: she switches to English overlapping the clerk's response and asks for the meaning. The English translation comes from another clerk: *scholarship* (line 20).

Excerpt 2c: Grant

```
22    AN:  Aah JÁ JÁ styr- uh:uh s[:]
              YES YES gran-      g[:]
           Yes yes gran
23    C1:                          [s]tyrkur
                                   [g]rant
           Grant
24    AN:  styrkur
           grant
25    C1:  já
           yes
26    AN:  já já
           yes yes
27         (0.4)
28    C1:  do you have I dee.
29    AN:  jáh
           yesh
           yes
30    C1:  skírteini.
           id.
           ID
31         (0.5)
32    AN:  °skírteini já°
           °id yes°
            ID yes
33         (0.2)
```

Anna confirms and makes two rather hesitant attempts to say the word *styrkur* (grant) (line 22). The clerk overlaps her assisting with the word, which Anna then repeats (lines 23-24). After confirmation from both participants, the clerk returns to the institutional business of delivering the check to Anna, and asks her in English whether she has her ID (line 28). This request for Anna's ID is formulated as a yes/no question. Anna is now expected to show her ID. Instead, she responds with *já* (yes), which can be a preface to her presenting her ID; she may have to look for it, and the *já* (yes) may serve as preannouncement of the presentation of the ID. Interestingly, Anna responds in Icelandic to the clerk's question, which is in English. This may be significant, not to the business at hand, but to the choice of language in which this business is conducted: Anna's response may be seen as an other initiation of repair: they have been speaking Icelandic during most of the conversation, and Anna has made her identity as a language learner relevant. The clerk may thus be seen abandoning the 'activity' of speaking Icelandic when he asks for her ID in English. This being the case the next relevant action, following Anna's initiation of repair, is for the clerk to return to speaking Icelandic, which is precisely what he does in line 30 when offering the Icelandic word for ID: *skírteini*, as an other initiated self repair of line 28. Further support for this analysis comes from Anna's uptake of the word (line

32), which shows her continuing to orient to the language.
These findings are in agreement with Kurhila's (2004, p. 67) report that in institutional interaction between native speakers and non-native speakers in Finnish the native speakers may focus on institutional aspects while the non-native speakers attend to the language.

Excerpt 2d: Grant

```
34    AN:  .h (0.8) uh is that the right word uh m .hh
35         orð (.h)(0.2) e:r (0.3) ávísun
           word          i:s       check
           word is check
36    C1:  ávísun já
           check yes
37         (0.4) (.h)
38    AN:  ávísun (.h) uh:[m:   ]
           check
39    C1:                 [that's a]check
40    AN:  já (.h)
           yes (.h)
           yes
41    C1:  °(já)°
           °(yes)°
           yes
```

In lines 34-35 Anna struggles to ask in Icelandic and English whether *ávísun* (check) is the right word. The clerk confirms (line 36) with a repeat of the target word. Anna's question regarding the usage of the word *ávísun* goes back to lines 4-6 (excerpt 2a) where both participants attended to the pronunciation, as well as to the form of the word. Apparently there were still problems regarding the word (when the clerk possibly closed the topic in excerpt 2a, line 6, cf. endnote 4), as Anna's hesitation marker in line 7 (excerpt 2a) indicates. Anna can thus be seen reopening the topic of attending to the word *ávísun* in lines 34-38. In line 36 the clerk confirms the appropriate usage by repeating the word followed by *yes* token, which can possibly function as a closing of the sequence regarding this word (cf. endnote 4). Anna, however, still has problems with this word as can be seen in line 38. The clerk analyzes Anna's problem having to do with the meaning of the word and explains it in English (line 39). Confirmations from both participants in lines 40-41 indicate that this problem now is solved.

Excerpt 2e: Grant

```
42    AN:  uh: (0.2)
43    C1:  scholarship that's a styrkur
                                grant
44         (1.1)
45    C1:  styrkur
           grant
46    AN:  Styrkur
           grant
47    C1:  °(já)°
           °(yes)°
           yes
48         (0.2)
49    AN:  ávísun (0.2) fyrir styrkur?
           a-check      for a-grant?
           A check for a grant
50    C1:  já
           yes
51    AN:  já (.h)
           yes
           yes
```

Excerpt 2e, is the final stage in a series of operations on formal aspects of language: the participants have worked on aspects of pronunciation, grammatical form, appropriate usage, and finally the formulation of a 'sentence' containing both words (line 49). This final stage relates to the beginning of the interaction: now Anna has managed, with help from the clerk, to get the necessary linguistic information to form the 'sentence' she has been searching for to conduct her business in the simplest way. In this section Anna and the clerk engage extensively in orienting towards language form. This comes out of the business both speakers are conducting and is a part of that business. Anna succeeds in gathering the necessary linguistic information to be able to formulate her business in a simple way (line 49)[7], after having taken care of that business without these resources (lines 2-9, excerpt 2a). When scanning over this conversation it is remarkable to see how focused and determined Anna is in reaching her goal, with regards to her business as well as the language.

### 3.2.1 The sequential organization of the language orienting activities

The activities we have seen in the talk appear to have a certain sequential organization. An example of this sequence is in lines 22-26 (excerpt 2c): In line 22 Anna tries to utter the word *styrkur* (grant) that both participants have been working on: in her first attempt she manages to utter *styr-* before cutting herself off. Then she utters hesitation markers before trying to say the word again. This is a clear indication

of trouble to which the clerk responds with: *styrkur* (line 23). The third action in the sequence is the response by Anna who repeats the target word in line 24. Finally both participants confirm with *já* (lines 25 and 26).

In several instances it is Anna who initiates these activities[8] by posing questions regarding the language (cf. lines 14, 17 (excerpt 2b), line 34 (excerpt 2d), line 49 (excerpt 2e)), or indicating trouble as we saw in the example above (cf. line 12 (excerpt 2b), line 38 (excerpt 2d), line 42 (excerpt 2e)). In this way she appears as a language learner. The clerk participates as a reluctant language expert. He does not initiate linguistic assistance and his participation is limited to responding to Anna's trouble indications. Furthermore, his responses are minimal: he offers the information asked for but nothing more. This we saw in the example described for lines 22-26 (excerpt 2c): the clerk offers the word *styrkur* but nothing else when responding to Anna's trouble (lines 22-23 (excerpt 2c))[9].

Summing this up in terms of SL- and FL-speakers we can say that in cases like the one analyzed here the SL-speaker is responsible for the orientation towards language forms, while the FL-speaker responds. The first two contributions in these sequences are a prompt by the SL-speaker and a minimal response from the FL-speaker. The third part is an uptake/reaction from the SL-speaker.

In lines 43-47 (excerpt 2e), we can see that an uptake/response from the SL-speaker is expected when such a response is missing: The clerk (line 43) responds to Anna's indication of trouble (line 42) by offering the translation /meaning of the word *styrkur*: *scholarship that's a styrkur*. The next relevant action is for Anna to respond and the pause of one second in line 44 may be the clerk waiting for her response. When no action is forthcoming the clerk repeats the word *styrkur*, which is then repeated by Anna (lines 45-46). Finally, the clerk confirms: *já*.

The sequential organization of the language orienting activities seen in the excerpt can thus be described as follows:

(1) Prompt by the SL-speaker
(2) Response (minimal) from the FL-speaker
(3) Uptake/response from the SL-speaker
(4) Confirmation from the FL-speaker (and the SL-speaker)

In the target practice and in the talk following it, we see the participants attending to the language rather intensely. They locally negotiate the identities of a language

learner and a language expert, and focus on some linguistic aspects of the talk in the preceding business interaction. These activities are initiated and driven by Anna (the language learner), while the participation of the clerk (the language expert) is limited to responding minimally to signs of trouble, or questions on the language.
In the next section we will look at some more examples in which Anna insists on finishing her TCU.

## 4.0 Further cases

The basis for this paper is a collection of 15 instances in which the SL-speaker insists on completing her TCU similar to the one in excerpt 2. In this section I will look at two more instances of this practice. Excerpts 3-4 are not deviant cases, but they vary from excerpt 2, esp. with regard to the incoming speakers' actions and may contribute to a more general description and a better understanding of the practice. We will also see how the practice of insisting on TCU completion is embedded in activities which orient to language forms.

## 4.1. Fishing boat

At the time of this conversation Anna has been in Iceland for two months. She is talking to a new acquaintance, a man who offered to drive her to a distant post office to pick up a parcel. In the part of the conversation seen in lines 1-19 (excerpt 3a) they are walking to his car, and in the part seen in lines 24-49 (excerpts 3b and 3c) they are in the man's car[10]. The conversation revolves around the man's occupation.
The target practice can be observed in lines 40-42 (excerpt 3c) when the next speaker delivers a correction to Anna's candidate formulation. Anna ignores him and insists on completing her own TCU. Before I proceed any further on the target lines, I want to discuss the preceding talk to show how the target activity is embedded in some interesting language-oriented activities.

### 4.1.1 Language orientation embedded in the topical interaction

Prior to excerpt 3a the man and Anna discussed her occupation, and in line 1 she asks the man about his work.

Excerpt 3a: Fishing boat

```
01    AN:  UH::M: (0.3) en þú↑ hva- uh hvað gerir þú?
                        but you↑ wha-   what do you?
           What about you wha- what do you do
02    MA:  ég uh uhuh (0.7) ég er ↑útgerðarm↓aður
           I                 I am a-f↑ishing-boat-↓owner
           I I am a fishing boat owner
03          (0.3)
04    MA:  ég á sv↑ona b↑áta
           I own k↑ind-of b↑oats
           I own kind of boats
           ((car sound))
05          (0.4)
06    ?:   (þessi hérna)
           (this-one here)
            This one here
07          (0.9)
08    AN:  ↑AH t- t↓[ú:]
                  y- y↓[ou:]
           y- you
09    MA:           [fi-] fiskibáta.
                    [fi-] fishing-boats.
           Fi fishing boats.
10          (0.4)
11    AN:  F↑ISK↓IB↑ÁT↑A
           F↑ISH↓ING-B↑OAT↑S
           Fishing boats
12    MA:  (h)já (h) ha ha [ha]
              yes
13    AN:                  [J↑Á]
                           [Y↑ES]
           Yes
14          (0.5)
15    AN:  UH:[:uh        ]
16    MA:     [fishing-boa]ts
17          (0.9)
18    MA:  fishing-boat (.) fiski>bát↓ur<=
           fishing-boat     fishing>boa↓t
           Fishing boat fishing boat.

19          =I am on this one.
```

In his response to Anna's hesitantly formulated question, the man starts his TCU with *ég* (I) and then stops talking. Hesitation markers and a rather long pause indicate possible trouble with the upcoming item. After the pause, the man resumes his TCU and finishes it: *ég er útgerðarmaður* (I am a fishing boat owner). The man's turn beginning is surprisingly troubled given that the information asked for (what do you do for a living?[11]) is straightforward and should be readily available. The possible trouble might be that the man – having heard Anna's hesitant speech - does not expect her to know the word *útgerðarmaður*.

No response from Anna is forthcoming and after a pause of half a second, the man goes on to explain what is involved in being a *útgerðarmaður* (a fishing boat owner):

*ég á svona báta* (I own kind of boats).

In line 8[12] Anna utters *Ah t- tú*, which is possibly a version of *þú* (you) but is interrupted by *fi- fiskibáta* (fi- fishing boats), which can be heard as a specification of an item (boats) in line 4 and re-establishes the interrupted topic. Anna's repeat of the word is try-marked with rising pitch and she receives a confirming response from her co-participant (line 12). However, the man seems not to be convinced that Anna has understood him and offers the English translation: *fishing boats* (line 16), indicating that he analyzed Anna's trouble (line 15) having to do with understanding the word *fiskibáta* (fishing boats). When Anna is not responding he repeats it after a pause of almost a second (line 18). Then he goes back to the Icelandic word *fiskibátur* (fishing boat) now as an unmarked, nominative singular, form of the word, different from the accusative plural form he had started off with (cf. line 9).

Let us shortly summarize the operations that have been done on the word *fiskibáta* (fishing boats) which has now changed into *fiskibátur* (fishing boat). The FL- speaker has

- isolated the word from its grammatical environment, and
- presented it in an unmarked form.
- Through the intervening talk the item has been put apart from the preceding talk (Brouwer, 2004), and
- is offered as a lexical form to Anna.

These operations move the interaction from topical talk (what do you do for a living?) to talk about language forms.

Excerpt 3b: Fishing boat

```
24          (7.3) ((car engine sound, traffic,
             slamming sound))
25     MA:   .h (slamming sound) I run this (2.5)
             ((sound of paper flipping)) can show you
             a picture of my boat. I thin(k)(3.5)
             ((sound of  paper wrappings)) no.
26           (3.9)
27     MA:   (I) own this boat. .hh he he he [he    ]
28     AN:                                  [°a:ah°]
29           (0.4)
30     MA:   yes
31          (1.3) ((sound of keys))
32     AN:   <fi[s]kib↑átur>=
             <fi[s]hing-b↑oat>
             Fishing boat
33     MA:     [( )]
34     MA:   =fiskibátur
```

```
           =fishing-boat
           Fishing boat
35    AN:  >fiskibátu[r]<
           >fishing-boa[t]<
           Fishing boat
36    MA:            [fi]shing-boat
37         (0.2)
38    AN:  °fiskibátur°=
           °fishing-boat°=
           Fishing boat
39    MA:  =fiskibátur
           =fishing-boat
           Fishing boat
```

After having switched to English, the man searches for a picture of his boat, and shows it to Anna with the words: *I own this boat* (line 27). Anna recognizes it with the word: *fiskibátur* (fishing boat) (line 32). This looks very much like a traditional language learning activity: see the picture, say the word. Here she is orienting to two activities: naming the item in the photo as well as attending to the language: her slow delivery of the word shows her attending to its precise pronunciation. In lines (32-39) both participants engage in practicing the placement of the stress in the word: this activity is a side sequence here while other matters are put on 'hold' as described by Brouwer (2004). As we will see in excerpt 3c, line 40, Anna abandons this activity of attending to the pronunciation and moves on to do other things.

So far we have seen the participants trying to reach intersubjectivity regarding the man's work and his relationship to the fishing boat. But, at the same time they attend to linguistic matters, i.e. the pronunciation of the word *fiskibátur*, its morphology, meaning, and syntax. These activities are intertwined parts of the interaction.

### 4.1.2 Insisting on TCU completion

Excerpt 3c: Fishing boat

```
40    AN:  þ↑ú vinnur (0.4)
           y↑ou work
           you work
41    MA:  ég er (.[hh)]
           I am
           I am
42    AN:            [Á] fiskibát. b[átur]
                     [ON] a-fishing-boat. b[oat]
                     on a fishing boat boat
43    MA:                          [NEI]
                                          [NO]
             No
```

```
44          ég er útgerðarmaður.
            I am a-fishing-boat-owner.
            I am a fishing boat owner.

45          útgerðarmaður,
            a-fishing-boat-owner,
            A fishing boat owner

46          (0.5) is the guy that's works (0.6)
47          in u:h on land.
```

In the context of the extensive 'work' on the word *fiskibátur* (fishing boat) Anna's utterance in line 40: *þú vinnur* (you work) can be heard as her candidate formulation of the man's relationship to the fishing boat, which is that he works on a fishing boat, and thus making this a possible recognition point in her TCU for the co-participant. Anna apparently did not understand the man's explanation of his work (cf. excerpt 3a, line 2) and can thus be seen making a second attempt at finding out what he does for a living and/or his relationship to the fishing boat.

The man moves into her ongoing TCU uttering: *ég er* (I am) (line 41), and thereby shows an understanding of Anna's unfinished turn (seen in line 40). He corrects Anna's still incomplete TCU *þú vinnur* (you work) with: *ég er* (I am), which can be seen as the beginning of the man's explanation of his relationship to the fishing boat. In line 42, Anna ignores the man's intervening talk with the utterance: *Á fiskibát bátur* (ON a fishing boat boat). The raised volume of *Á* (ON) indicates that she is actually competing for the floor. Anna's insisting on finishing her TCU allows her to utter a complete phrase in Icelandic: *þú vinnur á fiskibát* (you work on a fishing boat). If Anna had let the man finish, her ongoing TCU would have been discontinued: the part of her TCU seen in line 42, *á fiskibát* (on a fishing boat), would have been irrelevant. In Anna's self repair (line 42) we see yet another instance of orientation to the language: Anna is attending to the grammatical form of the word with her repair: *bát* to *bátur* (accusative to nominative). Interestingly, with her repair, she produces the form presented by the man earlier in the conversation (cf. excerpt 3a, line 18): she is now using the (form of the) word they have been attending to, in a complete TCU/'sentence'[13].

In line 43 the man utters *NEI* (NO) with raised volume as a response to Anna's statement: *þú vinnur á fiskibát* (you work on a fishing boat*)* (lines 40 and 42). Then - in normal volume - he explains his relationship to the fishing boat: *ég er útgerðarmaður* (I am a fishing boat owner). This can be seen as restart of the utterance: *ég er* (I am) in line 41, which supports the claim that the *ég er* (I am) in line

41, was in fact a beginning of a man's explanation of his relationship to the fishing boat: Anna's candidate understanding of the relationship of the man and the fishing boat and/or his work, expressed with the utterance: *þú vinnur á fiskibát* (you work on a fishing boat), was incorrect, as the man's negative response (line 43) shows, but the question of his relationship to the fishing boat still remains (given that his earlier attempts to explain it (cf. excerpt 3a, lines 2-4, excerpt 3b, line 27) were unsuccessful). This is what the man explains with his utterance: *ég er útgerðarmaður* (I am a fishing boat owner). Then he repeats *útgerðarmaður* (a fishing boat owner), and after a pause of half a second switches to English and explains what it is that a fishing boat owner does: *útgerðarmaður* (a fishing boat owner) *is the guy that works on land*. It is worth noting that when the man explained this word previously (cf. excerpt 3a, line 2) he did it in Icelandic whereas now he does his explaining in English indicating that his focus has shifted from the language to the topic of the talk, his work.

Throughout the conversation we saw the participants work on reaching mutual understanding regarding the man's occupation: the man made several attempts to explain and Anna to understand. At the same time they engaged in another activity: intense orientation to the language, where the man and Anna adopted the roles of a language expert and a language learner respectively. Their dedication to this task and the effort they make is quite striking.

In lines 40-42 (excerpt 3c) we see an example of 'Insisting on TCU completion': Anna's utterance *þú vinnur* (you work) is in the context of this extensive orientation to the word *fiskibátur* preceding her utterance (excerpt 3b, lines 32-39), understood as: *þú vinnur á fiskibát* (you work on a fishing boat) making that a recognition point for her co-participant in her unfinished TCU. The man displays an understanding of her unfinished turn (where she is heading) when he, entering her ongoing turn, delivers a correction to her candidate formulation: *ég er* (I am) instead of *ég vinn* (I work). Anna, however, ignores his talk and insists on completing her TCU. In terms of the Turn–taking system she exercises her right to deliver one TCU and with her action she manages to keep her speakership. Her action, from the perspective of language orientation, allows her to deliver a whole phrase in the second language using the word, *fiskibátur*, that she and her co-participant have been 'working' on. Comparing 'Insisting on TCU completion' in excerpts 2a and 3c we see the incoming

speakers in both cases responding to potential trouble in Anna's unfinished TCU. Their actions, however, are different: In excerpt 2, the clerk attends to trouble (with the word *ávísun* (check)) in Anna's TCU. He delivers the correct form of the word *ávísun* and then attempts to take over the turn. In excerpt 3, we can see in the incoming speaker's action that the trouble he sees in Anna's TCU has to do with her understanding of the previous talk, more precisely the relationship of the man and the fishing boat (cf. lines 2-4 (excerpt 3a), line 27 (excerpt 3b)). He delivers a correction to her TCU, and then he appears to be attempting to take over her turn, but only manages to deliver the first part of his TCU, before Anna cuts him off. In both cases the next speakers' attempts to take over Anna's turn are defeated by her insisting on finishing her TCU.

## 4.2. Post office

In the next excerpt Anna is in a post office to pick up a parcel, but it turns out it has been sent to another post office in town by mistake. Prior to excerpt 4, the clerk and Anna have been discussing how Anna can obtain her parcel. Anna asked the clerk if the postal service could deliver the parcel to her home. The clerk informed her that they couldn't. In the excerpt they are working on a solution: Anna suggests that she come back later to pick it up.

Excerpt 4: Post office

```
01    AN:  uh:m: (1.7) uh::: (4.7) ég get: (.)
                                   I can:
           I can

02         (.ts::) (1.0) uh:uh: (3.6) kom: (0.3)
                                      com:
           com
03    Cl:  komið af[tur hérna] já:
           come ba[ck here] ye:s
           Come back here yes
04    AN:          [herna]
                   [here]
                    here

05         uh::: (0.7) á morgun,
                       tomorrow,
           tomorrow
```

In excerpt 4, Anna utters hesitation markers and makes long pauses before starting her actual TCU as can be seen in line 1. This turn beginning is even more troubled than

the one we saw in excerpt 2a: the pauses are extra long, and there is excessive hesitation. Following this troubled turn beginning, Anna utters *ég get* (I can) and after stalling for nearly 5 seconds she utters: *kom:* (com:). The stretching at the end the word *kom:* (com:) can be seen as Anna having trouble finishing the word (similar to what we saw in the word *ávísun* (check) in excerpt 2a). Now she has uttered (simplified): *ég get kom* (I can com). Anna is not at a transition relevance place (TRP), but what she has said together with the context of picking up the parcel makes it clear that she is going to say that she can come back to the post office to pick up the parcel.

In line 3 we see the clerk move into Anna's ongoing TCU repairing the form of the verb *kom* (com) to *komið* (come), and offering a candidate completion to Anna's TCU with his utterance: *komið aftur hérna* (come back here). Interestingly, this is the same pattern as in excerpt 2a: The co-participant enters the ongoing TCU to assist with a word, and then takes over. The clerk's repair of the verb is embedded as a part of the candidate completion, and thus designed not to be attended to (Brouwer, Rasmussen, & Wagner, 2004; Jefferson, 1987).

In line 4 we can see Anna overlapping the clerk, ignoring his repair of the word *kom* (com) as well as the candidate completion. She insists on finishing the TCU herself (line 4) with the utterance of the word *hérna* (here).[14] Her TCU is now possibly finished, syntactically and pragmatically.

The next speaker's action seen in line 3 has some characteristics of collaborative completion, namely that the incoming speaker finishes the first speaker's turn. One of the main features of collaborative completion (Lerner, 2004) is its collaborative nature: the 'owner' of the turn responds to the co-participant's completion, either accepts or rejects it. In the example presented here (excerpt 4), however, Anna does not respond to the co-participant's completion of her TCU, she simply ignores it, and insists on finishing the TCU herself.

Lerner (1989; 2004) reports a procedure in FL-talk, Delayed Completion, which among other things is an alternative to the acceptance or rejection in collaborative completion, where the initiator of the turn can delay his turn completion in the case of an intervening speaker. This procedure has a similar sequential structure as 'Insisting on TCU completion', i.e. an incoming speaker starts to speak in the midst of a current speaker's turn and sometimes delivers a candidate completion. In SL-talk, however, there is an obvious language imbalance between the participants: The SL-speaker

does not 'delay' the turn completion, the apparent 'delays' come out of her slow and hesitant delivery of the language. Furthermore, we see the SL-speaker actually struggle with her co-participant in order to finish her turn.
In line 5 we can see Anna adding *á morgun* (tomorrow) after uttering hesitation markers and making a (0.7) sec pause. Instances of this type have been described by Schegloff (1996) as an add-on "which grammatically complements what had otherwise appeared to be possibly complete" (p. 91). When having produced *á morgun*, Anna has succeeded in delivering the phrase: *ég get kom hérna á morgun* (I can com here tomorrow).

