L2 discourse markers and the development of interactional competence during study abroad

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

In my dissertation, I use the theories and methodologies of Conversation Analysis (or “CA”, see Sacks et al., 1974) to investigate how speakers of a second language (or 'L2') develop the ability to interact in the L2 — or how they develop their *interactional competence* (or 'IC', see Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011). IC research has described how, over time, L2 speakers develop their IC by becoming able to perform actions, such as disagree (Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-Berger], 2011), tell stories (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018), and complain (Skogmyr Marian, 2021), more recognizably for their co-interactants. To perform such actions in interaction more recognizably, L2 speakers diversify the *members' methods* (Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii) they employ in performing those actions in the L2.

While prior IC research has predominantly taken as an analytic starting point an action environment, I take as a starting a linguistic resource, specifically discourse markers. Discourse markers are words (e.g., English *well*, German *also*) or phrases (e.g., English *y'know*, German *guck mal* "look") which show the connection between discursive units and instruct co-interactants how to interpret some current turn at talk against the prior talk. Previous IC studies were able to describe developing L2 IC in terms of co-interactants' visible interpretations of L2 speakers' actions. Co-interactants, however, rarely display their understanding of the use of a particular linguistic resource. By taking discourse markers as an analytic starting point, my dissertation thus offers a different approach to and understanding of IC and its development.

In my dissertation, I analyze the everyday interactions of two L2 speakers of German — Rachel and Nina — who are sojourning in Germany. First, I analyze speaker Rachel's use of the particle combination *achja* in sequence initial positions. In response to some information, L1 speakers of German use *achja* to claim remembering of that information (Betz & Golato, 2008). While Rachel exclusively uses *achja* in sequence-initial position, she takes advantage of *achja*'s function as a claim of now-remembering to do some other interactional work, specifically to index now-remembering after a search, to backlink, and to do resumption (in combination with the particle *also*). Following these analyses, I explore the ways in which

her experiences participating in German interaction as well as her L1 (English) could be influencing her use of *achja also* to accomplish resumption in everyday German interaction. I find that Rachel, while using resources from the L2, is transferring a strategy for resumption from her L1 into her L2 in her resumptions.

I then do a longitudinal analysis (see Wagner et al., 2018) of Nina's use of the multi-functional discourse marker *also*. My analysis finds that Nina uses also at the beginning of the sojourn to *maintain* intersubjectivity and at the end to *repair* intersubjectivity. I describe Nina's trajectory of IC development through *also* as *pruning*, at term which captures both the *growth/strengthening* of new uses as well as the *dropping* of others. I also forward an understanding of IC as the ability to contribute to the organization of interaction, one that harkens back to Psathas' (1990) description of interactional competence as the ability to collaboratively produce structures of interaction.

In my final chapter, I use my analytical findings to scrutinize the ethnomethodological notions of *member* and *membership*, both of which have been broadly described in CA research in terms of *culture, society,* and *language* (e.g., Hellermann, 2008, 2011; Robinson, 2016; Sacks, 1992; ten Have, 2002). I argue that, by using such a conceptualization of *membership*, CA and IC research do not accurately capture the ways in which interactants orient to each other's contributions in interactions, nor do the fields capture the nuanced and fluid nature of membership and differing access to methods that members may have. By diversifying the approaches we take to studying IC — e.g., by taking L2 linguistic resources as our starting points — we can deepen our understanding what it means to become interactionally competent in a second language.

Acknowledgements

Although it is my name on the cover of this dissertation, there are many other people without whom this dissertation would not have been possible. First and foremost, I thank my supervisor, Professor Emma Betz. When I was still a master's student looking to write his thesis, Emma took me under her wing and (very, very patiently) brought me into the world of conversation analysis. Beyond the unyielding and overwhelming support at every stage of the dissertation project (including many, many hours-long breakfasts looking at data and discussing research), Emma has an infectious passion for teaching and research that she can't help but pass onto her students. I am still fascinated every day by humans interact with each other in marvelous (and, in my opinion, entertaining) ways. I cannot imagine writing this dissertation with anyone else.