In excerpts 2-4, we saw Anna's hesitant turns. Even though her TCU is not complete with respect to syntax and prosody, it is possible for the co-participant to understand where she is heading at some point in the utterance before transition relevance has been achieved. The linguistic material she has produced combined with the context of the talk makes this early understanding possible. The next speaker moves into her ongoing turn attending to trouble in her talk. He offers a candidate completion of her TCU (excerpt 4), or corrects her as we saw him do in excerpt 3e. The co-participant enters her turn assisting with a form of a word (excerpts 2a and 4) or helping with trouble in understanding (excerpt 3e) and then takes the turn. The incoming speakers' actions even if they are diverse, could have the same effect on Anna's turn, i.e. discontinue it, as well as move the interaction forward. Anna ignores their talk and finishes her TCU, indicating that their help is unwanted.

## 5.0 The potential implication of some features of 'Insisting on TCU completion' for progressivity in second language interaction

In this section I will sum up the main characteristics of the target practice of this study, make some structural observations, and discuss it with respect to the more general question of forward movement in interaction.

### 5.1 A summary of the main features of 'Insisting on TCU completion'

In 'Insisting on TCU completion' the FL-speaker enters the SL-speaker's hesitantly produced TCU at a point where he understands where she (the SL-speaker) is heading. His actions, i.e. a candidate formulation of the SL-speaker's business (cf.

excerpt 2a), a correction in excerpt 3e, and a candidate completion (cf. excerpt 4), make it clear that intersubjectivity has been established even if the SL-speaker has not yet completed her TCU, and therefore not reached a TRP. The linguistic materials that the SL-speaker has delivered together with the context of the talk make this early understanding possible. The FL-speakers' actions are designed to end the SL-speaker's TCU and move the interaction forward. The most interesting feature of this practice is the SL-speaker's reaction: She actively ignores the incoming speaker and insists on finishing her TCU. With her action she exercises her right to utter the TCU, which at the same time allows her to deliver a whole construction in the second language. Her actions are clearly not in favor of the topical interaction; rather she attends to the delivery of the linguistics forms. This is especially remarkable in the cases where there are real-life consequences: In the Grant-interaction (cf. excerpt 2) the stake is money to support her for the next month, and in the Post office interaction (excerpt 4) a parcel had been misplaced. She could have completed the business quicker by accepting the incoming speakers' actions, but instead she ignored them and insisted on completing her TCU.

## 5.2 Insisting on finishing one's TCU, and its implication for the progressivity in the interaction

In the preceding section we saw that the next speakers' (FL- speakers') actions in the target SL-practice are designed to move the interaction forward. Stivers and Robinson (2006) refer to this as 'progressivity': i.e. participants in interaction orient towards moving the interaction forward. They argue that there is a preference for progressivity in interaction and they suggest "that a concern for progressivity is not restricted to certain contexts (such as institutional contexts) nor to certain participants" (p. 388). We could therefore expect both of the participants in the interaction (the FL- speaker and the SL-speaker) to orient towards the progressivity of the interaction. In the examples used in this study and presented in this paper, however, we saw that the second language speaker did not show such orientation. In fact, her actions point in the opposite direction: She actively ignores the incoming speakers' attempts to progress the interaction, and insists on finishing her TCU, and thereby shows an orientation to language matters rather than the progressivity of the interaction. This suggests that the preference for progressivity in interaction may be temporarily

suspended in some episodes of SL-talk.

This leads to the conclusion that in SL-conversation the FL-speaker and the SL-speaker may have different interactional goals: The FL-speaker's goals are mainly interactional (topical) while the SL-speaker's goals are linguistic as well as topical. This implies that language matters are omnipresent[15] in second language talk and perhaps even more so in the beginning stages of the acquisition. With that in mind we could say that a difference between FL-talk and SL- beginner's talk is that the former has a topical focus, while the latter has a 'dual nature' where, along with the topic, there is a linguistic focus. Further support for these ideas comes from the intense language orientation we see in excerpt 2: Grant, and excerpt 3: Fishing boat, where both participants in the interaction attend to matters of the language during long stretches of talk, in which the SL-speaker is the driving force. This is not to say that SL-talk is not normal talk (Wagner & Gardner, 2004), but simply to point out one thing that appears to work differently in SL-talk than in FL-talk.

## 6.0 Concluding remarks

This paper set out to study second language interaction in real-life environment, outside of the classroom, with regard to the learning of the second language: can second language speakers be seen to orient to language learning in everyday talk? The short answer to that question is: yes. In fact the orientation to language matters in mundane SL-talk is shown to be quite extensive at times, where the participants adopt the roles of a language learner and an expert.

The main target of this study is the practice 'Insisting on TCU completion': The SL-speaker produces a troubled TCU, the co-participant enters her unfinished TCU offering assistance, and then attempts to take over. The SL-speaker notices – but actively ignores- the intervening speaker and his unrequested help, and insists on completing her turn. Her actions are clearly not in the favor of the business at hand; rather, they allow her to attend to language matters, more precisely to deliver a whole phrase in the second language.

The actions of the incoming speakers' (FL-speakers') are designed to move the interaction forward: they show preference for the progressivity of interaction as described in Stivers and Robinson (2006). The SL-speaker's actions, however, at times may work against this progressivity, and show her focusing on language issues,

rather than participating in moving the interaction forward.

The target practice is shown to be embedded in activities of language orientation: The linguistic materials used in the target practice are the very items focused on in the activities, either after 'Insisting on TCU completion', as in excerpt 2 or before it as in excerpt 3. In excerpt 2: Grant the linguistic materials used in the topical interaction (where the target practice is seen) fueled the following activities of attending to linguistic features. In excerpt 3: Fishing boat, on the other hand, the preceding activities concerning language matters feed into the target practice: the SL-speaker has gathered the linguistic materials in the preceding activities, sufficient to deliver a whole phrase in the SL on the topic, which is seen in the target practice. This is a clear indication that language orientation/learning activities are rooted in interaction, and at the same time a part of it, as other researches have pointed out (Firth & Wagner, 2007; Hall, 2006).

A closer inspection on these 'language oriented' activities reveals their sequential order. It turns out that it is the SL-speaker who initiates these activities. She indicates trouble, or asks questions regarding the language. The FL-speaker's participation, as an expert, is limited: his responses are minimal, and prompted by the SL-speaker. The important point here is that it is the SL-speaker who is the driving force in these activities[16].

One of the interesting points in this study is on the level of the second language speaker's persistence, which is striking. Here –as in Egbert, Niebecker, & Rezzara (2004) –, we see the SL-speaker working hard on language comprehension and production - she perseveres in constructing 'sentences' in the second language, which is obviously quite difficult for her. Despite her patent linguistic limitations, Anna sticks to speaking Icelandic even when switching to English seems (at least to the analyst) to be the obvious way for her to conduct her business (especially when the stakes are high cf. excerpts 2 and 4) quickly and safely.

# Chapter 4.0

# The second article: *Second language interaction for business and learning*

Abstract

The paper's main goal is to identify and analyze opportunities for L2 use and learning in everyday non-pedagogical environment. The object of analysis is a conversation between a L2 speaker (Anna) and a L1 speaking clerk in a service encounter (a bakery). Specifically, I am interested in describing the L2 speaker's orientation to linguistic features of the second language while doing business, the point being to tease out the nature of these activities and their sequential position in the course of the interactional trajectory of the encounter, which concerns the buying and selling of baked goods.

## 1.0 Introduction

Second language (L2) learners, as opposed to foreign language learners, may have opportunities to interact in the L2 in their everyday life outside of the classroom, be it in service encounters or private conversation, which could be beneficial for the learning of the L2. In Wagner's (2004) words: "The real potential for a social approach to language learning lies outside the classroom in the activities of ordinary bilingual social life (…) The noneducational reality is just outside the classroom, the target of the participants is to participate in these activities" (p. 615).

Following Firth & Wagner's (1997) call for a broadening of the SLA database to include non-elicited data, this study is interested in how L2 speakers identify or create opportunities for everyday L2 interaction and more specifically how they take advantage of these opportunities with respect to learning or practicing the L2.
Using the recording of a service encounter (a bakery) between Anna, who is learning Icelandic as a second language, and a clerk who has Icelandic as his first language, this paper investigates different activities in which Anna's identity as a L2 learner is

made relevant in interaction. This investigation shows the unfolding of two trajectories in the course of the interaction, one with a linguistic focus and one with a topical focus. Examining the interaction as an opportunity for interacting and learning, I will discuss the roles of both participants in the interaction with regards to this dual nature of the talk: how they in cooperation manage to successfully complete their business in the target language where the L2 speaker is low level and the interaction may have been beyond her linguistic abilities without the help of the co-participant. We will see a strict division of labor between the participants where the L2 learner initiates focus on linguistic features of the L2. The clerk's obligations are progressing the business transaction, but at the same time he has entered into an agreement with Anna to interact in Icelandic. In order to fulfill both aspects, the clerk deploys a specific strategy in the conversation, as will be shown in the paper.

One of the benefits of analyzing the activities the participants engage in one encounter, rather than the more common CA approach which is based on a collection of examples a single phenomenon from different encounters, is the opportunity to study the dynamics in the interaction: how the activities are structured during the interaction. An examination of the activities of both participants through the course of the interaction reveals a cohabitation of the topical and the linguistic issues, where orientation to linguistic matters is within the scope of the topical interaction. Another interesting point is the development of the participants' activities as the interaction progresses: how these activities become increasingly bold.

Rather than relying exclusively on my own *membership knowledge* (Garfinkel, 1967; ten Have, 2002), i.e the knowledge or capacities that people have as members of a society, of these kinds of service encounters for the analysis, I will, before addressing the main topic of the paper: the L2 interaction in the bakery, introduce and analyze a service encounter, which also takes place in a bakery, between two Icelanders. The purpose of this is to find out how these business interactions are organized and compare it to the focal interaction for business and learning. This way we can see how these encounters are the same and how they are different: Does the interaction, where one of the participants is a L2 speaker, have specific characteristics that distinguishes it from interaction between L1 speakers? And, what are they?

Building on a relatively new research direction, CA for SLA (Brouwer, forthc.; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Kasper, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mori & Markee, 2009; Pekarek-Doehler,

forthc.; Wagner & Gardner, 2004), this study applies methods of Conversation Analysis to carefully study naturally occurring talk-in-interaction in its interactional details. This methodology, it is argued, ensures a rich picture of the interactional competencies of the L2 learner. In recent years, a number of studies using this method for the study of SLA have come forth, focusing primarily on L2-classroom activities (He, 2004; Hellermann, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; Kasper, 2004a; Markee, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2004a, 2004b; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Seedhouse, 2004). However, interest in second language learners' activities outside the classroom with regards to the learning of the L2 has increased over the past few years (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Wagner, 2004, 2010). There is still little known about how L2 learning in non-educational settings is organized. It is clear that a better understanding of the available resources for L2 use and learning in the L2 society and how can they be exploited for the benefits of the L2 learner, can inform teaching and learning practices and can be used for the development of teaching materials, and design of language courses. This paper intends to contribute to the ongoing discussion of the relevance of L2 learners' language use in their daily life to language learning.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the data used in this study. In the following section, I will show how an interaction in a bakery between two Icelanders runs off to clarify the routines of doing business in the bakery. Especially I will focus on the roles of the participants and, the sequential organization of the conversation? In the main section of the paper (3.2.) a L2 interaction in a bakery will be analyzed and discussed in detail with respect to a dual nature of the talk and the roles of the participants: How does Anna, the L2 learner, with the help of her co-participant, exploit the business interaction as a resource for second language use and learning? Section 4 concludes on the points made in the analysis.

## 2.0 The Data

The data used in this study consist of audio recordings that a few foreign students at the University of Iceland made on a regular basis of their daily life. I had sought volunteers among beginning students in the program *Icelandic for foreign students* at the University of Iceland to record themselves in their interactions outside the classroom. In return the participants were offered a one-hour tutoring session a week

with my assistant, who helped them with their homework. The data collection is based on a method described in Brouwer & Nissen (2003) where participants in courses in L2 Danish were asked to tape their conversations outside of the classroom and deliver the recordings to their teacher who gave them feedback. As mentioned earlier there was no such feedback on the conversation in my data: it was kept separate from the tutoring sessions, which were thought of as a compensation for delivering the data.

The specific data used in this paper are taped by Anna, a Canadian student at the University of Iceland. Anna came to Iceland in the fall of 2005 to learn Icelandic. Anna started recording herself after having been in Iceland for a month. She delivered recordings of half an hour a week for three years. The service encounter, which is the topic of this paper, was recorded in Anna's second month in Iceland. In addition to the L2 interaction data this paper examines transcribed data from a similar service encounter with L1 speakers, and compares the two as stated earlier. These data were taped in the fall of 2009.

Whether to use audio or video recording for this project was certainly an issue in the beginning: The choice of audio over video was made with regards to the type of material I was after: authentic, unprepared, naturally occurring interaction. A tape recorder comes in more handy than a video camera and less likely to compromise the authenticity of the interaction.

## 3.0 Interaction in a service encounter

Service encounters may be the optimal places to practice the second language; the service-personnel (usually) speak the target language and get paid to interact with the customers. Furthermore, a L2 speaker may not, in the beginning of his stay in the new country, know that many experienced speakers of the target language and therefore not have many possibilities to use it in private conversation. One aspect of the modern society, i.e. increasing self-service, however, limits opportunities for second language use. The L2 speaker may discover that in many service encounters hardly any language is needed: in some grocery stores the only face to face encounter may be with the cashier when checking out, which –due to the nature of the cashier's job- may not be very suitable for lengthy conversations. A L2 learner needs to identify the (few) service situations in which language is actually used to do business. The apparent rarity of opportunities for L2 interaction where language exchange is needed

makes them even more precious for the L2 learner. It may, thus, be important for the L2 learner to make the most of each opportunity. The interaction, studied here takes place in a bakery where language exchange is in fact needed for business transactions.

Before going into the analysis of the target interaction: L2 conversation in the bakery, is an introduction and analysis of an encounter in the bakery where both participants' first language is Icelandic. This is to 'set the stage' for the main topic of this paper (a L2 interaction in the bakery): we will examine the roles of the participants and the sequential organization of the interaction and compare to the corresponding roles and sequences in the L2 interaction.

## 3.1 A first language interaction for business

This part of the paper studies an interaction between an Icelandic customer and an Icelandic clerk recorded in a similar environment (a bakery) as the L2-interaction seen in excerpts 2-6. The purpose of this section is to better understand the structure of a 'typical' business interaction in the bakery with which we can then compare the L2-conversation. The goal is to home in on what distinguishes a business interaction where both participants are first language speakers from a interaction in a similar situation where one of the participants is a second language speaker.
In excerpt 1 we see a conversation between a customer and a clerk in a bakery. Both participants are L1 speakers of Icelandic.

Excerpt 1 (simplified): A business interaction in the bakery (CL is the clerk, CU is the customer)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 01 | CU: | góðan dag |
| | | *good day* |
| | | ((someone talking on a cell phone)) |
| 02 | CL: | (daginn) |
| | | *day-the* |
| | | *Good day* |
| 03 | CU: | *áttu brauð með kúmeni↓* |
| | | *have-you bread with cumin↓* |
| | | *Do you have bread with cumin?* |
| 04 | CL: | nei |
| | | *no* |

Lines omitted

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 22 | CU: | heyrðu ég er að hugsa um að fá þarna þetta |
| | | *listen I am to think about to get there this* |
| | | *Listen I think I will get there this* |

```
23              sem þú sagðir mér first [°uppskeru-°]
                that you told me first [°harvest-°]
                that you told me first harvest-
24      CL:                             [já]
                                        [yes]
25      CU:     já
                yes
26      CL:     viltu það sneitt↓
                want-you it sliced↓
                Do you want it sliced?
27      CU:     já takk
                yes thanks
                Yes please
28      CL:     já
                yes
29              (33.7)((bread-cutting machine))
30      CL:     fleira fyrir þig↓
                else for you↓
                Anything else for you?
31      CU:     já takk ég ætla að fá hérna tvær hrískökur
                yes thanks I will to get here two rice-cakes
                Yes please I'll get here two rice cakes
32              (0.3)
33      CL:     já
                yes
34              (26.4)
35      CL:     fleira↓
                else↓
                Anything else?
36      CU:     hvað er það komið mikið↓
                how is it come much↓
                How much is it now?
37      CL:     níu hundruð og (fimmtán)
                nine hundred and (fifteen)
38      CU:     .hjá nei takk ég ætla ekki að (fá meira)
                .hyes no thanks I will not to (get more)
                Yes no thanks I will not get anything else
39      CL:     takk fyrir
                thanks for
                Thanks
40              (5.6)
41      CL:     gerðu svo vel
                here you go
42      CU:     já (takk)
                yes (thanks)
Lines omitted
```

Following the participant's exchange of greetings (lines 1-2) the customer utters: *áttu brauð með kúmeni* (Do you have bread with cumin). The utterance has the format of a yes/no question: possibly inquiring into the availability of the item rather than directly ordering. The use of *áttu* (do you have) further suggests that the item in question is not displayed for the customer to see. The clerk's negative response (line 4) shows this to be the case.

Following the clerk's listing alternative choices of bread (omitted from the transcript) to the unavailable cumin-bread, the customer makes his choice in lines 22-23. The participants confirm their understanding in lines 24-25. The next relevant action after the ordering of the bread is for the clerk to inquire into its handling: whether or not to slice it as we see him do in line 26. Following mutual confirmation tokens from the participants (lines 27-28) the verbal interaction is put on hold while the clerk physically prepares the bread indicated by the long pause in line 29 and the sound of the bread-cutting machine.

In line 30 the clerk utters: *fleira fyrir þig* (anything else for you), displaying that he is ready to take an order for a possible next item. The clerk has now delivered a first pair part of an *adjacency pair*, which is described in Schegloff & Sacks (1973, pp. 295-296) as paired sequences, i.e. question-answer, greeting-greeting, where one speaker produces a first part and the co-participant delivers the second pair part of the adjacency pair. The clerk's first pair part (line 30) is formulated as a yes/no question, but the next relevant action is for the customer to order or indicate that he does not want anything else. The customer provides a second pair part *yes* to the clerk's question as it is formulated and then he places the order: *já takk ég ætla að fá hérna tvær hrískökur* (yes please I will get here two rice cakes) (line 31). The clerk, acknowledging the order, responds with a *yes* token, after a short pause (line 33). The next relevant action is for the clerk to prepare the order, the verbal response (line 33) does not suffice – a physical response is necessary. The 26.4 sec pause (line 34) may be the clerk physically preparing the order as we saw in line 29.

In lines 26-29 and lines 30-34 we can see a similar sequential order: Following an order and its preparation, the clerk takes the turn with the next relevant action, inquiry into the handling of an item ordered (line 26) or a next possible item (lines 30). This shows that it is the clerk's role to progress the business interaction. In his turn the customer responds and then there is an extensive pause in the verbal interaction where the clerk physically fulfills the customer's request and therefore no participation is required from the customer. A final example of this recurring sequence can be observed in lines 35-40: Following the pause the clerk resumes the verbal interaction: *fleira?* (anything else?). Rather than responding to the clerk's question the customer inquires into how much the current items cost (line 36). The customer has now delivered a first pair of an adjacency pair, possibly asking for information that will allow him to respond to the clerk's question. This is an *insertion*

*sequence*/*insert expansion* (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Schegloff, 1968, 2007) which is a question-answer sequence that is placed between the first and second pair parts of an adjacency pair and functions as an inquiry into how to understand or respond to the first pair part.

At this point there are two first pair parts pending and the next relevant action is for the clerk to respond to the customer's question (line 36), as he does in line 37. His response *já nei takk ég ætla ekki að fá meira* (yes no thanks I will not get anything else) appears to be designed to accomplish at least two things: *já* (yes) as a confirmation of understanding of the clerk's response in line 37 which closes the insertion sequence in lines 36-37, *nei* (no) as an answer to the clerk's question in line 35, i.e. the second pair part of the adjacency pair. Finally, the customer provides a 'long version' of his negative response: *ég ætla ekki að fá meira* (I will not get anything else). The clerk's *thanks* in line 39 can be seen as a confirmation of understanding followed by a 5.6 sec pause. As in the previous examples (lines 26-29, 30-34) the verbal interaction is put on hold while the clerk may be engaged in a physical aspect of his work, i.e. preparing the goods.

In short we can see that this business interaction is driven by the clerk who initiates recurring sequences that consist of 1) an inquiry from the clerk into further orders, 2) a response from the customer, and 3) a 'silent' period where the clerk may be attending to some physical aspects of his duties, and does not need the customer's participation.

The next section addresses the main subject of this study, namely the second language interaction for business and learning in which a L2 speaker of Icelandic manages, with the cooperation of his co-participant, to take advantage of an everyday business encounter for language learning purposes.

## 3.2 A second language interaction for business and learning

The interaction examined in this section, has, a dual focus of 'doing topical interaction' on one hand and 'orienting to language' on the other. In the analysis, I will describe how the participants manage this duality in the interaction, as well as the question of how the language-oriented activities relate to matters of language learning. In other words, I focus on whether language learning can be described as attending to linguistic features of the L2, whether the participants orient to these

activities as language learning, and finally how these activities relate to the ongoing business interaction, i.e., to what extent they are embedded in the topical interaction, to what extent the business at hand requires attending to linguistic features as a necessary condition for conducting the business, and to what extent the language-oriented activities are parallel activities in their own right.

In excerpts 2-6, Anna is in the bakery talking to the Icelandic clerk. Early in the interaction (lines 1-2 in excerpt 2), Anna makes her identity as a L2 learner relevant by negotiating with the clerk to use the target language in the upcoming interaction, indicating that the interaction may be more than just an ordinary business transaction; it may be an opportunity for language practice.

Excerpt 2: The first order in the bakery

```
01    CL:    *icelandic
02    AN:    já.
             yes.
03           (0.8)
04    AN:    uh:uhm:::(1.7)°uhuhuhuh° má ég fá:: (1.9) uh:m:::(1.3)
                                     may I ge::t
             Can I have

05           hás::: (1.0) uh::::: (2.4) haus:br↑auð?
             autu:::                    autumn:br↑ead?
             autu- autumnbread
06    CL:     j↑á=
              y↑es=
07    AN:     °>(hau)s:brauð<°.
              °>(au)tumn:bread<°.
              Autumnbread.
08            (1.8)
```

In the beginning of the recording (lines 1-2), we hear what appears to be the final part of a negotiation of the language to use in the upcoming business interaction. The clerk's utterance, *Icelandic* (line 1), refers to the medium language and is possibly a confirmation check responding to a prior request made by the L2 speaker that they speak Icelandic. In line 2 Anna responds with *já* (yes), confirming the clerk's understanding. The response is in Icelandic which further emphasises the L2 speaker's request to interact in the target language. It is now clear that in the upcoming interaction the clerk's task is twofold. He is –as expected of a clerk in a bakery- responsible for progressing the business interaction, but he has also, as can be seen in lines 1-2 in excerpt 2, agreed to interact with the low level L2 speaker in Icelandic which may include helping her conduct her business in the target language.

Anna is a native speaker of English and it is clear from the start that the clerk can (easily) speak and understand English. However, having only been in Iceland for a month, Anna is a beginning learner of Icelandic. English would thus seem to be the least costly choice of language for this interaction from the point of view of the business, i.e. to facilitate a 'smooth' and quick business transaction. The fact that the participants engage in a negotiation on the language to use suggests that the upcoming interaction has more to it than simply doing business. A second aspect of the upcoming interaction has now been brought into play, namely a linguistic focus or a possible language learning opportunity. This may, however, not be obvious for the clerk at this point. He has only agreed to speak Icelandic and he might not have enough information yet to assess Anna's low competence.

In line 4 after the formula, *má ég fá* (may I get), is a slot for the name of the item Anna is purchasing. Following extensive pauses and *uhs*, Anna utters *hás-* (line 5). The placement of *hás-* in the TCU shows this as the beginning of the term for an item she wants to purchase, but at this point it is not clear what it is. The stretching of the *s* in *hás* together with *uh*s and pauses indicate trouble in naming the item (Brouwer, 2003; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1979). In Anna's second attempt to name the item, still in line 5, she uses a different vowel for the pronunciation of the first part of the word, namely [öi] in *haustbrauð* as opposed to [au] in *hás*[17], indicating that the trouble has to do with pronouncing the target word. As indicated by the *uh*s and pauses and the self-correction in line 5, Anna puts great effort into speaking Icelandic correctly. Moreover, the clerk does not attempt to move the interaction forward, which he might be expected to do (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), rather, he allows Anna the time she needs to deliver her utterance. The clerk's *yes* in line 6 works as a response to the question *may I have autumnbread?* Furthermore, it is treated as a positive assessment of the pronunciation of *haustbrauð*: Anna's (line 7) repetition of the target word, *haustbrauð*, is in a low volume and increased speed which suggests that it is not designed for the clerk to attend to, rather some sort of private speech (Ohta, 2001), i.e. repeating the word for herself with the correct pronunciation. She has thus accomplished two interrelated activities, getting a word right and placing an order in the bakery.

In excerpt 3 the clerk proceeds with the business.

Excerpt 3: *Sneiða* means to cut

```
09    AN:    u[h    ]
10    CL:     [á    ] ég að sneiða það?
               [shall] I to slice it?
              Do you want me to slice it?
11           (0.4)
12    AN:    sneiða:: means to cu[t]
13    CL:                        [c]ut(.)cut=
14    AN:    Uh: j[á] uh sneiða.
                  y[es]   slice.
              Yes slice.
15    CL:         [(já)]
16           (14.1)
             ((sound of a bread-cutting machine, tape cut off))
```

The next relevant action after ordering the bread (cf. excerpt 2) is for the clerk to ask whether to slice it (cf. excerpt 1, line 26). This is done in line 10: *á ég að sneiða það?* (do you want me to slice it?). The question requires a yes or no answer from Anna. However, she orients to the meaning of an apparently troublesome word, *sneiða,* used by the clerk and delivers a candidate understanding, *sneiða means to cut* (line 12). The activity seen in lines 12-13 fits the description of an insertion sequence: an inquiry into how the first pair part should be understood. When the insertion sequence is finished, the participants attend to the second pair part (cf. excerpt 1, lines 36-38). It can also be seen as a side sequence of attending to language matters, while the main interaction is put on hold (Brouwer, 2004; Jefferson, 1972): In lines 12-13 the participants attend to the word *sneiða*, which puts the business interaction on hold. The emphasis on *sneiða* (slice) in the question *Á ég að sneiða það?* (do you want me to slice it?) (line 10) indicates it as the key-word here. The clerk may not be certain that Anna understands this word: This word may not be very common outside the bakery, and Anna, has now revealed her status as a low level L2 learner. It is not, however, placed sequentially as a repairable, i.e. at the end of the turn (Jefferson, 1972), rendering the language-oriented activity embedded in the main interactional activity; to answer the question in line 10, the L2 speaker has to check her understanding. That is precisely what Anna does in line 12, *sneiða means to cut*. The clerk then overlaps Anna uttering *cut* and once out of the overlap he repeats it (line 13). This is his confirmation of Anna's candidate understanding. Anna's formulation

of her candidate understanding includes the infinitive marker, *sneiða means to cut*, which suggests an orientation, perhaps implicit, to more subtle aspects of conceptualisation in terms of word class. The clerk, then, participates in this language-oriented activity by delivering a confirmation of Anna's candidate understanding.

Lines 12-13 constitute a clear example of a division of labor between the participants. The Anna's candidate understanding requires a response and can therefore be seen as a first pair part of an adjecency pair (line 12) and the clerk responds (line 13) and thereby delivers the second pair part. This is a reversed order from the topical aspects of the interaction where the clerk delivers the first pair part and the L2 speaker responds (cf. lines 10 and 14 in excerpt 3). This shows that the participant's may have different interactional foci; the clerk (the L1 speaker) attends to the topical side of the interaction and Anna (the L2 speaker) orients to linguistic matters. Kurhila (2004) made the same point in her study on L2 speakers of Finnish in service encounters.

The insertion sequence (lines 12-13) puts the main interaction on hold, and the clerk's question in line 10 has not yet received an answer. This insertion-and/or side-sequence in which this activity takes place thus involves both participants without disturbing the main interaction as evidenced by the participants returning to their business interaction (line 14). Anna delivers her answer to the clerk's question in line 10 without any explanation: (simplified) *já sneiða* (yes slice) and the clerk's response, a *yes* token overlapping Anna (line 15) shows his understanding of Anna's response referring to his question in line 10. He then goes on to perform the service of cutting the bread, as agreed.

The uttering of *sneiða* in the reply *já sneiða* (yes slice) (line 15) is curious. At first glance *sneiða* (slice) seems redundant here for business purposes - a simple *yes* might have been sufficient. This might indicate that Anna is still orienting to language at this point, as she is practicing uttering the new word. A closer inspection reveals a slightly more complicated situation where two activities are going on at the same time: The clerk's utterance in line 10 is a first pairt part of an adjacency pair. The second pair part, a yes or no answer, is still pending. At the same time the language orientation which is initiated after the first pair part (lines 12-13) may not be completed: the possible completion in line 12 with the clerk's utterance: *cut*, i.e. his English translation of *sneiða* is partially in overlap with Anna's utterance (line 11),

which may cause the participants to be unsure whether they have reached intersubjectivity on the meaning of the word, or if further confirmation is needed, possibly a *yes* token or even *yes cut*. Therefore a simple *yes* from Anna could have been interpreted either referring to the business (to go ahead and slice the bread) or the language (Anna's confirmation of her understanding of the meaning of the word). Her response: *já sneiða* (yes slice) can not be understood as a confirmation of understanding of line 13 since *cut* has now replaced *sneiða* as the topic and therefore, *sneiða* in the answer *já sneiða* can not refer to the clerk's *cut cut* in line 13. This leads to the conclusion that Anna's response is designed to be to the business part, and avoiding a possible misunderstanding. This is also the clerk's understanding indicated by his *yes* token and the physical response of actually cutting the bread.

The sequence seen in lines 10, 14-16 (excerpt 3) has a similar structure as the sequences described for the business interaction (excerpt 1) seen in lines: 26-29, 30-34 and 35-40 excerpt 1 on page 10. There is, however, a difference between the sequences in the two encounters which can be seen by comparing the two insertion sequences seen in lines 36-38 in excerpt 1 (the business interaction) and lines 12-13 in excerpt 3 (the business and learning interaction): In the former is a focus on topical matters whereas the latter attends to linguistic features.

In short, the L2 speaker attends to the meaning (both referential and conceptual) of the word *sneiða* (slice) (line 12). This activity is embedded in the topical interactional trajectory as its accomplishment is a prerequisite for Anna to answer the clerk's question in line 10.

In excerpt 4 the clerk proceeds with the business, inquiring about further items. Anna searches for a different formula (from the one she used for her first order) to use in placing an additional order. In this excerpt the clerk employs a specific practice, which enables him to fulfill both aspects of his task: language and business by assisting the L2 speaker to do her business in Icelandic and making sure that she understands.

Excerpt 4: The second order

```
17      CL:     og fl↑eira?
                and ↑else?
                And anything else?
18              (0.8)
19      AN:     °*uh::::°any[(thing) el    ]s:e uh:m: (0.5) uh JÁ
                                                            YES
20      CL:                  [(anything else)]
21      AN:     uh::uh::(1.5)uh é:::g uh (2.1) é::::g (.)uh::m::: (0.2)
                             I:::           I::::
                I I

22              (.ts) (1.5) will get? (.) *uh:uh:uh (.) ah (0.3) tu:,
                                                    have-(0.3) you:,
                will get? Do you have
23      CL:     ég skal fá.
                I will get.
24              (0.5)
25      ?:      hhe
26              (0.7)
27      AN:     uh:m:: (0.4) s:>S:NÚÐA<?
                             c:>C:INNAMON-ROLLS<?
                Cinnamon rolls?
28              (0.6)
29      CL:     uh: já
                    yes
30              (0.8)
31      CL:     með súkkulaði karamellu eða uh glassúr?
                with chocolate caramel  or     frosting?
                ((a cell phone is ringing))
32              (0.3)
33      CL:     (chocolate)=
34      AN:     =chocolate
```

The clerk's design of his utterances to accommodate the needs of a low level L2 speaker is evident in the way in which he first delivers his utterances in Icelandic and, when no response is forthcoming from Anna and following a pause, he then repeats his utterance in English (lines 17-20): In line 17 the clerk inquires about the possible ordering of a next item with the utterance *og fleira?* (and else?). A pause of almost a second follows in which the clerk may be waiting for Anna to respond – after all, it is her turn. Following some *uh*s, which in combination with the pause indicate trouble, Anna starts to repeat the clerk's question in English, *any*. Upon Anna's hesitant start of her turn, the clerk overlaps her with the English version of the question: *anything else?* (line 20). Apparently he analyzed the pause in line 18 as trouble in understanding, to which he responds with the utterance of the English version of the question.

In line 19 we see Anna providing a second pair part (yes) to the clerk's question as it is formulated, but no order comes forth, instead she utters *uh*s followed

by a 1.5 sec pause. This indicates trouble in finding the next element in her TCU. After further hesitation she starts a new TCU, uttering *é:::g* (I:::) followed by more *uh*s and pauses and *é:::::g* (I::::). Anna then switches to English, *will get,* after a 1.5 sec pause. The formula, *ég ætla að fá* (I will get), commonly used in similar situations may be what Anna is searching for (cf. excerpt 1, lines 31, 38). Privileged knowledge of the data supports this hunch; Anna had told a friend[18], before going to the bakery, that she intended to use *má ég fá* (may I get) for her initial order and then *ég ætla að fá* (I will get), which was offered by this friend, for her additional order. This is exactly what she is doing in lines 21-22. At this stage, however, Anna's activity is not clear to the clerk. Even though *will get* seems to be try-marked (with rising intonation) and with emphasis on the word *get* it does not elicit any response from the clerk. Anna keeps going, uttering *uh*s, suggesting that she does not want the clerk's help. After a micro pause she utters *ah* and after a 0.3 sec pause *tu* (line 22). Then, in line 23, comes the clerk's candidate solution to Anna's search for the formula *will get* (line 22): *ég skal fá*. This is curious because it is not a usual formula used in situations like this, and because it follows Anna's *ah (0.3) tu*: which can be heard as a version[19] of *áttu* (do-you-have), a frequent formula used in service encounters (cf. excerpt 1, line 3). Apparently the clerk now orients to Anna's utterance *will get* in line 22 as a request for help which he offers by providing the searched for item, and thereby ignores Anna's own solution: *ahtu* (áttu) (do-you-have). The clerk's ignoring *áttu* (have-you) may be due to problems in understanding Anna's pronunciation.

The clerk's utterance *ég skal fá* (I will get) is a direct translation of Anna's *will get* which is pragmatically inappropriate. The clerk seems, at that point, to be focusing on the language rather than the situation, adopting the role of a language expert rather than that of a clerk in the bakery. Instead of his candidate solution, a pragmatically appropriate translation of *will get* in this situation would be *ætla að fá*, which, as stated earlier, is commonly used when making a purchase.

Anna resumes her talk with the utterance of *snúða* (cinnamon-rolls) following *uh*s and a pause thereby ignoring the clerk's contribution. This part is pragmatically and syntactically fitted to *áttu* (do-you-have) and can be seen as the final element of Anna's turn *áttu snúða* (do-you-have cinnamon-rolls). Although *snúða* (cinnamon-rolls) might as well be a syntactically possible ending of the clerk's TCU *ég skal fá* (I will get); *ég skal fá snúða* (I will get cinnamon-rolls), i.e. collaboratively constructed TCU (Lerner, G. H., 2004), Anna's delay (pauses in lines 24-26) indicates that she is

going back to her own earlier talk. She has now completed the TCU she started in line 22 ignoring intervening talk (the clerk's help). Theodórsdóttir (in press) shows that L2 speakers may insist on finishing their own TCU, ignoring the other participants' contribution. Anna's accomplishment, with regards to the L2, is uttering a complete phrase: *áttu snúða*[20] (do-you-have cinnamon-rolls).

At this point in the interaction she has managed to order two items using two different formulas. Anna does not seem to orient to the clerk's candidate solution, perhaps because she has now abandoned her search for *will get* and chosen another formula: *áttu* (do-you-have), and perhaps, thinking back to Anna's own intentions to use two specific formulas in this encounter, because she simply does not recognize the clerk's phrase. Anyhow, after some pauses, lines 24-26, she manages to order a cinnamon roll.

In fact, Anna's search for another formula to order her additional items seems unnecessary; the one used for buying the bread *may I get* applies to the additional items as well, and therefore naming the items is sufficient, as also shown in the interactional trajectory in which the business is accomplished. This excerpt then shows a shift in Anna's language-oriented activities. This activity, as opposed to the one in the previous excerpt, is not embedded in the business interaction, as the business interaction does not call for this. Rather, it transpires as a parallel activity, but an activity that is not accomplished in co-participatory agreement, i.e. Anna ignores clerk's offer of the formula *ég skal fá* (I will get) and finds a different one: *áttu* (do you have).

In lines 31-33 we see another example of the clerk's specific recipient design (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 727): Anna orders a cinnamon roll (line 27) but she does not specify, however, which of the three available kinds she wants. In line 31 the clerk lists the options for Anna to choose from: *með súkkulaði karamellu eða glassúr?* (with chocolate caramel or frosting?). Then, after a short pause, the clerk starts repeating the list in English (line 33): *chocolate*. Anna makes her choice by repeating *chocolate* (line 34), making it unnecessary for the clerk to continue with the list.

Now, Anna has ordered some items that the clerk needs to handle (possibly wrapping them), which puts the verbal business-interaction on hold: The customer's participation is not needed here (cf. excerpt 1). The pauses in lines 35 and 37 (in excerpt 5) mark the beginning of such a 'silent' period in the interaction. Rather than

standing there in silence waiting until the clerk finishes his physical activity and initiates the next step in the business interaction, as we saw the customer do in excerpt 1, Anna initiates chat with the clerk, using her limited linguistic means. She sees an opportunity for some language exchange and takes it.

Excerpt 5: Chat

```
35            (0.8)
36    AN:     .hh (sniff)
37            (2.2)
38    AN:     það >það< er gots
              it >it< is good
39            (0.8)
40    AN:     það er gots
              it is good
41    CL:     ☺já☺
              ☺yes☺
42            (0.4)
43    AN:     já
              yes
44    CL:     hehe
45    AN:     uh:uhm >sweet<
46    CL:     já perfect
              yes
47            (0.7)
48    AN:     það er (0.3) það er stor
              it  is       it  is big
49    CL:     .hh ☺já☺
                  ☺yes☺
50    AN:     hehehe(0.3).hh (2.6) uh::: (3.6)
51    CL:     eitthvað fleira?
              anything else?
52            (0.8)
53    CL:     anything else?
54    AN:     *uh:uh* ne:i (0.2)uh::: that's all(.) ehehe
                      no:
              No that's all
```

In line 38, Anna utters *það það er gots* (it it is good). The word *gots* can be heard as a version of *gott* (good). Anna's utterance *það það er gots* (it it is good) may be a comment on the cinnamon rolls that she is buying and that the clerk may be handling at that moment. Her use of *it* for deictic purposes[21] shows that she expects its reference to be clear to the clerk. Her utterance requires a response from the clerk. The pause in line 39 may be Anna waiting for the clerk to respond. No action is forthcoming from the clerk and following a 0.8 sec pause Anna repeats her statement (line 40). This time the clerk responds in line 41: *já* (yes) in a smile voice. Anna

continues in line 45 and utters *sweet*. This word is try-marked (with rising intonation) which can indicate it as a candidate translation of *gots* (good)[22] or asking for the Icelandic translation of *sweet*. Another possibility is that this is an additional comment on the cinnamon rolls. That is precisely the clerk's interpretation, indicated with his response *já perfect* (line 46)[23], the cinnamon rolls are good and sweet.

Anna takes the opportunity to chat in the second language using her limited linguistic means, delivering utterances of the type *it is X*: *það er gots* (it is good) (lines 38, 40) and *það er það er stór* (it is it is big) (line 48), and manages to get the clerk to participate, even if she does most of the chatting herself. Apparently the clerk and Anna have developed a social relationship that allows them to engage in interaction that is not part of the business talk. Note that the participants have switched roles here: It is Anna that delivers the first pair parts in the chatting opposed to to the clerk who delivered the first pair parts in the business interaction.

There is still no attempt from the clerk to progress with the business interaction at this point; he seems quite relaxed in his participation in the small talk indicated by the smile voice in his replies (lines 41 and 49). Taking into account that there are other customers waiting to be served, this suggests that the clerk is still taking care of his part of the business, which does not require any participation from the customer, as we saw in excerpt 1.

Line 51 marks the ending of the small talk when the clerk resumes the business talk indicating that he is ready for the next order: *eitthvað fleira?* (anything else). Then following a 0.8 sec pause and no response from Anna he translates his utterance into English: *anything else?* This, as we can see, is yet another example of the clerk's practice (cf. excerpt 4, lines 17-20, 31-33) and the clearest thus far.

In these three examples, the clerk designs his talk in a specific way for the L2 speaker. The structure of these sequences is as follows:

1. The clerk delivers a question in Icelandic.
2. A pause and no response from Anna
3. The clerk translates his question into English.

This practice allows the clerk to meet his dual task in the interaction in two turns at talk (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974): With the first turn he upholds the agreement made with the L2 speaker to interact in Icelandic. In the second turn, facing non-response and thus a possible lack of understanding on the part of the co-

participant, he uses English as a means to establish intersubjectivity. Thereby he also fulfills the task required by the business at hand, as he makes himself understood and manages to progress the interaction.

In short, the L2 speaker initiates small talk with the clerk (lines 38-48) at a point in the interaction where a lengthy pause in the verbal interaction can be expected (cf. excerpt 1, line 34). This shows Anna's continuous dedication to practice the L2: creating an opportunity for herself to exercise language, and, the clerk's willingness to co-produce the opportunity. We see in lines 51-53 that the clerk continues to use his specific recipient design of his utterances to accommodate the L2 speaker and at the same time move the business interaction forward.

In the next excerpt, we see a monetary activity take place towards the end of the interaction. Anna is still focusing on the second language which is evident from her initiating language-learning activities in these final minutes of the interaction. The analysis will reveal a certain development in these activities over the course of the interaction, which is one of the more interesting points made in this paper. In excerpt 6 (line 60), Anna makes an explicit request to the clerk asking him to perform a language related task: to count the change out loud, and then she starts repeating his words (line 66) taking the language orientation to the next level.

Excerpt 6: Counting the change

```
55          (0.9)
56    CL:   tvö hundruð sextíu og átta↓two hundred sixty eight.
            two hundred sixty and eight↓ two hundred sixty eight.
            ((backgound conversation between a customer and another
            clerk)
57          (1.0)
58    AN:   *uh:m(0.4) s:°two (0.6) hundruð° (0.5) sex
                                   hundred°       six
            s two hundred six
59          (16.5)
            (( sound of coins, a (purse)zipper, another customer
            ordering))
60    AN:   can you count the change (for me)?
61          (1.0)
62    CL:   in icelandic?
63    AN:   já.
            yes.
64          (0.3)
65    CL:   fimm hundruð,
            five hundred,
66    AN:   fimm hundruð
            five hundred
67          (0.9)
```

```
68    AN:    (uh)
69    CL:    sex hundruð, sjö hundruð (0.4) og (0.5)
             six hundred, seven hundred    and

70           þrjátíu og tvær.
             thirty and two.
            ((sound of coins, background talk))
71    AN:    ah: (0.5) takk takk fyr(ir)
                       thanks thanks fo(r)
```

In line 56 we see the final example of the clerk's practice. Sequentially, however, it unfolds in a slightly different manner. The clerk utters the amount due, first in Icelandic and then immediately in English: *tvö hundruð sextíu og átta two hundred sixty eight.* In this example there is no pause between the utterance in Icelandic and the translation to English. The practice done in two turns at talk in the first three examples is accomplished in a single turn in this last example. The clerk is still accommodating the needs of the L2 learner - by using Icelandic as agreed upon – while also attending to business matters - by establishing intersubjectivity through the use of English. The possibility for Anna to reply does, however, not occur here, as there is no pause in the shift between Icelandic and English. This suggests an escalation in the practice over the course of the interaction, perhaps brought into play by the business matters increasingly overwriting the clerk's readiness to accommodate the L2 speaker, after all there are other customers waiting to be served as can be heard when listening to the tape.

The use of English as a support language is not unique for interactions in L2-Icelandic. Brouwer & Wagner (2004) report instances of code switching into English in L2-Danish interaction in cases where the L2 speaker has trouble with the L2, and both speakers are fluent in English. This affects the authors' understanding of the environment in which Danish second language learning takes place: "[T]he controlled use of English indicates clearly that we have to understand the acquisition of Danish as happening in a multilingual environment, where - depending on the participants- the use of two, three or more languages can be relevant" (p. 44). This description of the conditions of learning Danish as a second language appears, in the light of the data examined in this paper, to apply to the learning of L2 Icelandic as well.

Anna repeats the amount (uttered by the clerk in line 56) in line 58 in low volume. This activity is embedded as a part of the business interaction, counting the money out of her purse. The low volume of Anna's utterance (line 58) suggests that it is designed not to be attended to by the clerk (see also discussion on *haustbrauð* in

3.2). No response from the clerk shows that to be his understanding. Anna starts with English *two* and then switches to Icelandic partially repeating the clerk's utterance in line 56, *hundruð sex*.

In line 60 Anna utters a first pair part of an adjancency pair (in English): *can you count the change* (*for me*)[24]. Her request for the clerk to count the change can be interpreted in two ways. On one hand she may want to be sure to get the correct change, in which case counting the change in English would suffice. Her request is in English suggesting that this is indeed the case. On the other hand, this might be oriented towards the second language, i.e. an opportunity to hear a L1 speaker pronounce these words: Chances are that as a beginner she does not have the linguistic means to utter her request in Icelandic. The one second pause in line 61 may reflect the clerk's uncertainty of how to understand Anna's request. The next relevant action is for the clerk to deliver the second pair part, the answer to the question. Instead he utters *in Icelandic* in line 62, which is a first pair part asking for a confirmation of the candidate understanding of this activity focusing on language. Anna's confirmation is in line 63: *já* (yes). The question-answer sequence seen in lines 62-63 is an insertion sequence concerning the understanding of Anna's request in line 60. The part of the conversation in line 60-62 is in English but with her confirmation Anna switches back to Icelandic, possibly emphasising her request. Counting the change out loudly may be seen as a 'normal' activity for a clerk to perform in the bakery, in this case where it has been established that the counting has to do with the language rather than the business it can be seen as a linguistic activity embedded in the topical interaction.