I also want to thank Professor Grit Liebscher. I still think about my first weeks of my master's program in 2013, when Grit was already talking about me doing a Ph.D. At the time, I could never have fathomed embarking on that challenge. But Grit saw my potential and nurtured it from the very beginning. By the end of the first month of my master's, Grit already had me in the *Intercultural Encounters* research project, which gave me invaluable research experience, particularly in terms of data collection. Since those first weeks, Grit has been on every one of my thesis committees (in the master's and Ph.D.) and has been one of my staunchest supporters.

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Professor Ann Marie Rasmussen, my Ph.D. mentor, was also an integral part of my dissertation. Despite being a scholar of a medieval studies, Ann Marie was able to quickly find commonalities in her research and my work, and often offered very poignant

observations. She was the first person to teach me that writing is the way to figure things out, and always encouraged me to send her whatever I had written — especially my "shitty first drafts". Some of my fondest memories of my Ph.D. were in Ann Marie's office, talking about the reading list for my qualifying exam, nerding out about sound changes in German, and also stumbling through my Duolingo Danish with her. She also taught me to reward myself based on the time and effort I'd put into writing, rather than based on my perceived quality of the work.

A turning point in my Ph.D. was when I finally started taking advantage of the wonderful workshops and resources from the Writing and Communication Centre. Dr. Nadine Fladd quickly saw my potential and encouraged me to apply for a position as Graduate Fellow, a position which saw me support Nadine in the WCC's graduate programming. Little did I know, working at the WCC would completely change the way I see writing and research. Beyond learning how to write, for example, a literature review, Nadine helped me realize that academic writing is an incredibly creative and rewarding endeavour. Before working for Nadine, I did not know where or how to start writing the dissertation; after working for her, I couldn't wait to get started.

For getting me started on my German journey, I need to thank Marion Hensel. Since my very first day of German class in Grade 11, when you held up signs for greetings and farewells in different parts of Germany (and I decided "Wolfgang" would be my cool German name), I have loved speaking German. And since that high school trip to Germany — that you organized — I knew I wanted to go back. Whenever I teach my own students, whether it be on German or something else, I try to emulate you.

Without my two participants, whom I've given the pseudonyms Rachel and Nina, this dissertation would have not been possible. They took it upon themselves to record as much of their conversations in possible while in Germany, getting my hours and hours of data to analyze. Thank you for letting me into listen in on your conversations.

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Although only one name appears on the cover page, there is a village behind every dissertation. And I am grateful every day for mine.

Dedication

For my Oma, Rita Schirm

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Chapter 1 Introduction: Interaction and second language acquisition

Humans are social animals. Every day, we seek out interaction with one other: we text, send emails, post to social media, swipe on dating apps. A primary locus of our social lives are our everyday face-to-face interactions, whether they be with friends, family, co-workers, strangers on the street, and so on (Enfield, 2017; Sidnell, 2010). In our face-to-face interactions, we have different tools at our disposal to communicate: gesture (e.g., C. Goodwin, 2003; M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Streeck, 1995), facial expression (e.g., Kaukomaa et al., 2013, 2015; Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2012), gaze (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1980; Rossano, 2013), and body alignment (e.g., Schegloff, 1998). But perhaps the most versatile tool in our toolbox is *language*.

Language itself can be understood as a toolbox. We combine words (i.e., lexis), grammar (i.e., morphosyntax), and phonetics with our other multimodal features to coordinate our interactions — for example by timing our turns at talk so we avoid speaking at the same time as someone else but also leave as little silence as possible (Levinson, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974) — and to do things of social consequence *in* interaction, such as complain, offer, recount our day, and make plans for the future. Language makes our interactions rich and our social lives possible, regardless of which language(s) we speak.

But human languages also differ from one another, not only in the formal resources they offer their speakers, but also in their speakers' shared expectations and understandings of interaction and how interaction is supposed to unfold. The latter crucially shapes how interactants interpret each other's contributions. English and German, for example, both have routinized questions for asking someone how they are in the opening of a conversation, for example on the telephone (e.g., *how are you?*, *wie geht's?*); however, the inquiries have systematically different functions: In English, *how are you?* questions regularly occur in conversation openings, are placed before the first conversation topic, and are asked reciprocally (Schegloff, 1968). In German, such questions are less common in openings; when there is a *wie geht's?*, it typically receives an extended answer, which becomes the first topic. Furthermore, unlike in English, a *wie geht's?* question is rarely immediately returned (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002, 2019). These inquiries in English and German, although similar in shape, constitute different actions and are fitted to different interactional contexts – *how are you?* to openings and *wie geht's?* to first topics.