In line 65 the clerk starts –as requested- counting the change: *fimm hundruð* (five hundred), which can be seen as his response to Anna's request in line 60. In line 66 Anna repeats the clerk's words: *fimm hundruð* (five hundred). This shows that Anna's request for the clerk to count the change was inconsequential to the business at hand. Rather, this activity of repeating the words looks very much like a traditional classroom activity, Anna can, therefore, be seen taking the language orientation to the next level: While the clerk did agree to count the change in Icelandic, which is within the scope of the business interaction and a part of his normal duties, Anna's repeating, however, is clearly outside the 'normal' ways of doing business. The clerk's participation in the language oriented activities has until now been limited and sometimes integrated into his normal ways of doing business –as counting the change

in Icelandic- whereas this activity is more in the line of a teacher-student interaction. The pause in line 67 may reflect this dilemma, i.e. the clerk's reluctance to participate in the activity. In line 69 the clerk continues counting the change: 'sex hundruð, sjö hundruð'. He does not pause after uttering *six hundred* as he did previously following the utterance of *five hundred*, making it difficult for Anna to repeat without overlapping him and there is no further attempt from her to repeat. This may also reflect that the clerk is no longer participating, as a language expert, in this activity.

Now the clerk has switched from the 500 crown bill to coins of 100 crowns each which are placed on the counter one at a time and added to the previous amount. This is an alternative explanation that the 0.9 sec pause in line 67 is the clerk getting the coins (a shift in the activity).

## 3.3 Summary and discussion

The investigation of the business exchange seen in excerpt 1 between two L1 speakers of Icelandic in a bakery, reveals the sequential structure of such interaction. We saw that the clerk is responsible for maintaining the business interaction as he usually delivers the first pair parts of an adjacency pair, i.e. questions. The interaction is driven forward by recurring sequences initiated by the clerk. These sequences start at the point in the interaction when the clerk has prepared the first order and is ready for additional ones and continues throughout the interaction. This sequential order is the same in the business and learning interaction seen in excerpts 2-6. The focal interaction (excerpts 2-6) where the customer is a low level speaker of Icelandic has, apart from the business part, a linguistic focus, which is omnipresent in the L2 conversation (see also Theodórsdóttir, in press).

In the analyzed L2 service encounter, the participants, in joint effort, manage to maintain the L2 as the main language throughout the whole encounter. A critically important point here is the language negotiation in the very beginning of the recording, which suggests that Icelandic is not the obvious language for the interaction; The participants' agreement on using Icelandic (L2) for the upcoming interaction seems the only plausible explanation for the maintenance of the L2 in this interaction where English would seem to be the more obvious choice for this business transaction.

The co-habitation of business and linguistic focus is very salient in the interaction, made possible by a distinct division of labor between the participants, as the clerk attends to the business side whereas Anna focuses on linguistic features of the L2.

Anna succeeds in exploiting this business encounter for language learning purposes with help from the clerk. The clerk deploys a specific practice which allows him to meet his double obligation in this conversation, i.e. he agreed to interact in Icelandic with the low level L2 speaker and as a clerk in a bakery he is responsible for progressing the business part of the encounter. The clerk designs his utterances in a specific way to accommodate the dual focus on business and language in the L2 interaction. This recipient design was seen in the clerk's use of Icelandic and, when faced with no response, his subsequent shift to English to ensure comprehension on the part of the L2 speaker which is beneficial to the business part.

The attending to features in the L2 relates to the ongoing interaction at that point, i.e. Anna repaired the pronunciation of a key referential item for ordering in the bakery (excerpt 2), she attended to the meaning of word (excerpt 3) which was seen as a prerequisite for responding to the clerk's question and thereby for continuing with the business. She also engaged in small talk with the clerk (excerpt 5) at a point in the interaction where a lengthy pause may occur (cf. excerpt 1).

In this encounter, Anna and the clerk adopt the roles of a language learner and a language expert respectively and engage in language orientation suggesting that they are 'doing' language learning.

A smooth interplay is seen between the business interaction and the language-focused interaction. The orientation to linguistic features does not disturb the business part of the interaction, i.e. there is an unmitigated return to the business talk after an insertion sequence of attending to linguistic features (excerpt 2).

The actions of both participants intensify during the course of the interaction. In Anna's case we see at first the attending to linguistic aspects is embedded and only implicitly requires the participation of the L1 speaker (cf. excerpts 2 and 3), while towards the end of the interaction the Anna has become 'bolder' in her attending to language matters. This we see in one aspect of the activity in excerpt 6. First, the explicit request to the L1 speaker to act in the L2 (count the change in Icelandic) was seen as an embedded language orientation within the scope of 'normal' bakery conduct. Anna's repeating the clerk's utterances is, however, moving the language-

oriented activities out of the scope of a 'normal' real life business interaction into a more classroom-like activity. With regard to the clerk's practice we see in the first cases his practice takes two turns at talk where a pause in between the turns affords an opportunity for Anna to respond whereas in the last example there is no pause between the Icelandic and the translation to English and therefore no longer an opportunity for Anna to react.

As suggested earlier the social relationship between the participants may be relevant in the bakery talk. Brouwer & Wagner (2004) discuss the establishing of a social relationship describing "how speakers during the course of very few encounters create knowledge of each other, or, in other words, joint membership. Speakers build on knowledge they establish in initial encounters and use this knowledge in later encounters" (p.41). The escalation in the focus on linguistic features, the increased involvement of the clerk and the development of his activities performing a specific recipient design suggest that, over the course of the few minutes this interaction lasted, the participants managed to establish some kind of social relationship, each exploiting their knowledge of the other to carry out increasingly 'bold' activities. In other words, the establishment of joint membership Brouwer & Wagner found taking place over time seems to happen here in a matter of minutes.

## 4.0 Conclusion

This section will address some of the questions and points of interest put forth in the paper, and attempt to provide some answers or suggestions:

*Does the interaction, where one of the participants is a L2 speaker, have specific characteristics that distinguishes it from interaction between L1 speakers? And, what are they?* This study revealed an omnipresent linguistic focus in the second language interaction by the L2 speaker herself. This focus is seen in the L2 speaker's orientation to pronunciation, vocabulary, and generally in her persistent attempts to participate in an interaction that is beyond her linguistic abilities.

*How do L2 speakers identify or create opportunities for everyday L2 interaction?* This study reveals one method the L2 speaker employs: She negotiates with her co-participants that the L2 be used for an upcoming interaction (cf. excerpt 2), and thereby makes her identity as a L2 learner relevant, and also manages to solicit

the help from her co-participant with linguistic matter, implicitly assigning him the role of a language expert.

*How does the L2 learner, with the help of her co-participant, exploit this business interaction as a resource for second language use and learning?* One of the most important points in this paper is how the participants manage, through elaborate collaboration and division of labor, the duality of this interaction. In the opening of the conversation Anna made revealed her identity as a L2 learner by entering into an agreement with the clerk to use Icelandic for this interaction. The dual nature of the interaction was, therefore, clear to both participants from the beginning: Anna initiated linguistic focus while the clerk attended to the business side of the conversation (selling baked goods). During the interaction Anna managed to gather the linguistic items needed for doing business. For this the clerk's help is critical. His role in this interaction is interesting. Faced with a dual responsibility; taking care of the business side as his job as a clerk requires, and interacting in Icelandic with this low level L2 speaker, as he had agreed to do. For meeting both aspects he employs a specific strategy: He first uttered a first pair part of an adjacency pair in Icelandic and thereby upheld the agreement with the L2 speaker. Then following a pause and no response from Anna, he translated his utterance into English. This way he makes sure that Anna understands and manages to satisfy the business part: For the business to progress it is vital that the customer understands. The active participation of both Anna and the clerk are the key factor in the success of this interaction for business and learning.

*Can language learning be described as attending to linguistic features of the L2?* Anna's (L2 speaker's) intense focus on language related matters and thereby making her identity as a language learner relevant, with the help from the clerk who adopts the role of a language expert is 'doing' language learning in an everyday situation. The co-operation between the participants is the key element in the success of these activities and reveals their understanding of their activities as language learning activities. It is the participants' dynamic interaction that allows Anna to meet her goal to conduct her business in the target language, which can be seen as a social accomplishment (Firth & Wagner, 2007).

*How are these activities related to the ongoing topical activity?*
Some of the activities Anna engages in are a necessary prerequisite for continuing the business interaction (cf. excerpts 2 and 3). In that sense we can say that she is

'learning' to participate in this specific topical interaction. She solicits the features she lacks for participating in the topical interaction from her environment and her co-participant[25]. In other cases these activities are not called for to continue the business. Rather, they are parallel activities in their own right focusing on linguistic issues (cf. excerpts 4 and 6). Nevertheless, these activities are, as those above, taking advantage of the situation and are at the same time related to that specific situation, even if they are not necessary to continue the business: in excerpt 4 the L2 speaker searches for an alternative formula to use instead of going with the one he used earlier in the talk. This can be seen as her attempt to add to her active vocabulary (variety in her language use). That too is a language learning activity.

Thirdly there are cases the L2 speaker engages in a social activity of chatting in the L2 (excerpt 5). Here she can be seen working on her social skills, which are an important part of learning a second language.

In this study we see the participants maintaining an interaction that has a dual focus from the beginning: Linguistic focus and topical focus: Through elaborate and dynamic co-operation the participants co-constructed this interaction for business and learning.

# Chapter 5. 0

# The third article: *It takes two to do language learning – intersubjectivity and linguistic foci in naturally occurring L2 interaction.* Co-author is Søren W. Eskildsen, University of Southern Denmark

## 1.0 Introduction

Drawing on Conversation Analysis (CA), this paper investigates L2 learning (SLA) as a pervasive phenomenon (Wagner, 2010). There is a large body of research in CA-SLA on doing learning as a social activity, mostly in classrooms or in tasks otherwise designed for language learning, e.g., Markee (2000), Markee & Kasper (2004), Hellermann (2006, 2007, 2008, 2009), see also Kasper and Wagner (forthc.) for an overview, and a growing number of research on L2 learning in everyday life

situations, see Wagner (forthc.) and Brouwer (forthc.) for an overview. Our first concern here lies with an interactional activity that has been investigated as 'doing learning in the wild', namely word searches (Brouwer, 2003; Kurhila, 2006) as this is also the phenomenon we will discuss in terms of our own data.
Word searches are not limited to L2 speakers, they are also known in L1 talk (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). In certain types of word searches, however, L2 speakers may display their non-membership of the target language community by making their identity as L2 learners relevant in the way they carry out an action or make use of a semiotic resource (Kasper, 2004a; Kasper & Wagner, forthc.; Park, 2007). Thus, in this paper we will discuss the specifics of an interactional practice in which the L2 speaker substitutes an English term in the face of lacking vocabulary in the L2. Our findings indicate that the basic work of this practice is the establishment of intersubjectivity, but, as we will show, the L2 speaker's use of English results in different interactional trajectories, depending on a number of things, the design of the TCU containing the target item, the reaction of the co-participants and the nature of Anna's reaction. In some cases, the practice enters into what transpires as co-constructed word searches, which in some specific cases can be understood as doing L2 learning. These cases are the main focus of this paper.

Before coming to our own data, we will briefly sum up the findings from two comparable studies. Brouwer (2003) investigated word search as a social practice. She made a distinction between examples with an explicit word search marker in the form of a phrase or other lexical expression (e.g., 'how do you say', 'what do you call it again' etc) and examples without such markers. In the latter examples, there were, however, implicit word search markers, such as prolonged vowels and speech perturbations, which signal trouble in the talk (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Other semiotic resources may also be involved in signalling word searches, e.g., summons, gestures, eye gaze etc, e.g. (Eskildsen, in press; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009). Whatever the signalling resources, Brouwer (2003) showed that the design of the initial turn in what may evolve into a word search is decisive for the course of the on-going interaction; depending on this design, the speaker may signal self-repair or invite co-participants into to the word search activity (see also Eskildsen, in press). Brouwer argues that some of the word searches are opportunities for language learning, based on their architecture.

Kurhila (2006), in an extensive study on Finnish L2 interaction found word search practices in which the L2 speaker uses a ‘loan word’ as one possible device to indicate to the co-participant what the missing word is. This is the L2 speaker’s attempt to bring a word search to an end. These ‘loans’ are accounted for by the L2 speaker showing hesitancy in his lexical choices, especially with prosodically marked interrogatives. These foreign words are not treated as unmarked elements in the turn, rather they are oriented to by the L1 speaker who usually provides a translation into Finnish. The L2 speaker then often displays an understanding of the translation by repeating it.

While some of the aspects of Kurhila’s study resembles the practice seen in our data, there is a fundamental difference between the two. Kurhila's finding that loan words are 'interactionally marked', i.e., they received special attention in the interaction and were always considered as material prompting an other-repair, does not corroborate with our data in which, as we will show, the primary function of the English word is to establish and maintain intersubjectivity and carry out the interactional business; the L2 speaker makes herself understood by using an English term, which does not get any special attention from the participants. In some cases, however, the English term yields a special focus and the interaction turns into a word search, if specific additional interactional work is carried out, including the deployment of a certain turn design in terms of productional features, placement of the English item in the turn and in some cases prosody. These productional and sequential features are also reported in Brouwer (2003, 2004) and Kurhila (2006).

Another difference between Kurhila’s work and our study concerns the language from which the L2 speaker 'loans' words, the "help language". In our data it is English, whereas in Kurhila’s study, there is great variety in the linguistic backgrounds of the L2 speakers and hence in the help language drawn on. The successful use of a help language towards reaching intersubjectivity depends on the degree to which the interactants share the language in question; an issue which is both individual and societal in nature. Therefore, insight into the social context of L2 conversation in Iceland is a condition for the description and understanding of the practice investigated here, which echoes Firth and Wagner's (1997) call for “a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use” (p. 286) for the study of second language acquisition. Wagner (forthc., p. 51) states that in Scandinavia “ it is common to switch the language of conversation into

English whenever foreigners are around, and many people do this effortlessly." Strictly speaking Iceland is not Scandinavian, but it belongs to the Nordic countries which are culturally, historically and linguistically related; Icelandic is closely related to Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Faeroese. Wagner's statement of people in Scandinavia using English effortlessly may be even more true for Iceland. The geographical location of Iceland, between mainland Europe and the United States of America, means, among other things, that travel to the USA is common for Icelanders. Direct flights from Iceland to many major cities in the US do not take much longer that the flights to Europe's major cities, and the price is about the same. Furthermore, American culture, and therefore, perhaps, the English language, may be more salient in Iceland than in other Nordic countries.

It is in this social context that the target practice of this paper should be understood as our data show how English as a help language for L2 speakers of Icelandic is available as a resource for establishing intersubjective meaning, as well as, in some cases, searching for words in the L2. In other words, the data show how a L2 speaker makes use of a locally available resource, i.e. a resource that is dependent on the social (and historical) context, for a dual purpose, namely to make herself understood and to solicit a L1 speaker's help in a word search. In specific cases this transpires into 'doing L2 learning', as the L2 user displays attempts to 'pick up' new L2 vocabulary. This point is relevant for the overall discussion of L2 learning in everyday life situations, and may be especially relevant in terms of social conditions for L2 learning in the Nordic countries.

Brouwer & Wagner (2004) note controlled use of English in repair sequences in L2 Danish, where English functions as a help language. They argue that the acquisition of Danish happens in a multilingual environment. This is, as we will show, also true for the learning of Icelandic as accomplished in our data.

A more specific point of our study is the productional design of the target practice: How is a general resource for reaching intersubjectivity structured as a word search? This relates to recent research on specific strategies the L2 speaker employs for doing language learning in a non-educational environment (Theodórsdóttir, forthc., in press). This point contributes to an on-going discussion on L2 learning/acquisition taking place outside of the classrooms (Wagner, 2010).

## 2.0 The Data

This study uses transcribed audio recordings of naturally occurring conversations in L2 Icelandic in non-educational settings. Anna, a Canadian student of Icelandic for foreign students at the University of Iceland volunteered to make recordings in her daily life. Anna was a beginner in Icelandic and started recording in her second month in Iceland. She handed in approx. 30 minutes weekly for the period of three years (2005-2008). In return she was offered a tutoring session for one hour a week, where the tutor helped her with her homework. When listening to her tapes it turned out that she had taped both various service encounters as well as private talk. Her interlocutors were either first or second language speakers of Icelandic.

The use of audio instead of video was a conscious decision. To capture authentic, unprepared talk as it happens in real time, audio recorders are more handy than the use of video which requires setting up the camera(s) to capture both the participants in the conversation. Such preparation could easily challenge the authenticity of the interaction; these data could not have been collected as video recordings. This study uses transcribed data from the first 7 months of recordings. In our collection we have 33 examples of the target practice.

## 3.0 The shift to English as a resource to achieve intersubjectivity

The target practice of this study, i.e. the use of an English term in an otherwise Icelandic utterance, has, at least, two functions: 1) to reach intersubjectivity (The L2 speaker manages to make herself understood), which is the primary function and the common denominator for all the examples in our collection, and 2) a search for this term in the L2 and an invitation for the L1 speaker to help. This secondary function is displayed in some cases (in 17 cases of the 33 in our collection) and parallels the main function of the practice. In this section we will discuss the former function, and the latter is discussed in section 4.0.

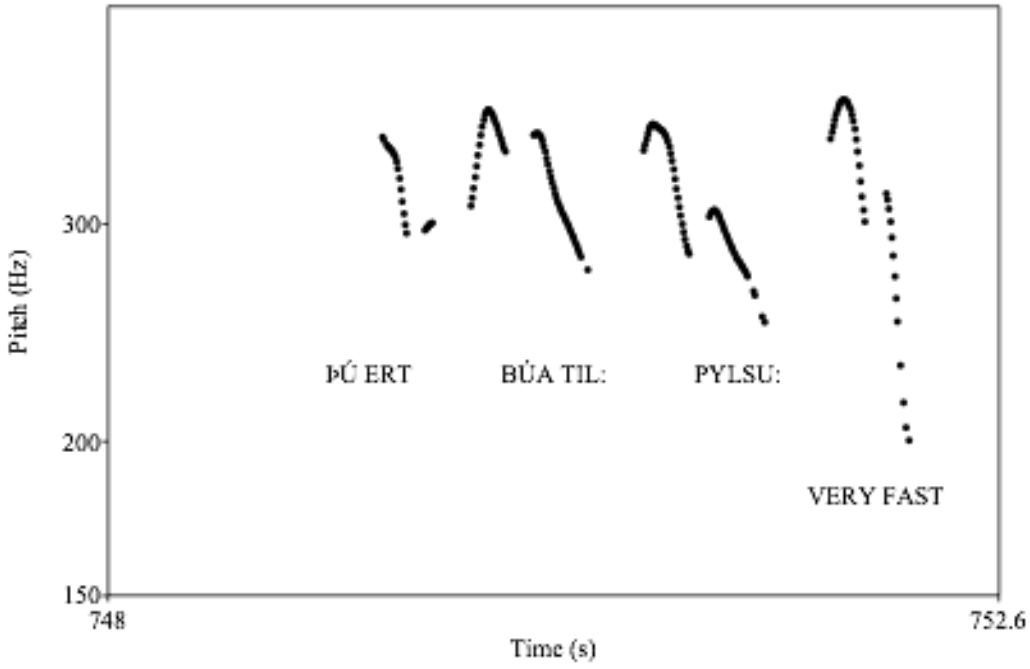
We suggest that a general function of the target practice is the L2 speaker's making up for a lack of a key term in the L2 with an English word in order to reach intersubjectivity as we will see in the first excerpt. In the excerpt Anna is talking to a clerk at a hot dog stand. She is commenting on the clerk's efficient work style.

Excerpt 1: Very fast

```
01    AN:     ÞÚ ERT BÚA TIL (.) PYLSU  (.) VERY FAST↓
              YOU ARE MAKE       A-HOT-DOG
              you are make a hot dog very fast
02            (0.3)
03    CL:     já  takk   fyrir kærlega
              yes thanks for   very-much
              yes thank you very much
```

Anna's utterance in line 1 starts in Icelandic (L2), *þú ert búa til (.) pylsu* (you are make a-hot-dog) then she switches to English, *very fast*. The clerk's response (line 3) shows that he understands this as a compliment as he says *já takk fyrir kærlega* (yes thank you very much). With her switch to English, the L2 speaker manages to complete her TCU and establish intersubjectivity as these final items in her TCU are the key words in the utterance (the compliment). The use of English does not merit any special attention here. At this stage, we note that the turn, in which the English term is employed, is fluent, i.e. there is no indication of trouble, and uttered in a prosodically coherent fashion, with a falling intonation at the end as can be seen in picture 1.

Picture 1: Very fast



In previous research, one of the features (together with productional design) that may solicit repair from the next speaker has been found to be the placement of the repairable as the final elements in the turn (Brouwer, 2004). Our data corroborate with this finding; items that are understood as repairable are turn-final, or fall as the final items in the turn so far, a notion we will return to in later discussions, and in the few examples where the target item is mid-turn it does not receive the status of a repairable. However, in our data the turn-final placement of these items does not suffice for the interaction to turn into a word search, as seen in excerpt 1, which shows that the use of English in and of itself does not automatically result in a focus on language (even if the English item is placed in turn-final position), which is different from Kurhila's (2006) findings as mentioned earlier. It would seem that English is just another semiotic resource in the act of achieving intersubjectivity unless specific interactional work is carried out to signal otherwise; specific criteria need to be fulfilled in order for an item to obtain status as repairable. In excerpt 1, the use of English does not become repairable; i.e., the English words are not uttered so as to stand out and invite for repair activities. The means by which to make them stand out are features of production. The target turn is prosodically coherent and fluent (i.e., unmarred by any speech perturbations), and the items produced in coherence with the rest of the TCU in question. Excerpt 1 represents 16 examples from our collection.

The next section concerns examples where the use of English differs in terms of turn design to produce essentially different interactional trajectories, circling around an orientation to the L2, more specifically a L2 word search while at the same time contributing to maintaining intersubjectivity.

## 4.0 A single practice accomplishing a dual purpose

In this section we will look at examples where the use of English accomplishes a dual purpose: Establishing intersubjective meaning AND a displaying search for a word in the L2. As shown in the preceding section, the use of an English term in an otherwise Icelandic utterance is not automatically understood by the participants as a word search. The main point of this section is to describe the nature of the interactional work needed for the situation to turn into a word search. In section 4.3 below, we will

examine the word search cases more closely in order to determine how some of them can be described as 'doing learning'.

The conversation in excerpt 2 takes place in a car following the participants' (Jón (JN) and Anna (AN)) attempt to get to a famous crater in Iceland, called *Víti* (Hell). They did not reach *Hell* due to high winds. The conversation is playing with the word *hell*; they did not get there because they are too good people.