Because of the differences in how languages handle similar interactional tasks, such as opening a conversation, the challenge learning or developing a second language (or 'L2') is not just learning L2 vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation, but also the ways to deploy those linguistic resources to accomplish social actions (such as open a conversation, see Taleghani-Nikazm, 2019) recognizably in interaction. In the past decades, research on second-language acquisition has become increasingly interested in how L2 speakers develop the ability to interact in fitted and recognizable ways in a second language — or how L2 speaker develop their *interactional competence* (or 'IC', see Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; He & Young, 1998; Kramsch, 1986; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Young, 2000). Research on IC has described how L2 speakers develop resources, for example to disagree (see Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; [Pochon-]Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2011), to coordinate shifts between activities in classrooms (Hellermann, 2008), to take turns at talk (Cekaite, 2007), to begin a storytelling (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018), and to complain (Skogmyr Marian, 2021) in an L2. The research on L2 IC has found that L2 speakers become more interactionally competent by developing and diversifying their *members' methods* (see Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii) to accomplish actions in increasingly recognizable and accountable ways in interaction (see also Pekarek Doehler, 2019).

In my dissertation, I similarly investigate the development of L2 IC. In line with other research on L2 IC (see Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019), I use the theories and methodologies of conversation analysis (or 'CA', see Sacks et al., 1974; Sidnell, 2010). CA is an emic, data-driven approach to the study of social interaction action that uses recordings and transcripts of interaction to uncover how interactants coordinate and orient to each other's conduct and jointly achieve interaction. I specifically use *longitudinal CA*, an application of conversation analytic techniques to the study of change over time in social interaction (see Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021; Wagner et al., 2018).

While much of the prior research on L2 IC has investigated how L2 speakers' methods for performing *actions*, such as disagreements, story openings, or complaints, develop over time, there is comparatively little research that investigates IC by beginning with an L2 linguistic resource and then tracking the changes in how L2 speakers put that resource to use in their everyday interactions (cf., Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009; Masuda, 2011; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). My dissertation will follow this second, less trodden path of investigation, taking

a linguistic resource as a point of departure. I will argue, and show empirically, that investigating IC and its development through different analytic lenses can diversify our understanding of IC and how L2 speakers become able to interact competently in an L2.

In my dissertation, I take as an analytic starting points L2 speakers' use of discourse markers in German. Discourse markers are single word (e.g., German *also*, English *well*) or multi-word constructions (e.g., German *(ich) weiß nicht* "(I) don't know", English *y'know*) that project the nature of the unfolding talk and display its connection with some prior talk (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schiffrin, 1987). I seek to answer the following questions:

1) How do my participants use discourse markers in their L2 German interactions? Specifically:
    a. How does Rachel use the particle combination *achja* as a discourse marker in sequence-initial position?
    b. How does Nina use the discourse marker *also?*
2) How does the use of discourse markers by specific L2 speakers change over time? Specifically, how does Nina's use of *also* change over time? Is there a visible trajectory of development?
3) What can discourse marker use reveal about the nature of L2 IC, particularly in terms of *recognizability*, *accountability*, and *members' methods*?

I begin by reviewing *Interactional Competence* in terms of its conceptual history, empirical research, and current discussions regarding the term *competence* and its relationship with the architecture of interaction (Chapter 2). I then give an overview of the conversation analytic approach to the study of human interaction, including how to apply longitudinal CA to the study of change over time in social interaction (Chapter 3). Following this methodology chapter, I present my two participants — the Canadian L2 speakers of German Rachel and Nina — and the data corpus, which consists of the participants' recorded and transcribed everyday interactions from sojourns to Germany (Chapter 4).