Excerpt 2: Too good

```
01    AN:    við erum uh:::: (1.9) too good↓
             we  are
02           (0.3)
03    JN:    við erum bara alltof góð
             we  are  just too    good
04    AN:    bara alltof (0.2) a[lltof]
             just too          t[oo]
05    JN:                        [við he-]við hefðum átt
                                 [we hav-]we  have   should
                                 we sh- we should have
06          að vita það við erum bara [alltof]
            to know it  we  are  just [too]
            known it we are just too
07     AN:                             [já:: já:]
                                       [ye::s ye:s]
```

Anna starts her turn (line 1) in Icelandic but eventually switches to English, *við við erum uh:::: (1.9) too good* (we we are uh:::: (1.9) too good). Several aspects of her turn indicate trouble; she starts with *við* (we) and then she restarts *við erum* (we are). In addition her turn is characterized by extensive speech perturbations, the prolonged *uh* and the lengthy pause (1.9 sec). The trouble itself appears to be in finding the next element in her TCU (Brouwer, 2003; Schegloff, 1979) but she finishes her TCU, thereby making herself understood, by way of switching to English, *too good*, after the pause.

Research on repair initiation (Brouwer, 2003; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) shows the employment of certain productional and prosodical features for self initiation of other repair. These features are try-marking, i.e. rising intonation of the trouble item, speech perturbations preceding the item, and its placement in the turn, i.e. turn-final. In excerpt 2, we see two of these features: the target item is preceded

by non-lexical speech perturbations and it is placed turn-finally. The intonation in excerpt 2, however, is falling. This is an interesting empirical observation which, as will be shown, is not only true for this excerpt, but perhaps for the practice as such. The use of English in excerpt 2 is comparable to excerpt 1 above inasmuch as it helps the L2 speaker make herself understood. This conversation, however, unfolds differently as we can see in Jón's turn (line 3). Jón whose L1 is Icelandic, apparently understands Anna's action as a search for the Icelandic counterpart of the English term which he delivers embedded in his turn, *við erum bara alltof góð*, which also carries on the topic of the interaction. The mitigated design of his turn gives primacy to the topic of the interaction, not to the repairable English term. Instead, he expresses agreement with Anna's statement by repeating parts of her words, *við erum* (we are), adding a word, *bara* (just), making the statement noticeably his and not just a repeat of Anna's utterance, and finally he gives her the Icelandic *alltof góð* (too good). Anna orients to the words Jón offered by partly repeating them (line 4) suggesting that she is in fact orienting to the wording. Anna repeats *bara alltof* (just too) and then following a short pause she repeats *alltof* (too). During her repeat of *alltof* (too) the co-participant overlaps her with another reformulation; an additional confirmation of Anna's statement which includes (partly) the target words, *við he- við hefðum átt að vita það við erum bara alltof* (we shou- we should have known that we are just too). Anna's acknowledgment tokens *já já* (yes yes) overlap Jón's *alltof* (too) suggesting that the participants have in fact concluded the word search.
In other words, we see in excerpt 2 the L2 speaker's use of an English term in an Icelandic utterance manage a dual purpose: reaching intersubjective meaning and soliciting a lexical item in the L2. The design of the turn containing the target item is prototypical for our cases with non lexical speech perturbations (*uh*s and pauses) which isolate the item in question (Brouwer, 2004), but the trajectory of the practice varies as we will see in the next excerpts.

The participants in the conversation seen in excerpt 3 (Anna (AN), Jón (JN) and Martin (MA)) are in a car travelling in the northern part of Iceland. Prior to the excerpt they went for a walk and got caught in high winds. Jón stated that this was 'a little' wind and Anna protested. In her turn in the excerpt she relates her version of the weather conditions.

Excerpt 3: worst wind/encounter

```
01    AN:   okay það var (1.0) uh:::(0.5)(.ts)(1.2)
                  that was
                                          ↗ ↗
02          vindur (1.2) uh::::: the worst wind↓
            wind
03          (0.4)
04    JN:   versti
            the-worst
05    AN:   versti
            the-worst
06    JN:   eða mesti
            or  the-most
07    AN:   mesti   and versti↑
            the-most    the-worst
08    JN:   versti worst mesti most
09    AN:   ah okay (0.4) versti is worst↓
10    JN:   mhm mhm
11    AN:   það var (.) versti vindur sem
            it  was     the-worst wind that

12          ég hef (0.7) uh::::: encountered↑
            I  have
13    JN:   verið í bara
            been in simply
14          (0.7)
15    AN:   uh:[:]
16    MA:      [ve]rið í
               [be]en  in
17    AN:   verið í
            been  in
```

Following a turn-initial *okay*, which can both signal receipt of the previous utterance and the beginning of a new sequence (Kasper, 2004b) , and a pitch reset, Anna's turn (lines 1-2): *það var (1.0) uh::: (0.5) (.ts) (1.2) vindur (1.2) uh::::: the worst wind* is marked by extensive pauses and *uh*s indicating trouble (Brouwer, 2003; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1979). The use of the English *the worst wind* is the last item in the-turn-so-far. Jón (line 4) repairs Anna's *the worst wind* by offering *versti* (the-worst).

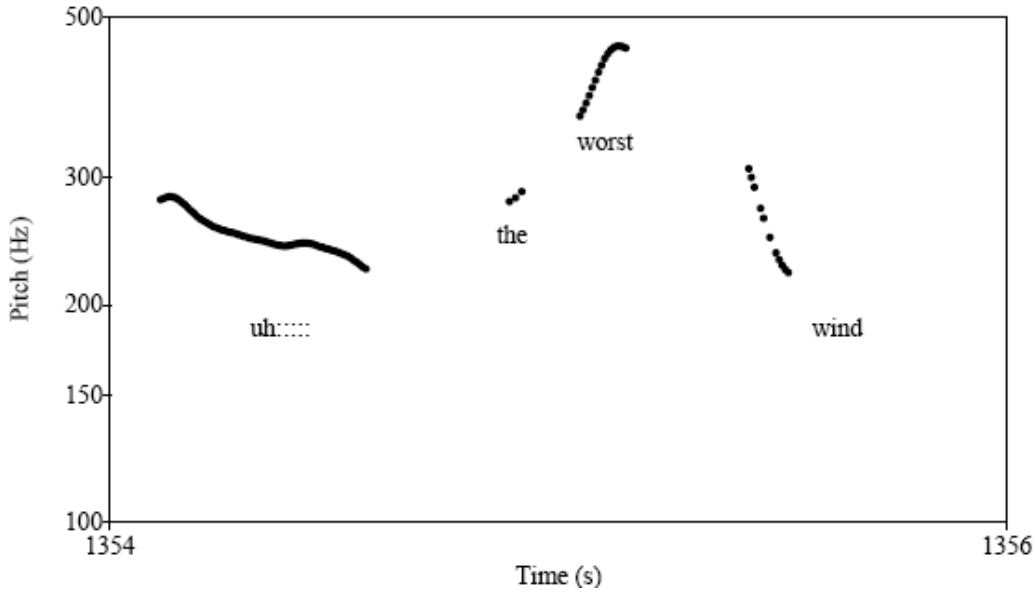
Jón's repair is short and unmitigated and thus designed not to disturb the flow of the talk. This resembles Kurhila's (2001) 'en passant' corrections she identified for other initiated other repair (correction). Even if, as in our case, we have an invited repair it appears that there is an orientation to minimizing the impact of the repair on the topical interaction. This may indicate that Jón orients to Anna's turn as not complete. Anna and her co-participant orient to Anna's action as a search for the corresponding item (to *the worst wind*) in the L2. The trouble item follows speech perturbations and

pauses, furthermore, as we will see in picture 2, the pitch on *worst* is significantly higher than that of the surrounding talk. These features can be heard as an invitation for the co participant to help with this item (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). Interestingly, the participants only attend to *worst* but not to *wind* even though both words were in English. The reason is possibly that Anna displays earlier in the turn that she already knows the Icelandic *vindur* (wind). The raised pitch on the word *worst* may also be a contributing factor (cf. picture 2).

At this point Anna has received a sought for item. Her next move determines the trajectory of the interaction. She orients to the target item, *versti*, by repeating it (line 5), which can be understood as an act of doing language learning. Jón's offering of a term in Icelandic and Anna's following pick-up might have ended this sequence of L2 orientation, but Jón adds an alternative L2 item, *eða mesti* (or the-most) in line 6. The L1 speaker, then, keeps to language focus, and Anna, aligning with this, repeats the two Icelandic terms intersected by the English additive 'and' (line 7) – an English word which receives no special attention.[26] Furthermore, the rising intonation of Anna's turn indicates that she is asking a question requiring an answer from Jón which comes in line 8, *versti worst mesti most*. In line 9, following a change of state token (Heritage, 1984a) *ah okay* suggesting that they have reached intersubjectivity, Anna inquires about the relevant terms again, *versti is worst?*, and following an acknowledgement token from Jón (line 10) she restarts her TCU in line 11 using the new item.

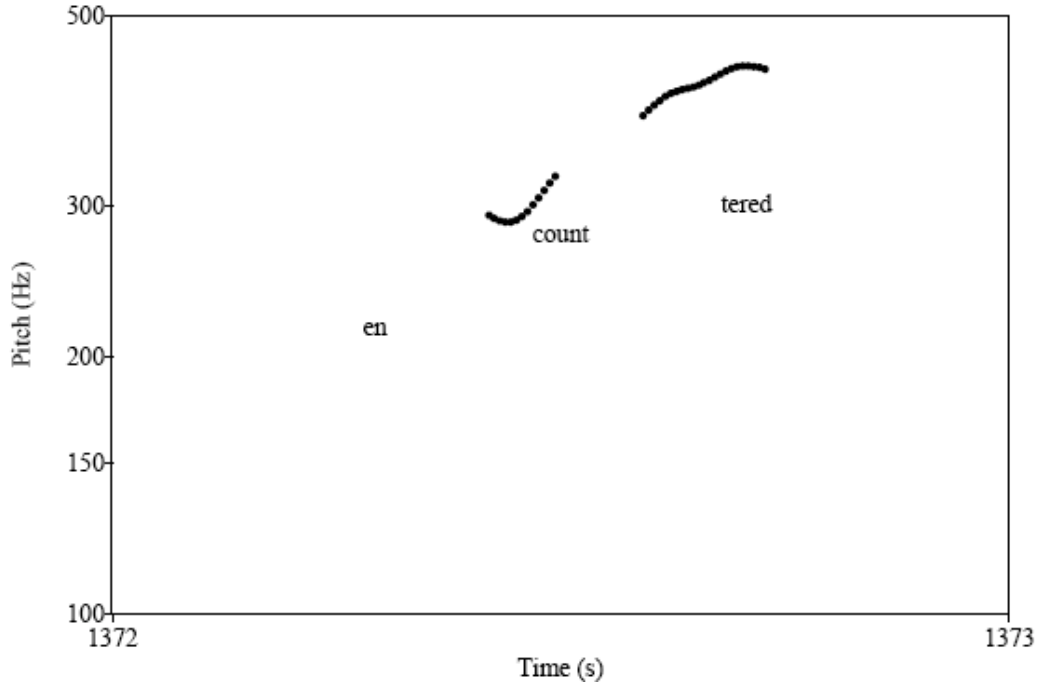
After uttering *það var (.) versti vindur sem ég hef* (that was the worst wind that I have) she runs into trouble again, indicated by a 0.7 sec pause and some *uh*s following which she switches back to English, uttering *encountered.* The design of this turn is very similar to that of the 'worst wind' turn. The switch to English follows speech perturbations and the item constitutes its own prosodic unit and is turn final. In this case, however, the intonation is rising (try-marked) opposed to falling intonation in the *worst wind.*

Picture 2: The worst wind




In this example the pitch on the target words is notably high which sets the item apart from the preceding items in the TCU, whereas the intonation is falling in the end. In picture 3 we can see the intonation contour of *encountered* which is distinctly rising:

Picture 3: Encountered



The co-participant's reaction is also similar; Jón offers the corresponding Icelandic term, *verið í* only adding *bara* (simply). After a pause and an *uh* from Anna indicating new trouble, Martin repairs Jón's candidate solution to Anna's word search in line 16, *verið í* (been in), deleting the extra word *bara* (simply) from Jón's repair. Anna's pick up in line 17, *verið í* (been in), suggests that *bara* was in fact causing her trouble. *Verið í* thus comes to stand as the completion of Anna's turn and the entire sequence. So far we have seen Anna use the practice of switching to English when lacking vocabulary in the L2. Thereby she is able to make herself understood and furthermore solicit the L2 word from her co-participants. In these two cases (worst/encounter) her co-participant provided the sought for word, which she then picked up. This can be seen as doing language learning.

In the third case investigated in this section we see yet another trajectory of the target practice determined by Anna's third turn activity.

In excerpt 4 Anna is talking to an Icelandic friend, Jón (JN) while driving in a car. Prior to the excerpt they have been talking about a birthday party held by one of Anna's friends. Anna told him that the person who had the birthday gave her guests some sweets. In the excerpt Anna asks Jón if he thinks that this is weird.

Excerpt 4: Weird

```
01    AN:    uh:m (.ts) uh::::: finnst þé:r (1.8) weird
                                 find   you
             do you think
02    JN:    skrítið
             weird
03           (0.4)
04    AN:    .ha finnst þér skrítinn↓ (1.4) uh::m: (.ts) (0.2) það
                 find   you weird                              it
              do you think it's weird it

05           (0.3) va:r (0.6) afmæli  (3.1) olga's↑
                   wa:s       birthday
                   was Olga's birthday
06    JN:    mhm
07           (0.7)
08    AN:    olga: (0.4) gaf .h (1.0) okkur nemann
                         gave         us    sweetie
09    JN:    nammi↓
             sweets↓
10    AN:    nammi .hhehehe .h[hhh]
             sweets
11    JN:                     [finnst] finnst mér það skrítið að (0.2)
                              [find]   find   I   it  weird   that
```

```
                                [do I] do I think it is weird that

12              hún hafi (0.2) gefið ykkur nammi.
                she had        given you   sweets.
                she gave you sweets.
13      AN:     já
                yes
14              (0.6)
15      JN:      m::: nei (0.4) [mér f-] nei mér finnst það ekki skrítið
                      no        [I f-]   no  I   find   it  not  weird
                 no I do- no I don't think it's weird
16      AN:                    [nei]
                               [no]
```

Anna's turn beginning (line 1) is marked by vowel stretching and *uh*s before the utterance of *finnst þé:r* (do you: think). This is a beginning of a first pair part of an adjacency pair, a question. The prolongation in *þé:r (you)* and a long pause (1.8 sec) indicate trouble with the next due item. Then she switches to English delivering *weird*. Anna's use of the word *weird* is understood by her co-participant as a search for the corresponding L2 item, which he offers in line 2 with *skrítið* (weird). This is an unmitigated short repair, containing only the target item and is thus reminiscent of Kurhila's (2001) 'en passant' correction which she identified as short, unmitigated corrections designed to minimally disturb the conversation (avoid getting into a side sequence of language orientation). Taking into account the incompleteness of Anna's TCU in line 1, syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically, the design of the repair makes sense; the current speaker has a right to utter one TCU and thus the co-participant takes measures not to take over the turn (cf. excerpt 3).

Anna's next action is to restart her TCU and use the new item, albeit in a different form (*skrítinn*) than the one offered by Jón (*skrítið*). Jón does not hearably orient to this change even though the falling intonation and the following pause indicate try-marking and leave interactional leeway for Jón to come in. Anna then goes on to deliver her turn (lines 4-8) as a series of three clauses, pragmatically and topically bound but lacking formally required conjunctions. After a short side sequence of repair (lines 9-10) of the items *nemann* / *nammi* (sweetie / sweets), Jón, partially in overlap with Anna's in-breath, produces a candidate understanding of Anna's question, formulated as a yes/no question and thus a first pair part (lines 11-12). By formulating this yes/no question, he has changed the personal pronoun to fit his own perspective and produced an embedded repair of the form of the target word, *skrítið* rather than *skrítinn*. Delivering the second pair part to Jón's question, Anna, by way of

an acknowledgement token, confirms Jón´s understanding of the previous turn and thus the achieving of intersubjectivity (line 13). Jón then answers Anna's question (line 15).

So far, then, we have seen interactions run off along a variety of trajectories when a L2 user makes use of another language (here, the L1) as a semiotic resource. This practice has been shown to serve a dual purpose; 1) to establish and maintain intersubjectivity, and 2) to elicit a target item in the L1 (i.e., a word search and an invitation to help). What trajectory the interaction will follow depends both on the nature of the delivery of the turn in which the trouble occurs and the reactions of the participants. If the English word sits mid-turn it will not prompt a repair sequence. If, on the other hand, the unit is produced so as to stands out prosodically and in turn-final position or the final element in the turn so far (cf. excerpt 3: Worst wind), it may elicit a repair sequence. The actual repair may be more or less extensive and more or less embedded, depending on participants' reactions.

In the next section we see an analysis of a case, which provides support to our understanding of the practice's primary and secondary functions.

## 4.1 Intersubjectivity first, repair second

In the next excerpt Anna is talking to a woman who works in the dormitory where she stays. Prior to excerpt 5 the participants were discussing beverages. Anna asked the woman if she liked Coke and the woman told her that she preferred water.

Excerpt 5: Thirsty

```
01    AN:     aah (0.3) vatn (.) þú  drekkur vatn
                        water    you drink   water
02    WO:     já
              yes
03    AN:     uh:m (0.6) þegar (.) þú e[:r] (0.4) thirsty↓
                          when     you a[:re]
04    WO:                                  [xx ]
05    WO:     já  þyrst   þegar [ég er] þyrst
              yes thirsty when  [I am]  thirsty
06    AN:                       [(þyrst)]
                                [(thirsty)]
07    AN:     já
              yes
08    WO:     .hjá þá drekk ég vatn
              .hyes then drink I water
              yes then I drink water
```

Line 1 is Anna's candidate understanding of what has been said before. Her understanding is confirmed by the Icelandic woman in line 2, *já* (yes). Anna, in line 3, then continues by adding, simplified, *þegar þú e:r (0.4) thirsty* (when you a:re (0.4) thirsty). The stretching of the vowel in *e:r* (a:re) together with the pause of 0.4 sec indicate trouble with the upcoming item (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1979). The English word *thirsty* is turn-final which makes it easily attendable for other repair but the intonation is falling, as we also saw in the case of 'the worst wind' above (cf. excerpt 2). In cases of self-initiation of other repair, Brouwer (2003) reports that one device for initiation of repair is a rising intonation (try-marking). In that light the falling intonation of the target item (line 3), may indicate that this is not searching for this word in the L2, but simply a part of the question: you drink water when you are thirsty? as we saw in excerpt 1. On the other hand, the intonation may not play a crucial role in the self-initiation of other repair, e.g. excerpt 6: grew up. At this point it is not clear what the next relevant action by the co-participant is, i.e. deliver the item in the L2 or respond to the question. Interestingly, in her response the co-participant does both, as she provides the L2 term, *þyrst*, twice in the same turn (line 5) *já þyrst þegar ég er þyrst* (yes thirsty when I am thirsty). What, at first glance, may appear to be a 'softened' response to a word search, i.e. the target item is delivered as a part of a response to the topical question in an embedded repair (Brouwer, Rasmussen, & Wagner, 2004; Jefferson, 1987), is actually a carefully organized response to a complex action. The Icelandic woman seems to be accomplishing three activities: 1) the turn-initial *Já* is oriented to the topic of the interaction;it is a second pair part of an adjacency pair (a response) to Anna's first pair part (a question) (lines 1 and 3). 2) The next item *þyrst* is a repair of *thirsty* signaling that the woman understands Anna's use of English here as a search for the Icelandic word. By way of the turn-initial *Já*, the topic is given primacy in that she addresses Anna's interview question before attending to language matters. Finally, 3) the woman recycles Anna's turn in line 3, but, much like Jón's embedded repair in the 'weird' example (excerpt 4), she makes a change of perspective in the personal pronoun.

In overlap with the Icelandic woman's turn, after her delivery of the queried item *þyrst*, we hear Anna pick up the item by way of a repeat (line 6). Anna's next turn, *já*

(yes) in line 7, is oriented to by the Icelandic woman as an acknowledgment token that intersubjectivity has been achieved, and in line 8 she (the woman) continues and concludes the topic of the interaction, *then I drink water*.

The main point here is the nature of the co-participant's response. Instead of directly addressing the language matter, as we saw the L1 speaker do in excerpts 3 and 4, the woman first responds to the topical aspect of the talk. This may be due to uncertainty of how to understand Anna's turn (lines 1 and 3) as pointed out above; the falling intonation indicates this as a topical question, whereas the lengthening in the word preceding the target word together with the pause can be understood as trouble. The woman's prioritizing – the question as a primary action and word search as a secondary action – may further support the notion that the general function of the practice is to reach intersubjectivity. The embedded repair still allows for the L2 speaker to pay attention to language, as evidenced by Anna's pick up, but this transpires as secondary to the topic of the interaction, a form of spin-off of participating in naturally occurring conversations

## 4.2 The L2 speaker's role in the trajectory of the practice

In this section we will look at two sequences of the target practice that have a similar structure but unfold differently. In both, the participants are working to achieve intersubjectivity, but one turns into a word search while the other does not. The L2 speaker's actions in the third turn (the target practice being the first turn) are the key factor in determining how the activity unfolds.

Another point to be made here for both excerpt 6 and 7 is how the context of the talk, a pre-agreed interview format, allows for the Icelandic woman to do a specific interpretation of Anna's activities. This is seen in her (the woman's) candidate understanding of a single word from Anna as a full question.

In excerpt 6 Anna is talking to a woman who works at the dormitory where Anna stays. This conversation has the format of an interview, with Anna asking questions and the woman replying.

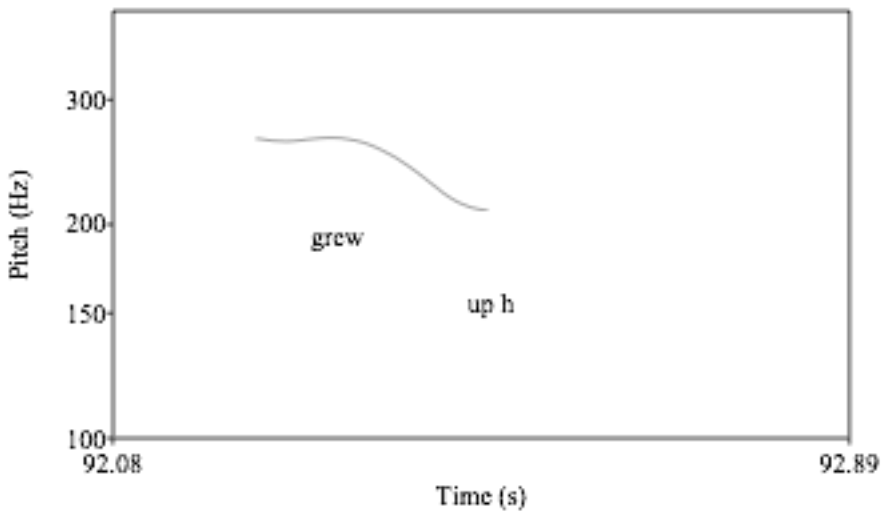
Prior to excerpt 6, Anna had asked the woman where she lives and she responded. The conversation preceding excerpt 6 has been in Icelandic.