Before moving to my analyses sections, I review research on discourse markers in spoken interaction (Chapter 5). I then present my analyses of Rachel and Nina's use of discourse markers. In Chapter 6, I analyze Rachel's use of the particle combination *achja*, which German L1 speakers have been shown to use in response turns to claim now-remembering (Betz &

Golato, 2008). I show that during her 4-month sojourn, Rachel also uses the combination to index remembering, however exclusively in sequence-initial positions to a) mark the end of a search for a past event (Section 6.4.1), b) to backlink some current talk to an earlier activity (Section 6.4.2), and c) in combination with German *also* to do resumption (Section 6.4.3). In the same chapter, I discuss whether Rachel likely developed these uses from her participation in interactions with L1 speakers of German (the Participation hypothesis, Section 6.5.1) or whether she is transferring some strategy from her L1 English (the Transfer hypothesis, Section 6.5.2).

In the second analysis chapter (Chapter 7), I compare Nina's use of the discourse marker *also* during her year-long sojourn to Germany. In German, *also* can function as a connector adverb in the framing of summaries and conclusions (Dudenredaktion, n.d.-a). As a discourse marker, *also* has been shown to appear in self-repairs (Alm, 2007), reformulations (Fernández-Villanueva, 2007), and resumptions (Alm, 2004) and likely has additional interactional uses. After a review of research on *also* (Section 7.2), I present my analyses of Nina's *also* use in activities related to the *negotiation of meaning*, that is, the modification, explication, or correction of (intended) meaning in some earlier talk. At the beginning of her sojourn, Nina uses *also* to unpack her earlier talk (Section 7.4.1), formulate an upshot of her prior talk, or formulate a consequence (Section 7.4.2) of her prior talk. These uses of *also* serve to maintain intersubjectivity by explicating the locally relevant meaning of that earlier talk. At the end of her sojourn, Nina uses *also* to correct a co-interactant's incorrect candidate understanding (Section 7.4.4), to reformulate her own talk that her co-interactant did not understand (Section 7.4.5.1), and to reformulate her own talk to specify its meaning and block an unwanted interpretation (Section 7.4.5.2). Nina also continues to use *also* in upshot and consequence formulations, but there were no instances of unpacking *also* at the end of her sojourn. My analyses thus show that Nina's use of *also* changes over the course of her sojourn. Based on my analyses of Nina, I forward an understanding of IC as the *ability to contribute to the organization of interaction*; I also propose that the change I observe may be best described as *pruning*, a trajectory that describes the *growth* and *strengthening* of new uses of a linguistic resource as well as the *dropping* of other uses (Section 7.5.2).

The two analysis chapters together demonstrate the contributions that analyses of L2 discourse marker use can contribute to our understanding of L2 interactional competence. My findings from my analysis of Rachel's use of *achja* in Chapter 6 show that L2 speakers can

interact in recognizable ways that differ from how L1 speakers achieve interaction, suggesting that methods for interaction must not be fully shared among interactants in order to be recognizable. My analysis of Nina's changing use *also* in Chapter 7 shows that diversification is not the only observable trajectory of development of L2 IC. And my analyses together show the limitations of using recognizability (in terms of *accountability*, see Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016) to describe how interactionally competent some contribution is and how interactional competence in an L2 develops.

I pick up the discussion of recognizability in our understanding of L2 IC in my concluding chapter (Chapter 8). There, I summarize my analytic findings and discuss the notion of *recognizability* in terms of *members' methods* and *accountability* (see Garfinkel, 1967). In particular, I scrutinize how CA and IC research (e.g., Hellermann, 2008, 2011; Robinson, 2016; Sacks, 1992) have labeled the collectivities to which members belong as *culture*, *language*, and *society*. I discuss the implications of such conceptualizations of membership for our understanding of IC and its development. I end the dissertation by calling for a diversification of approaches to IC research, both by conducting more work that takes linguistic resources as an analytic starting point, and by using mixed methods to study L2 speakers' conduct in and experiences with interacting in the L2 and thus to describe their developing IC.