Excerpt 6: grew up

```
01    AN:    oh (0.7) grew up↓
02           (0.4)
03    AN:    uh: [gr-]
04    WO:        [uh:] JÁ  HVAR  ÓLST ÉG UPP↓
                       YES WHERE GREW I  UP
05           (0.2)
06    AN:    ÓLS:(.)ti↓
             GRE:W  ED
07    WO:    ÓLST UPP
             GREW UP
08           (0.4)
09    AN:    ólst upp↓
             grew up
10    WO:    .hjá
             .hyes
11           (1.2)
12    AN:    hva:: (.) hva:r ó:[lst]
             whe:: (.) whe:re g:[rew]
13    WO:                      [í]  í  (.) reykjavík
                               [in] in
```

In line 1, Anna delivers *grew up* following a pause (line 1). *Grew up* marks the switch to English in an otherwise Icelandic conversation. It is noteworthy that *grew up* is not prosodically try-marked, i.e. with a rising intonation, but distinctly falling as the following picture shows:

Picture 4: Grew up




Following a 0.4 sec pause and no response from the co-participant, Anna (line 3) utters *uh* and *gr-*. This is possibly a start of a repeat of *grew up*, but we do not know

because the woman overlaps Anna's *gr-* with the utterance *já hvar ólst ég upp?* (yes where grew I up). The utterance *já* may serve as the woman's token of understanding of the topic of the talk. Then she delivers a repaired candidate question formulated as a first pair part of a yes/no question and changed in terms of the perspective of the personal pronoun[27], thus embedding her repair in a continuation of the interactional trajectory. Awaiting Anna's response, the woman's turn can be seen as initiating an insertion sequence (cf. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998) to the extent that it concerns how to understand Anna's turn in line 1. Instead of giving the woman the acknowledgment token that would close the insertion sequence, however, Anna, in line 6, repairs the woman's turn, *ólsti*, initiating a side-sequence and thereby putting the topical interaction on hold to focus on the L2 (Brouwer, 2004; Jefferson, 1972). Anna's action in line 6 is therefore critical to the development of the talk. By orienting to the item *ólst upp* rather than delivering a second pair part to first pair part in line 4, she designs a condition for a trajectory of attending to linguistic items (lines 6-10). *Ólsti*, not being a target language item, is repaired by the Icelandic woman (line 7). Anna picks up the repaired item and the woman responds *já*, confirming Anna's uptake. A lengthy pause ensues (line 11), suggesting not only that the side sequence has been completed, but also that the way the interaction has unfolded has consequences for the ongoing turn-allocation. Following the side sequence initiated by Anna, Anna herself is required to deliver the second pair part to the co-participant's first pair part that has been pending an answer since before the side sequence. While an acknowledgment token would have sufficed earlier as the second pair part, the time has now passed for a such adjacency to apply. Instead, she needs to go back to the topic of the talk herself; back to the unfinished business of her own turn in line 1, as it were. Thus, at the same time confirming the woman's candidate understanding and making use of the situation as she attempts to deploy the new linguistic material supplied by the woman (cf., Theodórsdóttir, in press), Anna embarks on reformulating the question of where her co-participant grew up (line 12), *hva:: (.) hva:r ó:lst* (whe:: (.) whe:re gre:w). The woman, in turn, (line 13) overlaps Anna's ongoing turn, delivering the answer to Anna's unfinished question: *í í Reykjavík* (in in Reykjavik) and thereby displaying understanding of Anna's unfinished TCU (Jefferson, 1984; Theodórsdóttir, in press).

The next excerpt is from the same conversation, only a few minutes later. As we will see, despite striking similarities especially in the beginning, the conversation unfolds differently from the one in excerpt 6.

The part of the conversation shown in excerpt 7 follows talk about the woman's grandchildren. The talk immediately preceding excerpt 7 has been in Icelandic.

Excerpt 7: how many

```
01    AN:    (xx) uh °uh° (0.3) °[how] many° (0.3) uh:m (0.7).h
02    WO:                        [.h]
03    WO:    hvað mörg barnabörn á ég?
             how many grandchildren have I?
             how many grandchildren do I have?
04           (0.3)
05    AN:    já
             yes
06    WO:    fjögur↓
             four↓
```

Anna's turn in line 1 is troubled as indicated by *uh*s and pauses. Then she switches to English and produces *how many* in low volume, followed by further speech perturbations thereby continuing to display accountable behavior; i.e., the delivery of *how many* does not complete her turn. As in the previous excerpt, Anna's utterance can be understood, taking into account the context of the talk, as an incipient attempt to ask the woman how many grandchildren she has. As was also the case in the previous example, the woman delivers a first pair part of an insertion-sequence, a candidate understanding of Anna's action in the form of a repaired candidate question which requires a yes/no answer (line 3): *hvað mörg barnabörn á ég?* (how many grandchildren have I?). In her utterance, the woman, offers the L2 item for *how many* embedded in a continuation of the interactional trajectory which is identical to the previous example.

So far this interaction is sequentially identical to the one in excerpt 6. Now, as in that case, it is Anna's next action that determines the trajectory of the talk. Anna now delivers the second pair part of an adjacency pair in the insertion sequence, *já* (yes), in line 5. At this point this interaction takes a different path from the previous one. The participants focus on the topic and there is no linguistic orientation, as opposed to excerpt 6, as we can see in the remaining turns. Now the participants have closed the insertion sequence (lines 3-4) and it is time for the woman to respond to Anna's

question regarding the number of grandchildren, which she does in line 6: *fjögur* (four).

In these two examples, then, Anna's role is decisive in attending to L2 items, whereas in the "worst/encounter" example, the Icelandic man was at least as important in that respect. It is interesting, though, that Anna displays different behavior in these two otherwise similar extracts with the Icelandic woman. Because the difference in her behavior hinges on the focus on the Icelandic items, it is worth considering the idea that *grew up* and *how many* do not present the same amount of trouble to Anna. It is, after all, well-established that linguistic items may be more or less well known to language users, and L2 vocabulary research often works on a continuum going from partial to precise knowledge, e.g., Henriksen (1999, 2008). It is also in alignment with Kurhila (2006) who proposes that word searches are more frequent the less linguistic resources are shared by co-participants.
Comparing the way Anna delivered *grew up* and *how many* in English might further support this. *Grew up* was delivered with stress on both syllables and in normal volume and was not followed by further actions on Anna's part, whereas *how many* was produced in low volume and followed by further speech perturbations by Anna, i.e. designed not to be attended to by her interlocutor. Only when this accountable behavior of being indulged in cognitive activity did not produce a hearable result did the Icelandic woman intervene with a candidate solution to her trouble (line 3), which was then accepted by Anna (line 5). By way of privileged knowledge of Anna's previous recordings we may speculate that the item might have been recognizable but not available to Anna – whereas the Icelandic for *grew up* was neither. Anna has, in other words, previously encountered some form[28] of *how many* on other occasions. This is not the case for *grew up,* which seems to be a completely new item to Anna. The next section concerns an example of the practice of using English that does not lead to language focus (the L1 speaker does not offer the target item in Icelandic) initially, but is taken up later in the talk by the L2 speaker.

## 4.3 Delayed repair initiation

In some of the cases in our collection the L2 speaker's use of an English word in an otherwise L2 utterance is not oriented to as a search for that item in the L2 by the co-

participant; see also Brouwer (2003) for the similar finding that sometimes even an explicit word search is not responded to. It lies beyond the scope of this paper to go into this discussion in detail; what we will focus on here is that if this happens, it does not necessarily mean that the opportunity for the L2 speaker to get the item from the L1 speaker is lost; rather, the matter can be taken up later in the talk.

In excerpt 8 Anna is in a music store asking for a CD to send to a relative back home. Prior to the excerpt she asked for a CD with Icelandic religious music and a CD for children in Icelandic. The clerk did not come up with anything immediately. In Anna's turn she asks for a popular CD in the L2 apart from the word *popular* which is in English.

Excerpt 8: popular

```
01    AN:     uhm (2.2) en ef: (1.2) einn uh (0.7)
                        but if:      one

02            gæsladiskur (0.5) ER uh: (0.6) mjög
              cd                IS           very

03            (0.6) popular
04    CL:     MH[M]
05    AN:       [UHm](0.3)kannski það er betur
                          maybe   it  is better
06    CL:     já
              yes
```

Anna's turn (lines 1-3) contains several signals of upcoming trouble, such as *uh*s, sound stretching and pauses. She says in Icelandic, simplified, *en ef einn gæsladiskur er mjög* (but if one cd is very) and following a pause she switches to English and says *popular.* This receives an acknowledgment or a listening token from the clerk, *mhm* in line 4, in overlap with which Anna continues *kannski það er betur* (maybe it is better) and the clerk responds *já* (yes). Thus, it transpires that help is neither granted nor asked for and Anna and the clerk conclude their business. *Popular* is solely the focus of topical orientation; i.e., neither the clerk nor Anna afford it any linguistic attention. In the light of a general preference for the progressivity in interaction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), see also Theodórsdóttir (in press) it would seem only natural that

the clerk is interested in finishing the business (i.e., sell CDs) instead of attending to the target item here. Furthermore, Anna's turn is designed to signal 'more to come' (Schegloff, 1996), as the turn-initial *but if* projects an extended TCU. The *if*-part solicits a *then*-part- (Jefferson, 1986), which may also be a contributing factor to the clerk's non-response to a potential word search; the co-participant's turn is not complete. This does not mean, however, that the opportunity to solicit the item in the L2 is lost, as we will see in excerpt 8a which is a few minutes later in the conversation when they have concluded the business, as Anna, initiating a delayed repair, asks the clerk explicitly, in English, for the Icelandic word for *popular* which leads to an extensive focus on that word.

Excerpt 8a: popular

```
(20 lines omitted)
27    AN:     ha- hal- how do you say popular (0.2) uhm
28            (0.5)
29    CL:      vinsæll
               popular
30    AN:      vins:[:]
               popu:[:]
31    CL:           [vi]nsæll
                    [po]pular
32    AN:     vinsæll
              popular
33    CL:     .hjá
              .hyes
34    AN:     okay
```

Anna's turn in line 27 is an explicit word search using explicit word search markers (Brouwer, 2003). The clerk provides the word *vinsæll* (line 29), and Anna attempts to repeat it. She gets as far as *vins::*, and during the stretching of the *s*-sound, the clerk overlaps Anna's delivery of *vinsæll*, which she then repeats (line 32). The clerk affirms the uptake *já* and Anna closes the topic, *okay*. The topic *and* the use of English word fuse to become one; attending to language matters now becomes the topic of the interaction.

## 4.4 Doing language learning

In this study we have shown that the target practice has a dual function: accomplishing intersubjectivity as the primary function and doing a word search with the help of the co-participant as the secondary. As noted in several places in the paper,

there is more to this practice, namely the function of doing language learning. In this section we will describe in detail how this works, see also Firth (2009) and Wagner (forthc.) for discussions of language learning in naturally occurring conversation.
We suggest that this practice can be understood as a language learning practice in very specific cases, depending on, among other things, the reaction from the L2 speaker in the third turn in the practice. Turn by turn, the practice runs off as follows:
1) The first turn of the practice is the L2 speaker's and contains the target item, an English word. The secondary function of the practice is activated by means of productional features, mainly non-lexical speech perturbations, which isolate this item as a repairable. This accountable behaviour displays the L2 speaker's identity as such; to ensure intersubjectivity in the topical interaction, the L2 speaker needs to produce a meaningful element by resources other than the target language. The production of an English item, however, may also, depending on the ensuing actions, initiate an orientation towards the L2 speaker's identity as a L2 **learner** in the act of learning the L2.
2) The co-participant takes the next turn-at-talk. He provides the sought for item in the L2, thereby making his identity as a language expert relevant in this interaction.
3) The third turn in the practice is the L2 speaker's. Her reaction to the co-participant's offer is critical to the understanding of the practice as a language learning activity. In the cases where she orients to the new item, either by repeat (cf. excerpts 2, 3, 5 and 6), or by including it into her utterance (cf. excerpts 3 and 4) we suggest that she, along with her co-participants without whose contributions she would not receive the necessary acknowledgment tokens to drive the interaction forward, is doing language learning. On the other hand, in the cases where the L2 speaker does not attend to the new item (cf. excerpt 7) we see no specific language learning activity happening, on the part of neither the L2 speaker nor the co-participants. We argued that one reason for this might be that the item was already 'partially' familiar to the L2 speaker, thus requiring no further attention to be understood.
In other words, there are publicly displayed and thus accountable language-learning practices in cases where the participants adopt the roles of language learner and language expert and orient towards finding a word in the L2, even if such extensive orientation to the L2 is not required to maintain intersubjectivity (for similar findings, see Theodórsdóttir, in press). This implies that language-learning opportunities

abound in the wild; the interactions investigated here are naturally occurring interactions that evolve into potential learning situations when oriented to as such by all participants. In other words, language learning situations – or at least opportunities for doing language learning – are pervasive in L2 interaction (Wagner, 2010.)

## 5.0 Discussion and conclusion

A practice of using an English word in an otherwise Icelandic interaction is a resource used by our focal L2 speaker for making herself understood. Furthermore, the employment of this practice enables the L2 speaker to participate in interactions that are beyond her linguistic abilities in the L2. This resource is available in the social context of L2 interaction in Iceland, where knowledge of English is common among the inhabitants. In our study, we identified two functions of the target practice: The main function is accomplishing intersubjectivity, and the secondary function is a word search with the help of the co-participant. This function is activated by means of interactional work, primarily the design of the turn containing the target item. Research on word search (Brouwer, 2003) has identified three main factors in turn design that lead to word searches. These are the turn-final placement of the repairable (Jefferson, 1972), the deployment of non-lexical speech perturbations (*uh*s, pauses, lengthening of vowel sounds) preceding the item in question, i.e., resources that set the target item apart from other elements in the turn, and finally, the use of prosodic tools as the speaker produces the target items with rising, i.e., try-marked, intonation.

In our study we found one of these features to be the most important in terms of soliciting the co-participants' help in a word search, namely isolating the item from the rest of the turn by way of non-lexical speech perturbations. In 31 of our examples the English word is turn-final, both in the cases that turned into a word search and the ones that did not. This suggests that the turn-final placement per se is not a crucial factor in the unfolding of the practice. However, those items that were not placed turn-finally did not turn into a word search. We presented examples with both rising and falling intonation which led to similar reactions from the co-participants, and in fact in our collection, falling intonation is much more common than rising (try-marking) intonation in the cases that turn into a word search. We noticed other factors, such has raised pitch on the target item that possibly served as a repair

initiation. This suggests that initiation for other repair can be achieved by either try-marking (rising intonation), or high pitch on the target item in cases of falling intonation. The specifics of these prosodic issues however, need further investigation that lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

We have seen several interactional trajectories run off upon the use of the focal practice depending on the ensuing actions of the participants.

One of our main points is that in the cases where the practice turned into a word search, this was not found to be required for the maintenance of intersubjective meaning; it was clear in all cases that the participants understood each other, which is in fact a condition for resolving this kind of a word search; in order for the co-participant to supply the Icelandic word he has to know what word is being searched for, i.e. understand the English word that is the indicator of the sought for word. We suggest that some of these word searches were oriented towards as L2 learning activities. Brouwer (2003) argued that not all word searches provided opportunities for language learning. This we also see in our data. In the cases where the interactants are doing L2 learning the L2 and L1 speaker adopt the roles of language learner and language expert respectively and orient to finding a word in the L2, even if the topic of the talk does not call for such activity; the participants understand each other without this extended activity of focusing on the L2. We argue that a crucial factor in whether the practice can be understood as a language learning activity, is the reaction of the L2 speaker in the third turn of the practice as described in 4.3. In our understanding, the L2 speaker's public display of an orientation to the new item in the third turn of the practice accounts for whether or not, given the above-mentioned conditions, an activity of doing learning will run off, involving the willing expertise of the co-participants.

In more general terms it would seem that Anna's utterances in which she employs an English term are not 'pre-structured'; rather, she starts out with some basic linguistic material *það var… vindur* (there was … wind), and keeps going until she 'runs out of words'. Those lacking words she then successfully solicits from her co-participants, puts to use and she then continues until she 'runs out of words' again. Then the whole thing starts over again. In other words, she starts off with limited vocabulary. She is composing her turns in real time, using her limited linguistic means and relying on her

interlocutors for the rest. This practice allows her to participate in more advanced conversation in the L2 than she would otherwise be able to.
Accomplishing word searches is, simplified and not exclusively, one way of doing learning, because what demonstrably happens is that the participants jointly manage to bring attention to a linguistic item, thus turning the situation into an opportunity for learning at least this particular item. Perhaps more, but certainly no less. Our data have shown that such opportunities for learning are pervasive in L2 interaction (Wagner, 2010); however, they do not just open themselves; it requires specific work by two or more participants for learning as social activity to be accomplished. It takes (at least) two to do language learning.

# Chapter 6.0
# Conclusion and discussion

This chapter (section 6.1) summarizes the main topics and findings of this thesis discuss its potential contribution to the field of SLA. Furthermore, some of the findings will be discussed in relation to an interaction involving the focal L2 speaker two years later. The purpose is to get a glimpse of how her L2 has developed which may be a topic for further research on L2 learning in everyday situations.

## 6.1 Main findings and their potential contribution to the field of SLA.

### 6.1.1 Second Language learning outside of the classroom

One of the main findings of this research is that L2 learning (also) takes place outside of the classroom (cf. all three articles in chapters 3-5). The L2 speaker initiates and maintains language-learning activities, in which the L2 speaker and the co-participant in the interaction adopt the identities of a language learner and a language expert respectively and orient to linguistic features of the L2. The participation of the language expert in these activities is minimal and often limited to providing the learner with information that she has, implicitly or explicitly, asked for. This is in contrast with traditional language classroom settings where the roles of the participants are reversed: the teacher (expert) initiates and maintains the language learning activities and the learner participates. In the language learning activities in

everyday setting we see the learner actively seek the knowledge of the L2 that is relevant for her at that time, instead of being taught according to a syllabus prepared and organized by the teacher. I am not saying that classroom teaching is worthless, on the contrary, I think that learning in a classroom and in everyday-life settings are mutually constitutive. The part of the L2 learning that takes place outside of the classroom has, however, not been taken into account for the teaching of a second language. This study contributes to this matter by offering insights into how L2 learning in everyday life situation takes place. The findings presented in this thesis can be (and hopefully will be) used in the development of new teaching and learning practices that takes advantage of the opportunities for language learning and available resources in the L2 community.

### 6.1.2 Aspects of doing L2 learning in everyday-life situations

The L2 speaker deploys certain methods and practices for the purpose of doing learning in mundane talk. In the first article (cf. chapter 3) she insisted on completing her TCU, even though the co-participant has clearly indicated with his actions that they have achieved intersubjectivity. The L2 speaker's activity of insisting on delivering a whole TCU is not progressing the topical interaction, but an activity focusing on the L2. In this article we saw the L2 speaker struggle to interact in the L2 with her limited linguistic resources and esp. noticeable is her struggle with her co-participants for the right to finish her TCU.

Another example of a practice for language learning is the topic of the third article. In this practice the L2 speaker uses an English word in an otherwise Icelandic utterance. We (my co-author and I) found that this practice has two functions, where the main function is simply to reach intersubjectivity. The second function is of special interest to us, since it involves the use of this practice for word searches and can, furthermore, in some cases, be understood as language-learning activities. The second function needs further interactional work. Productional features, the isolation of the target element from other items in the TCU by means of pauses and *uhs*, and the turn-final placement of the target item, indicate trouble and initiate the help from the co-participant. For the word search activities to be understood as Language-Learning activity, the L2 speaker's action in the third turn of the practice is critical: In some cases she did not attend to the word offered by the co-participant and these cases were

not understood as language-learning activities, whereas the cases she oriented to the new word, either by repeating it and/or using it in context is understood by the participants as Language-Learning activities.

These two practices show that L2 learners employ activities for L2 learning in everyday interaction. It is obvious, however, that there are other ways and means for L2 speakers. These need to be investigated future studies.

The second article studies a service encounter (a bakery), in which the low level L2 speaker manages, with certain strategies and the help from the clerk, to conduct her business in the L2. For this to be possible both participants employed certain strategies. They create a division of labor such that the L2 learner initiated orientation to linguistic features while the expert (clerk) focused on the topical aspect of the interaction. The learner solicits linguistic elements needed to conduct her business in the L2, as her vocabulary was insufficient for this purpose. Her interactional goal is clearly twofold: topical (buying the baked goods) and linguistic (using the L2 for this pourpose). The clerk/expert has two obligations; as a clerk, he is expected to focus on the topic of selling bread, but in this case, however, he has taken on an extra obligation: He agreed, when confronted by the L2 learner, to conduct the business interaction in Icelandic. As this L2 learner is a beginner the clerk's task takes interactional work. He deploys a certain strategy to fulfill his obligations, as a clerk in the bakery and as a language expert. When asking the L2 learner routine questions during the course of the interaction, he posed the question in Icelandic and thereby honoring the agreement of interacting in Icelandic. Then following a pause and no response from the L2 learner, the clerk/expert translates his question into English, making sure that he is understood and thereby fulfilling his obligations as a clerk. In the whole interaction the linguistic focus is very salient to the point of this interaction resembling a language learning session. The success of this interaction, topically as well as linguistically is due to carefully organized co-operation between the two participants, hence, doing language learning in everyday settings happens in interaction, where the strategies used and a co-participant are crucial.

A final point here is the role of establishing a social relationship for Language-learning activities. Analysis of the participants' activities in relation with the progression of the business aspect revealed an escalation in the activities conducted by both of the participants. The L2 speaker's orientation to linguistic features is, in the beginning of the interaction, embedded and requires the participation of the co-

participant only implicitly, whereas towards the end of the talk her activities have become more exposed and she makes direct requests to the clerk to perform activities that seems to be more focused on language than the business at hand, and are marginally within the scope of the clerks duties: she asks him to count the change out loud in Icelandic and furthermore, she starts repeating his words while counting the change. The clerk's activities in meeting his dual goal also escalated over the course of the interaction. He designed his talk in such a way that enabled him to satisfy both aspects of his interactional goal as described earlier. In the beginning of the talk his practice took two turns: first he delivers his utterance in Icelandic. After a pause, which gives the L2 learner an opportunity to respond, he translates his utterance into English. By the end of the interaction this practice only takes one turn. The clerk still delivers his utterance in Icelandic and then in English but not in a fluent way which minimizes the opportunity for the L2 speaker to respond. I suggest that during the course of this interaction the participants' knowledge and understanding of the other person increased, i.e. they managed to establish a social relationship, allowing for this increasingly 'bold' activities.

### 6.1.3 The dual nature of L2 interaction

In some cases it is clear that this orientation to features of the L2 is not needed for reaching intersubjectivity. This is true for the 'insisiting on TCU completion' (cf. chapter 3) and practice described in the third article (cf. chapter 5).

In the case of 'insisting on TCU completion' the co-participant has displayed an understanding of the L2 speakers TCU even if she hasn't finished. Their actions have the common denominator of speeding up the interaction if accepted by the L2 speaker. In the light of a preference for progressivity (Stivers & Robinson, 2006) the L2 speaker can be expected to show the same preference and accept the next speaker's actions but instead she insists on finishing her TCU. This indicates that her interactional goal is linguistic as much as topical.

The same description applies for the practice described in the third article (cf. chapter 5). The main work of the practice of using an English word in an L2 utterance is to accomplish intersubjectivity. This we saw in all cases, in fact, for this to turn into a word search (and a language learning activity) it is necessary that both participants understand the meaning of the English word. Thus, the linguistic focus, i.e. word

search/language-learning activities, is not necessary for topical understanding. This suggests that along with the topical aspects of interaction there is a (parallel) linguistic focus.

In the second article (the bakery interaction) the focus on linguistic items is for the benefit of the topical interaction. This differs from the practices described earlier, in that, rather than the two aspects of L2 interaction being separate, i.e. where the topic of the talk does not call for a linguistic focus, we see it as intertwined. Either way, linguistic focus appears to be omnipresent in second language interaction which supports the notion of the dual nature of second language talk.

## 6.2 Anna's activities in the first seven months

In the study presented in this thesis, we have seen a second language learner, Anna, doing learning in her everyday life interaction. Anna has made a great effort to exploit opportunities for L2 use and learning. Her dedication to the task of doing L2 learning in mundane talk is striking. She deploys specific practices in her pursuit of learning the L2 and is determined and persistent in initiating and maintaining language-learning activities and soliciting the participation of the co-participants (usually L1 speakers) in those activities. This research reveals a dual nature of L2 interaction: the L1 and L2 speakers as co-participants in a conversation have different interactional goals. The L1 speaker has a topical focus and shows preference of the progressivity of the interaction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), whereas, the L2 speaker has a linguistics focus as well as topical. She dwells on linguistic matters at the expense of the forward movement of the interaction: She does not always orient to progressing the topical interaction (cf. chapters 3-5).

### 6.2.1 Once a second language learner always a second language learner?

Anna's identity as a L2 learner is very often (almost always) made relevant in her interaction during these first seven months of which I have transcribed data. Language learning activities, in private talk as well as in service interactions, are very salient. Hence, this research presents a picture of an eager L2 learner who is constantly orienting to linguistic matters, to the point of the L2 focus being omnipresent in her

everyday-life interaction. In all her conversation we see this double focus: language and topic, and frequently she makes her identity as a language learner relevant. Firth & Wagner (1998, p. 91) argue that "any language users will always be "learners" in some respects." And furthermore they suggest that "acquisition and learning do not stop; certainly they do not stop outside of the classroom." Even if this issue is not taken up in the three articles, I have certainly given it some thought. The saliency of this eager, determined and persistent L2 learner in the interaction during the first seven months is surprising to me. I was curious to learn if this would change over time. For the purpose of this investigation, I did, however, not have sufficient resources for transcribing all the data (53 hours) which span Anna's interaction in Icelandic over the period of three years. However, I looked at some of Anna's interaction from the last year of her recording and they are strikingly different from the data I have shown and suggest, as we will see, that the identity of a L2 learner does in fact disappear over the course of living in the L2 society.

### 6.2.2 A Second language interaction in a service encounter for business (not learning)

In excerpt 1 Anna, has been in Iceland for almost 2,5 years. Anna (AN) is in a camera-store talking to the clerk (CL) inquiring about films and the cost of developing.

Excerpt 1: Camera store

```
01    AN:     selur þú bara (0.2) fuji film(ur)(.)
              sell  you only           film(s)
              Do you only sell Fuji films

02            áttu polaroid↓
              have-you
              do you have Polaroid
03    CL:     polaroid filmu
                        film
04    AN:     já:↓
              ye:s
05    CL:     °mhm::°↓
06    AN:     nei↓
              no
07            (0.4)
08    CL:     Polaroid í: svona  instant (0.2)
                        in: kind-of

09            vél eða hvernig polaroid
              machine or what-kind-of Polaroid
```

10 AN: JÁ (0.4) svona sexhundru::ð
*YES like sixhundre:d*
11 CL: já s[ex]hundruð
*yes s[ix]hundred*
12 AN: [(já)]
[(yes)]
13 AN: já↓
*yes*
14 (0.6)
15 AN: °já°↓
*yes*
16 (1.4)
17 CL: það er svo erfitt að fá þetta (hérna)
*it is so difficult to get this (here)*
18 (0.5)
19 AN: já::↓
*yes::↓*
20 CL: þetta er aldrei til (hérna).
*this is never available (here)*
21 (1.1)
22 AN: já::↓
*yes::↓*
23 CL: það er mjög erfitt að fá þetta.
*it is very difficult to get this.*
24 (0.7)
25 AN: °uh° hvað kostar bara að framkalla:::(0.7)
*what costs only to develop:::*
*How much does it cost only to develop*

26 tuttugu o:g (1.3) fjórir
*twenty a:nd four*
*twenty four*
27 CL: filman↓
*film-roll-the*
*per film-roll*
28 AN: já filmur↓
*yes film-rolls↓*
29 CL: fimmtán hundruð (sirka)
*fifteen hundred (circa)*
30 (1.4)
31 CL: þá fylgir ný filma með færð nýja filmu↓
*then accompanies new film-roll get new film-roll*
*Then a new film-roll is included get a new film-roll*
32 AN: >er það< okay fimmtán hundruð
*is it fifteen hundred*
*Really fifteen hundred*
33 CL: já.
*yes*
34 (0.9)
35 AN: okay (0.7) Og þrjátíu og sex
*And thirty and six*
*And thirty six*
36 (0.7)
37 CL: það eru tvö- um tvö þúsund
*it is two- about two thousand*
38 AN: °okay°↓
39 (1.1)
40 AN: og takk
*and thanks*
41 CL: já (xxx xxx xxx)
*yes*

I will not conduct a careful analysis of the whole excerpt but suffice to point out some points relevant to the discussion in this chapter. In comparison to the excerpts in the three articles, we see that this one is different: There is no orientation to linguistic features by either participant in this excerpt which is very different from what we have seen in this thesis. Here we see Anna and the clerk focus on the business at hand: Anna is not 'doing learning' here.

This does not mean that are no pauses and delays in the talk, but these elements in this fragment have nothing to do with linguistic aspects of the L2, rather they are related to topical issues as we can see in lines: 2-23, 25-33.

Potential trouble is indicated by a long pause,1.4 sec, in line 16. Prior to line 16, Anna has asked for a specific type of a film-roll (line 2) and the clerk informed her that this was not available (line 5) and Anna utters a receipt token *no*. In lines 4 the clerk asks for further information of the type of camera the film-roll was intended for and Anna provides this information (line 10). Following Anna's line 13, it is the clerk's turn and the next relevant action might be to follow up on the activity in lines 8-11. He takes no action, however, and following the pause in line 1 Anna utters a third 'já' in a low volume. The long pause (1.4 sec) in line 16 may indicate trouble, disalignment or foreshadow a dispreferred action, which may be due to the fact that Anna has not made a purchase. In lines 17-23 we can see the clerk account for the fact that this type of film is not available. He takes three turns at accounting for this (lines 17, 20, 23).

### 6.2.3 A L2 speaker is not necessarily a L2 learner

The interesting part is in his explanation he refers (implicitly) to Anna's identity as a foreigner, when he claims that it is difficult to get *here*. This can be heard as a reference to Iceland as opposed to other places where these kinds of things are not difficult to get. It appears that the clerk has inferred Anna's nationality not being Icelandic from her L2 speech (possibly a foreign accent). In this sense she appears as a L2 speaker but not a L2 learner which is the main point here. A similar activity can be observed in lines 29-33, where trouble in the talk is interpreted by the L1 speaker as topical, rather than linguistic as we saw frequently in interaction from the first months (cf. chapters 3-5).

### 6.2.4 Summary

In more general terms we see in the excerpt that Anna is fluent in the L2. The important point I want to make is that in this interaction neither Anna nor her co-participant make her identity as a L2 learner relevant. This suggests that the L2 learner identity disappears over a period of few years of living and interacting in the L2 community while, as shown in the excerpt, her identity as a L2 speaker is made relevant, not for the sake of the language, but with reference to Iceland opposed to other places.

## 6.3 Conclusion

The data from the first seven months, which are used for the thesis, are very 'rich' and their potential for further research is far from exhausted. For research in the near future I am interested to study L2 development over time, using the longitudinal data that I have. This is an uncharted area which holds a promise for extensive research opportunities on different aspects of L2 development.

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[1] Due to the extensive and time-consuming work of transcribing the whole database, a study of long-term development of the L2 has to wait, probably for some years.

[2] Earlier versions of this paper were presented at *The 17th International Conference on Pragmatics & Language Learning* at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i in March 2007, and *The 8th Conference on Nordic Languages as Second Languages*, at the University of Helsinki, Finland in May 2007.

[3] During her travel abroad in the summer and sometimes at Christmas time, she did (obviously) not record. Apart from recording in her daily life, she recorded her weekly tutoring lessons with an instructor in Icelandic spanning the same period. These are not included in the 53 hrs. corpus and are not used in this study.

[4] Anna sets up membership relations so that reference to the clerk can be heard as activating category-bound information. A closer analysis of this phenomenon however has to be done in a different paper.

[5] I have in my data more instances of similar FL- speakers' responses to trouble in SL-talk, i.e. delivery of a repaired version of the trouble word followed by 'já' (*yes*). The interesting part here is the significance of 'já', whether it functions as a topic closing device, or if, with the 'já', the FL-speaker is doing a part of the next action which is showing understanding of the previous turn and moving on. In this case it may be a combination of both: after the 'já' the clerk moves on to do the next action. He overlaps Anna's hesitation markers, and thereby ignores a possible indication of trouble that the SL-speaker may still have. This suggests that he has closed the topic of the trouble talk. Kurhila reports similar activity in SL-Finnish where the FL-speaker straightens out anomalies in the SL-speaker's talk by delivering a grammatical substitute followed by the affirmative particle 'joo' suggesting closure of the repair sequence (2006, p. 223). The function of 'já' in cases like the one described above needs further research, and in this paper we will suffice with mentioning the possibility of 'já' being a topic-closing device.

[6] Icelanders are well aware of the fact that very few foreigners speak or understand their language. Everyone learns at least two foreign languages in school: English and Danish. It is fair to say that knowledge of English is common among Icelanders.

[7] Going back to the different focus of the SL-speaker and FL-speaker in interaction; linguistic vs. topical: In line 49 Anna proposes a 'sentence' using both the words (check and grant), she and the clerk have been working on. The try-marking (raised intonation at the end), shows that it requires a response from the clerk. As, a language expert, the clerk is expected to guide Anna in the right direction: give her correct information instead of misleading her (Grice, 1975). Instead the clerk confirms (line 50) Anna's usage even if it is grammatically incorrect. This may indicate that the clerk is at this point focusing on the business at hand, and not participating in the language orientation: the 'sentence' Anna produced is adequate for the business (understood) even if it is grammatically deviant.

[8]Anna, as a language learner, initiates and drives these activities, which appears to be in contrast with classroom interaction where the teacher is the leading force (Mehan, 1979).

[9]See also: lines 36, 41 in excerpt 2d, line 50 in excerpt 2e.

[10]Another activity is taking place simultaneously: finding and getting into the man's car. The lines relating to that have been deleted from the excerpt, except: 'I'm on this one', in line 15 referring to the car.

[11]Somebody's occupation may be a sensitive issue. The man, however, had asked Anna about her occupation. This indicates it is not sensitive: when asking her about her work he can expect to be asked a similar questions about himself. The trouble the man is having in formulating his answer must therefore be for different reasons.

[12]In line 6 it is either the man or someone else (passing by). It is difficult to determine what is said, but clearly it is not on the 'fishing boat' topic.

[13]The accusative form is correct here.

[14] Incidentally, it is the same word, 'hérna' (*here*), Anna is insisting on delivering in excerpts 2 and 4. The significance of this is unclear.

[15] I have heard from several sources that Bange , P. (1992) A propos de la communication et de l'apprentissage de L2. *AILE,* 1: 53-85, has made a similar observation on the double focus in SL-talk. I have, however, not been able to obtain his article.

[16] This can be enlightening (even practical) for Second Language Learners: If they want to engage in language-orientating activities outside of the classroom they are themselves responsible for initiating those activities and keeping them going.

[17] This suggests that Anna is reading the name of the item (haustbrauð) from a label.

[18] This conversation was also recorded.

[19] In the pronunciation of the word *áttu* (have-you), there is preaspiration (between the vowel [a] and the double *t*.) We can thus hear Anna's *ahtu* as a version of *áttu* even if the vowel she uses is [a] and not the expected [au].

[20] The formula *áttu* (do you have) is used to ask for items that are not in plain sight. A support for this claim comes from a *no* answer-token to a customer's question using *áttu* (cf. line 4 in excerpt 1). In this

case the item is actually displayed in front for the customer to see. Therefore, we see the use of *áttu* (do you have) here not be asking about the availability of the item, rather as a formula for ordering.

[21] The use of 'it' here is not correct if referring to cinnamon rolls. The expected form is 'he', or possibly 'this'.

[22] The word 'gott' (*good*) also has the meaning 'sweets' or 'candy'.

[23] Note that Anna's statement includes code-switching (Icelandic-English: *gott sweet* and the same is true for the clerk's reply: *já perfect*.

[24] This shows us that she didn't find the exact amount: somewhere in the long pause she abandoned the search for the 268 crowns the clerk asked for and paid a larger amount.

[25] This point is relevant to L2 learners' motivation to learn: in the real-life situation itself (in the here and now).

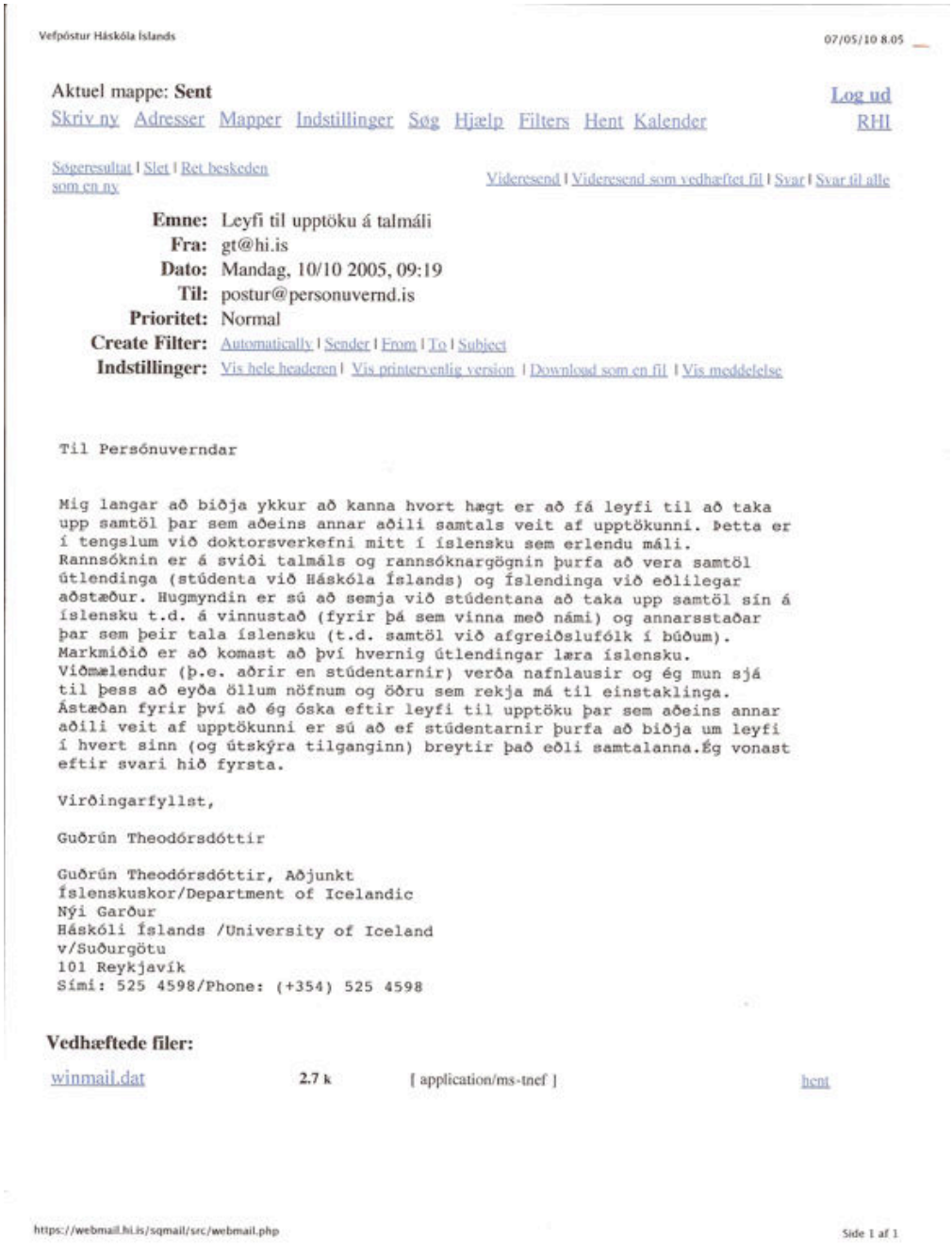
[26] As noted by Brouwer (2003) even though it might be problematic to make a distinction between function and content words, function words are rarely treated as repairable.

[27] This show of understanding, i.e. the woman's interpretation of utterance *grew up* as being the question *where did you grow up?* is dependent on the structure of the talk as a type of interview.

[28] Icelandic is an inflectional language, which means, among other things, that the word *many* is inflected in three genders and four cases. Anna may have heard some version of the word but perhaps not the one to be used in excerpt 7.

# Appendix A: E-mail exchange between me and *Persónuvernd*.

1. A letter from me to *Persónuvernd* asking for guidelines regarding the recordings: Whether I need a permit from this Institution, and if it is acceptable to let those being recorded know and obtain their permission after the recording has been done.



Vefpóstur Háskóla Íslands 07/05/10 8.05

Aktuel mappe: **Sent** Log ud

Skriv ny Adresser Mapper Indstillinger Søg Hjælp Filters Hent Kalender RHI

Søgeresultat | Slet | Ret beskeden som en ny Videresend | Videresend som vedhæftet fil | Svar | Svar til alle

**Emne:** Leyfi til upptöku á talmáli
**Fra:** gt@hi.is
**Dato:** Mandag, 10/10 2005, 09:19
**Til:** postur@personuvernd.is
**Prioritet:** Normal
**Create Filter:** Automatically | Sender | From | To | Subject
**Indstillinger:** Vis hele headeren | Vis printervenlig version | Download som en fil | Vis meddelelse

Til Persónuverndar

Mig langar að biðja ykkur að kanna hvort hægt er að fá leyfi til að taka upp samtöl þar sem aðeins annar aðili samtals veit af upptökunni. Þetta er í tengslum við doktorsverkefni mitt í íslensku sem erlendu máli. Rannsóknin er á sviði talmáls og rannsóknargögnin þurfa að vera samtöl útlendinga (stúdenta við Háskóla Íslands) og Íslendinga við eðlilegar aðstæður. Hugmyndin er sú að semja við stúdentana að taka upp samtöl sín á íslensku t.d. á vinnustað (fyrir þá sem vinna með námi) og annarsstaðar þar sem þeir tala íslensku (t.d. samtöl við afgreiðslufólk í búðum). Markmiðið er að komast að því hvernig útlendingar læra íslensku. Viðmælendur (þ.e. aðrir en stúdentarnir) verða nafnlausir og ég mun sjá til þess að eyða öllum nöfnum og öðru sem rekja má til einstaklinga. Ástæðan fyrir því að ég óska eftir leyfi til upptöku þar sem aðeins annar aðili veit af upptökunni er sú að ef stúdentarnir þurfa að biðja um leyfi í hvert sinn (og útskýra tilganginn) breytir það eðli samtalanna.Ég vonast eftir svari hið fyrsta.

Virðingarfyllst,

Guðrún Theodórsdóttir

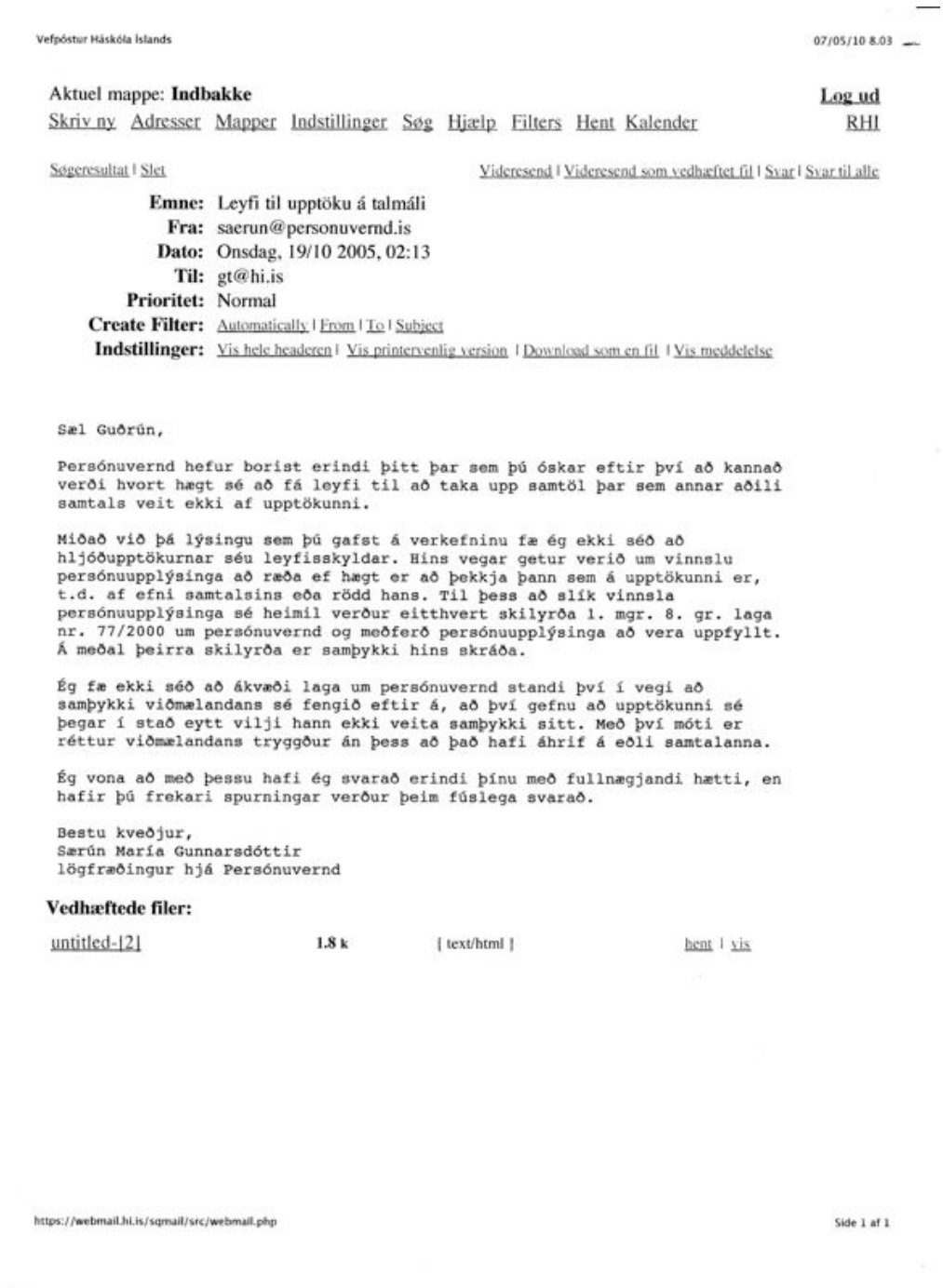
Guðrún Theodórsdóttir, Aðjunkt
Íslenskuskor/Department of Icelandic
Nýi Garður
Háskóli Íslands /University of Iceland
v/Suðurgötu
101 Reykjavík
Sími: 525 4598/Phone: (+354) 525 4598

**Vedhæftede filer:**

winmail.dat 2.7 k [ application/ms-tnef ] hent

https://webmail.hi.is/sqmail/src/webmail.php Side 1 af 1

2. The answer from Persónuvernd stating that I do not need the permission from them and also that it is acceptable to ask those being recorded for their permission after the recording.