Chapter 2 Interactional competence — Its conceptual history, empirical research, and criticisms

In this chapter, I give a historical overview of the conceptual development of IC, from Chomsky's (1965) notions of *performance* and *competence*, to Hymes' (1972) communicative competence, through to proficiency models of second-language acquisition (e.g., Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983), to the contributions of CA to IC research (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2019; Skogmyr Marian et al., 2017; Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018). The goal of this chapter is to frame my dissertation, analytical findings, and conclusions within IC research as well as present current discussions on the nature of interactional competence and its development.

2.1 From competence to communicative competence[1]

Interactional competence has its basis in responses to Chomsky's (1965) individualistic and cognitive definition of (linguistic) competence. For Chomsky (1965), *competence* described the (implicit) knowledge that an idealized speaker-listener would have of their own language, and included an innate ability to acquire (a first) language. Chomsky (1965) considered language-in-use to be *performance* and, as performance does not adhere perfectly to the formal constraints (e.g., the codified grammar) of a language, he viewed it as an incomplete and imperfect representation of competence(1964, 1972) responded to Chomsky by arguing that knowledge of a language's grammar was insufficient if the language user did not also have knowledge of the contexts in which to employ a specific grammatical structure.[2] Chomsky's separation of competence and performance also excluded the study of how linguistic structures gain meaning through their use, and that their use (e.g., in certain collocations, in turns and sequences) in fact shapes their grammatical form (see also Fox, 2007). Hymes thus rejected Chomsky's separation of language into *competence* and *performance*; he proposed instead a theory of *communicative competence* meant to encompass the ability to (learn to) deploy a language's grammar in its

[1] For more in-depth historical reviews of research on IC, see Hall (2018), Hall & Pekarek Doehler (2011), Skogmyr Marian & Balaman (2018), and Skogmyr Marian et al. (2017).

[2] "[I]t is not enough for the child to be able to produce any grammatical utterance. It would have to remain speechless if it could not decide which grammatical utterance here and now, if it could not connect utterances to their contexts of use" (Hymes, 1964, p. 110).

appropriate contexts. Hymes (1964, 1972) thereby argued for a more holistic understanding of and approach to the study of language and its acquisition. Hymes' (1964, 1972) theory of communicative competence moved away from cognitive understandings of language towards a social understanding. While it was originally concerned with children's language learning capacities, his theory of communicative competence still influences research on second language acquisition (or 'SLA'), opening new pathways in SLA research focused on linguistic acts, discursive cohesion, and social conventions (e.g., politeness; see Skogmyr Marian et al., 2017).

Hymes' conceptualization of communicative competence, however, retained a focus on the individual: It aimed to bring into view the individual's capacity for speaking in social contexts, rather than the collaborative accomplishment of competent language use in social contexts (particularly in interaction) (see He & Young, 1998, p. 5; Young, 2000). The widely held assumption in SLA research at the time that L2 speakers' competence progressively approaches that of L1 speakers, and a central construct in SLA reflecting this assumption was that of *interlanguage*. *Interlanguage* describes an L2 speaker's (or, as it was more commonly formulated, a language learner's) developing language system as they acquire the L2 (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). As its prefix *inter-* implies, *interlanguage* assumes the learner's language system exists between other language systems, namely the L2 and the L1, and as the learner acquires the L2 (or *target language*), their linguistic abilities continuously approach (but never reach) those of an L1 speaker (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991, p. 60; see also Kasper, 1998). The consequences for theories such as *interlanguage* in SLA were, on the one hand, accuracy-focused models of language acquisition that focused on teaching and testing L2 speakers on the grammatical structures of the L2 (Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983) and, on the other hand, a pervasive view of L2 speakers as deficient communicators in comparison with L1 speakers (Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Kasper, 1998; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Lowe, 1983).

2.2 From assuming deficiency to investigating competence: Toward a theory of *interactional competence*

In proficiency models of SLA (such as the *Oral Proficiency Levels*, see Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983), the goal for individual language learners was to progress to the level of the *educated native speaker*, "with the emphasis on the word *educated*" (Higgs & Clifford, 1982, p.