Vefpóstur Háskóla Íslands 07/05/10 8.03

Aktuel mappe: **Indbakke** Log ud

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**Til:** gt@hi.is
**Prioritet:** Normal
**Create Filter:** Automatically | From | To | Subject
**Indstillinger:** Vis hele headeren | Vis printervenlig version | Download som en fil | Vis meddelelse

Sæl Guðrún,

Persónuvernd hefur borist erindi þitt þar sem þú óskar eftir því að kannað verði hvort hægt sé að fá leyfi til að taka upp samtöl þar sem annar aðili samtals veit ekki af upptökunni.

Miðað við þá lýsingu sem þú gafst á verkefninu fæ ég ekki séð að hljóðupptökurnar séu leyfisskyldar. Hins vegar getur verið um vinnslu persónuupplýsinga að ræða ef hægt er að þekkja þann sem á upptökunni er, t.d. af efni samtalsins eða rödd hans. Til þess að slík vinnsla persónuupplýsinga sé heimil verður eitthvert skilyrða 1. mgr. 8. gr. laga nr. 77/2000 um persónuvernd og meðferð persónuupplýsinga að vera uppfyllt. Á meðal þeirra skilyrða er samþykki hins skráða.

Ég fæ ekki séð að ákvæði laga um persónuvernd standi því í vegi að samþykki viðmælandans sé fengið eftir á, að því gefnu að upptökunni sé þegar í stað eytt vilji hann ekki veita samþykki sitt. Með því móti er réttur viðmælandans tryggður án þess að það hafi áhrif á eðli samtalanna.

Ég vona að með þessu hafi ég svarað erindi þínu með fullnægjandi hætti, en hafir þú frekari spurningar verður þeim fúslega svarað.

Bestu kveðjur,
Særún María Gunnarsdóttir
lögfræðingur hjá Persónuvernd

**Vedhæftede filer:**

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Appendix B: Transcription conventions

The transcription method used in the thesis has been developed by Gail Jefferson (2004)

| Symbols | Meanings |
|---|---|
| [ | Point of overlap onset |
| ] | Point of overlap ending |
| = | No break or gap in speech (latched speech), or continuation of the same turn by the same speaker even though the turn is broken up in the transcript |
| (number) | Silence measured by tenths of seconds |
| (.) | A brief pause of about one tenth of a second |
| : | Prolongation of the immediately prior sound; the longer the colon row, the longer the prolongation |
| ↑ | A shift into especially high pitch in the next sound |
| ↓ | A shift into especially lower pitch in the next sound |
| . | Falling intonation |
| ? | Rising intonation |
| , | Slightly rising intonation |
| WORD | Especially loud sounds compared to the surrounding talk |
| °word° | Especially quieter sounds compared to the surrounding talk |
| word | Emphasized speech |
| (word) | Transcriber's best guess of the words or speaker |
| word- | A cut-off sound |
| xxxx or ( ) | Unintelligible speech to transcriber |
| <word> | Slowed down sounds compared to the surrounding talk |
| >word< | Speeded up sounds compared to the surrounding talk |
| .hhh | Audible inbreath |
| hhh | Audible outbreath |
| (h) | Plosiveness, often associated with laughter, crying, breathlessness, etc. |
| ((description)) | Transcriber's description |

Appendix C:

## English summary

The main goal of this study is to investigate second language learning outside of the classroom: how does a second language speaker of Icelandic exploit opportunities in her everyday life for the purpose of doing L2 learning? The point is that knowledge of L2 speakers' activities in their everyday life may inform Second Language teaching and learning for the development of new teaching (and learning) methods for classrooms: What are the available resources in the L2 society for L2 learning and how can they be used?

The data used for the investigation are transcribed audio recordings of a L2 speaker's daily life interactions during the first seven months of her stay in Iceland. The study uses a new research method: CA-SLA, which employs the methodology of Conversation Analysis for the investigation of Second Language Acquisition. Two of the more important requirements for participating in this research program are adopting an *emic* view, i.e. participant relevant perspective for the analysis of the interaction and that the data are naturally occurring conversations.

This thesis has the form of anthology and consists of three articles, one of which is co-authored, and three chapters: The first chapter introduces the topic of the research and the theory and research methods used in the research. Chapter 2 presents an overview of what it means to be a L2 speaker/learner in real life interaction which is the context of my research and sets the stage for the three articles. The three articles are in chapters 3-5. Chapter 6 contains the concluding remarks and a discussion on future research.

The first article, *Language learning activities in everyday-life situations: Insisting on TCU completion in second language talk* investigates a practice I have called 'Insisting on TCU completion'. In these cases the co-participant (usually a L1 speaker) enters the L2 speaker's hesitantly produced TCU at a point where he understands where she (the L2 speaker) is heading. His actions make it clear that intersubjectivity has been established even if the L2 speaker has not yet completed her TCU, and therefore not reached a TRP. The linguistic materials that the L2 speaker has delivered together with the context of the talk make this early understanding

possible. The co-participants' actions are designed to end the L2 speaker's TCU and move the interaction forward and therefore support the claim in Stivers & Robinson (2006) that there is a general preference for the progressivity in interaction. The most interesting feature of this practice, however, is the L2 speaker's reaction: She actively ignores the incoming speaker and insists, sometimes with an overlap and/or a raised volume, on finishing her TCU. With her action she exercises her right to utter the TCU (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), which at the same time allows her to deliver a whole construction in the second language. Her actions are clearly not in favor of the topical interaction; rather she attends to the delivery of the linguistics forms. This is especially remarkable in the cases where there are real-life consequences. In one case the L2 speaker was trying to retrieve a check to support herself for the next month, and in another case it was an issue of a lost parcel. In both of these cases, as well as in all the other cases found of this practice, she could have completed the business quicker (and safer) by accepting the incoming speakers' actions, but instead she ignored them and insisted on completing her TCU. A conclusion drawn from the L2 speaker's actions is that L2 interaction has a dual nature: topic and a linguistic focus. This investigation suggests that there is a difference in the interactional goals between L1 and L2 speakers: The L1 speaker has a topical focus, hence the preference for progressivity in interaction whereas the L2 speaker as a dual focus a topical and a linguistic, hence the disaffiliation to the progressivity of the interaction for the benefit of linguistic focus.

Among other important points in this article is the intense nature of 'language learning activities'. These are the activities in which the participants adopt the identities of a language learner and a language expert and in cooperation orient to linguistic features, sometimes for long stretches of talk. It is shown that the L2 speaker is responsible for these activities: she initiates and maintains them, and solicits the assistance of the co-participant. The main finding reported in this article is that in her everyday life the L2 speaker is not only conducting her business, she is, at the same time, doing language learning, i.e. L2 learning (also) takes place outside of the classroom.

The second article, *Second language use for business and learning*, studies one service encounter (a bakery) in which the focal L2 speaker participates, from

beginning to end. The L2 speaker manages to solicit the help of the clerk in conducting her business in the L2, which would otherwise have been beyond her linguistic abilities in the L2 at that point. This interaction between Anna (the L2 speaker) and the clerk is carefully organized so the two participants manage to reach their goals: Anna initiates language learning activities, as a L2 learner and the clerk participates as an expert. She is able to conduct her business in the L2 with the help of the clerk, and the clerk, whose interactional goal is topical, manages with specific strategies to 1) focus on the business at hand and, 2) help the low level L2 speaker conduct her business in the L2. A final point here is that during the course of the interaction there is an escalation in the activities initiated by both participants: it seems that in the few minutes of the interaction they have established a social relationship allowing increasingly more bold activities.

The third article, *It takes two to do language learning – intersubjectivity and linguistic foci in naturally occurring L2 interaction* I wrote together with Søren Wind Eskildsen. The task of this article is to study a practice in which the L2 speaker uses an English word in an otherwise Icelandic utterance as resource for reaching intersubjectivity. This practice can in some cases, as we will show, evolve into a word search and be seen as doing language learning: adding to the L2 vocabulary. These cases of word search have a specific design initiating the help of the L1 speaker. It is then the interplay between the participants' actions that determines whether they can be understood as doing language learning. This article contributes, among other things, to a discussion on the role of English as a help language in L2 acquisition and the multilingual environment of the acquisition of L2 Icelandic – a point made by Brouwer & Wagner (2004) for the acquisition of L2 Danish.

In the three articles, as well as generally in my data, the L2 speaker, in cooperation with her participants, adopts the identity of a L2 learner and engages in activities of linguistic focus, i.e. language learning activities. It is the L2 learner herself that initiates, and maintains these activities and is responsible for using the L2 in everyday situations with L1 speakers. This study shows that the L2 speaker is very persistent in her pursuit of interacting in the L2, which is a point also made in Egbert, Niebecker &

Rezzara (2004). L2 interaction does not happen by itself, it has to be made to happen and sometimes even fought for as pointed out in the first article.

The language learning activities, in which our focal L2 speaker engages, are very intense at times, where an everyday situation almost resembles a language-classroom (cf. 1st and esp. 2nd article). One of the interesting aspects of these activities is that they are seen, by the participants, as 'normal': The clerk in the bakery (cf. 2nd article) actively participates in assisting the low level L2 speaker to conduct her business in the L2 even when it is clear that from the point of view of the business that English is the obvious language for the interaction. Furthermore, the interaction is remarkably effortless since both participants seem to know what they are doing at any given moment in the interaction even if the clerk is not a language teacher and the bakery is not a language classroom.

One of the points made in my study is that (low level) L2 interaction has two interactional goals, conducting the business, and at the same time a linguistic goal: L2 learning (cf. 1st, 2nd and 3rd article). For reaching the linguistic goal, the L2 speaker employs certain strategies, some of which are described in the three articles. These strategies seem to be understood and accepted by the L1 speakers without any kind of explanation. In EM terms the participants actively show affiliation to a 'norm', i.e. what they do in their interaction has the status *seen but unnoticed*. It is clear that for these participants in this situation, i.e. a L2 learner making use of resources in the L2 community, including the solicitation of a L1 speaker for the purpose of learning the language, their activities are 'normal' and they display, with their actions, knowledge of what that means for their and the other person's actions.

One of the main findings of this research is that L2 learning (also) takes place outside of the classroom (cf. all three articles in chapters 3-5). The L2 speaker initiates and maintains language-learning activities, in which the L2 speaker and the co-participant in the interaction adopt the identities of a language learner and a language expert respectively and orient to linguistic features of the L2. The participation of the language expert in these activities is minimal and often limited to providing the learner with information that she has, implicitly or explicitly, asked for. This is in contrast with traditional language classroom settings where the teacher/expert is the one who initiates and drives the learning activities. A distinct characteristic of the Language learning activities in everyday interaction is that the learner actively seeks

the knowledge of the second language that is relevant for her at that time: her language learning activities are not driven by a syllabus as is common for classroom learning but her linguistic 'needs' at that point. The part of the L2 learning that takes place outside of the classroom has not been reflected systematically for the teaching of a second language. This study contributes to this matter by offering insights into how L2 learning in everyday life situation takes place. The findings presented in this thesis can be (and hopefully will be) used in the development of new teaching and learning practices that takes advantage of the opportunities and the available resources for language learning in the L2 community.

Appendix D:
# Dansk resumé

Hovedformålet med denne afhandling er at undersøge hvordan man lærer et andetsprog (L2) udenfor klasseværelset: Hvordan udnytter en ikke-modersmålstalende på Island mulighederne for i sin hverdag at lære islandsk som L2? Kernepunktet er at viden om ikke-modersmålstalendes hverdagsaktiviteter kan kvalificere andetsprogsundervisning- og læring ved at bidrage til udvikling af nye metoder til undervisning (og læring) i klasseværelser: hvilke L2-læringsressourcer er tilgængelige i L2-samfundet og hvordan kan de udnyttes?
Undersøgelsens data består af transskriberede lydoptagelser fra en ikke-modersmålstalendes dagligdag i de første syv måneder af hendes ophold på Island. Studiet bygger på en ny forskningsmetode, CA-SLA, som anvender konversationsanalytiske (CA) metoder i undersøgelsen af andetsprogstilegnelse (SLA). To basale forudsætninger for denne metodologi er at man anlægger et *emisk*, dvs. deltager-relevant, perspektiv i interaktionsanalysen, og at data består af naturligt forekommende samtaler.
Denne afhandling har form af en antologi og består af tre artikler, heraf én samforfattet, og tre andre kapitler. Det 1. kapitel introducerer forskningsområdet og den anvendte teori og metode. Kapitel 2 giver et overblik over hvad det vil sige at være ikke-modersmålstalende i autentisk interaktion, som udgør konteksten for min forskning. Dermed sætter kapitel 2 scenen for de tre artikler, som findes i kapitel 3-5. Kapitel 6 indeholder konklusionen og en diskussion af mulige fremtidige forskningsområder i en konversationsanalytisk tilgang til L2-læring.

Den 1. artikel, *Language learning activities in everyday-life situations: Insisting on TCU completion in second language talk* ['sproglæringsaktiviteter i hverdagssituationer: at insistere på at færdiggøre sin TCU i andetsprogssamtaler'] undersøger en praksis, jeg referer til som 'Insisting on TCU completion' [at insistere på at færdiggøre sin TCU]. I de diskuterede dataeksempler træder en meddeltager, som regel en modersmålstalende, ind i den ikke-modersmålstalendes tøvende TCU på et tidspunkt hvor han har forstået, hvor hun (den ikke-modersmålstalende) er på vej hen i sin tur. Hans handling anskueliggør at der er opnået intersubjektivitet, selvom den ikke-modersmålstalende endnu ikke er færdig med sin TCU og dermed ikke har

nået et overgangsrelevant sted (TRP) i interaktionen. Den ikke-modersmålstalendes sproglige bidrag muliggør, i kombination med den specifikke kontekst, denne tidlige forståelse. Meddeltagernes handlinger er designet til at afslutte den ikke-modersmålstalendes TCU og bevæge interaktionen fremad og dermed understøtte påstanden i Stivers & Robinson (2006) om, at der er en generel præference for progressivitet i interaktion. Det mest interessante træk ved denne praksis er imidlertid den ikke-modersmålstalendes reaktion. Hun ignorerer aktivt den indkommende taler og insisterer, undertiden med et overlap og/eller hævet stemme, på at afslutte sin TCU. Med denne handling bruger hun sin ret til fuldt at ytre TCU'en (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), hvilket på samme tid tillader hende at bidrage med en hel konstruktion på andetsproget. Hendes handlinger er helt klart ikke i den indholdsbestemte interaktions tjeneste; hun retter derimod sin opmærksomhed mod at aflevere sprogligt materiale. Dette er især bemærkelsesværdigt i de eksempler hvor samtalerne har konsekvenser for hendes aktuelle dagligdag. I et eksempel forsøgte den ikke-modersmålstalende at få udleveret en check som skulle forsørge hende den følgende måned, og i et andet eksempel var emnet hittegods; en mistet postpakke. I begge tilfældene, såvel som i alle de andre eksempler på denne praksis, kunne hun have afsluttet emnet hurtigere (og mere sikkert) ved at acceptere indblandingen fra den anden taler, men i stedet ignorerede hun meddeltageren og insisterede på at afslutte sin egen TCU. En konklusion man kan drage på baggrund af den ikke-modersmålstalendes handlinger er, at interaktion er tosidet når der er et andetsprog involveret: den har både et indholdsmæssigt og et sprogligt fokus. Dette studie antyder at modersmålstalende og ikke-modersmålstalende kan have forskellige hensigter i interaktionen. Den modersmålstalende har et indholdsmæssigt fokus, hvilket indebærer præferencen for progressivitet, hvorimod den ikke-modersmålstalendes dobbeltsidede fokus kan indebære et forbehold for denne til fordel for et sprogligt fokus.

Blandt andre vigtige pointer i denne artikel er 'sproglæringsaktiviteters' intense karakter. I disse aktiviteter antager deltagerne forskellige identiteter, sproglørner eller sprogekspert, og i fællesskab orienterer de sig mod sproglige aspekter, somme tider i længere tid ad gangen. Artiklen viser at den ikke-modersmålstalende er ansvarlig for disse aktiviteter: hun igangsætter og vedligeholder dem og tilvejebringer meddeltagerens eventuelle assistance. Hovedpointen i artiklen er at i sin dagligdag

fuldfører den ikke-modersmålstalende ikke bare sine gøremål; på samme tid 'foretager hun sig også sproglæring', hvilket vil sige at L2-læringsaktiviteter (også) finder sted udenfor klasseværelset.

Den 2. artikel, *Second language use for business and learning* ['andetsprogsbrug til fuldførelse af daglige gøremål og læring'], analyserer en interaktion med en ikke-modersmålstalende i en servicevirksomhed (et bageri) fra start til slut. Den ikke-modersmålstalende anmoder om hjælp fra stedets bagerjomfru til at fuldføre sit gøremål, som krævede sproglige ressourcer på andetsproget som hun på det tidspunkt ikke besad. Denne interaktion mellem Anna (den ikke-modersmålstalende) og den ansatte er behændigt organiseret sådan at de to deltagere opnår, hvad de vil: som ikke-modersmålstalende igangsætter Anna sproglæringsaktiviteter, og den butiksansatte deltager som ekspert. Hun (Anna) er i stand til at fuldføre sine gøremål på andetsproget med hjælp fra den ansatte, og den ansatte, hvis formål i interaktionen er professionelt orienteret, anvender særlige strategier til at 1) fokusere på selve gøremålet ('butikshandlen'), og 2) hjælpe den ikke-modersmålstalende, hvis ressourcer på andetsproget er begrænsede, med at fuldføre sine gøremål på andetsproget. Slutteligt pointeres det at i løbet af interaktionen eskaleres aktiviteterne; det ser ud til at de, i løbet af interaktionens få minutter, etablerer et social fællesskab som muliggør stadigt dristigere aktiviteter.

Den 3. artikel, *It takes two to do language learning – intersubjectivity and linguistic foci in naturally occurring L2 interaction* ['det kræver to at foretage sig sproglæring – intersubjektivitet og sproglige foci i naturligt forekommende interaktion'], er udarbejdet i samarbejde med Søren Wind Eskildsen. Formålet med denne artikel er at studere en praksis hvor den ikke-modersmålstalende som en ressource til at opnå intersubjektivitet anvender et engelsk ord i en ellers islandsk ytring. Denne praksis kan i nogle tilfælde udvikle sig til en søgen efter ord og dermed opfattes som igangværende sproglæring: at tilføje ordforråd til L2-inventaret. Disse søgninger efter ord har et særligt design som resulterer i hjælp fra den modersmålstalende. Derefter er det samspillet mellem deltagerne der afgør, om de kan siges 'at være i gang med at foretage sig sproglæring'. Denne artikel bidrager bl.a. til diskussionen af engelsk som hjælpesprog i L2-tilegnelse og det flersproglige miljø hvor islandsk L2 tilegnelse

finder sted – jf. Brouwer & Wagners (2004) lignende pointe for tilegnelsen af dansk som andetsprog.

I de tre artikler, og i mine data generelt, antager den ikke-modersmålstalende i fællesskab med sine meddeltagere en ikke-modersmålstalendes identitet og indgår i aktiviteter med sprogligt fokus; dvs. sproglæringsaktiviteter. Det er den ikke-modersmålstalende selv som initierer og vedligeholder disse aktiviteter og er ansvarlig for at bruge andetsproget i sin hverdag med modersmålstalende. Afhandlingen viser at den ikke-modersmålstalende er meget vedholdende i forsøget på at interagere på sit andetsprog, jf. Egbert, Niebecker & Rezzaras (2004) pointe. L2 interaktion sker ikke af sig selv; den skal skabes og somme tider kæmpes for, som pointeret i den 1. artikel.
Sproglæringsaktiviteterne som vores ikke-modersmålstalende deltager i, er under tiden meget intense, således at en situation i hverdagen nærmest ligner et klasseværelse (jf. 1. og især 2. artikel). Et interessant aspekt ved disse aktiviteter er at de af deltagerne opfattes som normale: bagerjomfruen (jf. 2. artikel) tager aktivt del i at hjælpe den ikke-modersmålstalende til at fuldføre sit gøremål på andetsproget, selvom engelsk ville være det åbenlyse sprogvalg i interaktionen. Ydermere er interaktionen bemærkelsesværdigt nem og uproblematisk idet begge deltagere ser ud til at vide, hvad de gør hele vejen gennem interaktionen, selvom den butiksansatte ikke er sproglærer og bageriet ikke et sprogklasseværelse.
En af pointerne i min afhandling er at interaktion, der involverer ikke-modersmålstalende (med begrænsede ressourcer), har to formal; at fuldføre gøremål og samtidig have et sprogligt fokus, nemlig dét at lære et andetsprog (jf. alle 3 artikler). For at opnå de sproglige mål anvender den ikke-modersmålstalende særlige strategier, og nogle af dem har jeg beskrevet i de tre artikler. Disse strategier synes at blive forstået og accepteret af de modersmålstalende uden nogen form for advisering. I etnometodologien siger man at deltagere i samtaler aktivt viser en tilknytning til en 'norm', dvs. deres handlinger i interaktion har status som *seen but unnoticed.* At en ikke-modersmålstalende gør brug af forskellige tilgængelige ressourcer i L2 samfundet for at lære sprog er uproblematisk for deltagerme i sådanne.
Et af hovedpointerne i denne forskning er at L2-læring (også) foregår udenfor klasseværelset. Den ikke-modersmålstalende initierer og vedligeholder

sproglæringsaktiviteter, i hvilke den ikke-modersmålstalende og meddeltageren antager identitet som hhv. sproglørner og sprogekspert og orienterer sig mod sproglige træk i andetsproget. Sprogekspertens deltagelse i disse aktiviteter er minimal og ofte begrænset til at give L2 lørneren den information som hun implicit eller eksplicit har efterspurgt.

Dette star i kontrast til traditionelle sprogklasseværelser hvor det er læreren/eksperten, der igangsætter og styrer læringsaktiviteterne. Et særligt træk ved sproglæringsaktiviteterne i hverdagssamtalerne er at den ikke-modersmålstalende aktivt opsøger den viden om andetsproget, som er relevant på det givne tidspunkt: sproglæringsaktiviteterne drives ikke af et studieprogram eller en læseplan som det normalt er tilfældet i et klasseværelset men af de sproglige 'behov' på et givet tidspunkt. Afhandlingen bidrager til en bedre forståelse af denne problemstilling ved at tilvejebringe indsigt i hvordan L2 læring finder sted i hverdagen. Afhandlingen kan forhåbentlig blive brugt i udviklingen af nye undervisningspraksisser der trækker på de eksisterende muligheder for og ressourcer i tilknytning til sproglæring i andetsprogssamfundet.

## Appendix E: E-mail looking for participants for collecting data

**Dags.:** 04.10.2005 13:05
**Sendandi:** Guðrún Theódórsdóttir
**Sent til:** Allir
**Fyrirsögn:** Participants in research/þátttakendur í rannsókn
**Efni:** Dear students

I am looking for volunteers for my Ph.D. research of Icelandic as a foreign language. The participation involves taping yourselves when using Icelandic (maybe an hour a week) in return I will give you feedback on pronunciation and grammar. Please let me know if you are willing to take part: gt@hi.is

Best regards

Guðrún Theodórsdóttir

Kæru stúdentar

Ég er að leita að sjálfboðaliðum vegna doktorsrannsóknar minnar á íslensku sem öðru máli. Þátttakendur verða beðnir að taka upp samskipti sín á íslensku (u.þ.b. klukkutíma á viku). Í staðinn geta þátttakendur fengið leiðsögn í framburði og málfræði. Vinsamlega látið mig vita ef þið viljið taka þátt í rannsókninni: gt@hi.is

Bestu kveðjur

Guðrún Theodórsdóttir