64). Sociolinguistic and culture resources as well as comprehensible pronunciation and adequate vocabulary were viewed as sufficient for 'survival' in the target language. But it was the accurate deployment of grammatical forms that proficiency models of SLA viewed as essential for the successful performance of complex communicative tasks, and thus for the successful integration into a language community (Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983). In other words, while proficiency models recognize and promote the role of sociolinguistic and cultural elements in communication, it was language learners' lack of grammatical accuracy that proponents of proficiency models identified as the limiting factor in achieving more than survival in the L2 (Higgs & Clifford, 1982).

While recognizing that proficiency models sought to teach learners to communicate successfully in the L2, that is, to have students able to functionally deploy the language to complete communicative tasks and projects (rather than merely having explicit knowledge of the L2, see Lowe, 1983), Kramsch (1986) argued that their focus on grammar, without considering the relationship between language use and context, was actually counterproductive. For interaction[3] to be successful, Kramsch argues that its participants must both have "a shared knowledge of the world" and "reference to a common external context of communication" and must establish and maintain intersubjectivity in the interactive context itself (Kramsch, 1986, p. 367). Kramsch (1986) takes as an example the reported difficulty American students of French have ordering a coffee in a French café: For Kramsch (1986), knowledge of French grammar (e.g., interrogative constructions) and vocabulary (e.g., the French word for *coffee* "café") are insufficient to unproblematically order from a server if the student is not also "[aware] of the different social relationships that exist in France between waiters and customers, of the different affective, social, and cultural values attached to cups of coffee, of the different perception French waiters might have of American citizens" (p. 368). While Kramsch's (1986) treatment of the "legendary cup of coffee in a French restaurant" (p. 368) is a thought experiment and not an empirical analysis, it illustrates her issue with proficiency models and their focus on grammatical accuracy: That the successful achievement of any communicative task (to use the language of proficiency models, see Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983) requires an orientation to the expectations, assumptions, and perspective of the interlocutor. Kramsch (1986) proposed that

[3] Kramsch (1986) includes in her understanding of *interaction* the "interaction between a reader and a written text" (p. 367).

foreign language education adopt an understanding of *interactional competence* that recognizes language use as "a two-way negotiative effort" and teaches language students "to recognize and understand the process by which two speakers meet each other's interactional needs within the requirements of the situation" (p. 368).

In the following decades, SLA research took up Kramsch's (1986) notion of *interactional competence*, and at this stage of IC research, researchers were interested in language students' conduct in the context of specific *discursive practices* (see Young, 2000, p. 6) or *interactive practices*[4] (see Hall, 1995, 1999; He & Young, 1998). Discursive and interactive practices are "recurring episodes of face-to-face interaction in context [...] that are of social and cultural significance to a community of speakers" (Young, 2000, p. 1) or "goal-oriented, recurring moments of face-to-face interaction, through which [interactants] manage [their] family relationships, engage in a variety of community- and work-related tasks, and nurture [their] social networks" (Hall, 1999, p. 138). These recurring episodes or moments are, in large part, characterized by a set of interactional resources. Examples of discursive/interactive practices include office hours, ESL writing conferences (see Young, 2000) or specific classroom activities (Hall, 1995). IC research simultaneously concerned itself with how interactants (including language students) collaboratively construct these practices *and* with what linguistic and pragmatic resources language students employ in specific practices (Hall, 1995; He & Young, 1998; Young, 2000). There are five kinds of resources under this understanding of IC (He & Young, 1998, pp. 6-7): rhetorical scripts (those speech acts that "define a particular practice"), specific lexical items and syntactic structures, strategies for managing turns, resources for managing topics (in terms of topic preference, topic length, and rights to introduce and change topics), and resources for signaling boundaries (e.g., for the opening, closing, and extending of topics and activities) (see also Young, 2000). In this tradition, IC was understood as a practice-specific, rather than as a general, competence: Language learners develop resources for specific discursive or interactive practices by repeatedly participating in instances of specific practices "with more experienced others" (He & Young, 1998, p. 7).[5]

[4] These notions of *practice* are not to be confused with conversation analysis' definition of *practice*, i.e., a unique resource (e.g., *oh*, pointing) deployed in a specific sequential position in service of some social action (Heritage, 2010a). For more on the conversation analytic definition and study of practices, see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.

[5] German sociolinguistics describes a concept similar to that of *discursive practices — kommunikative Gattungen* "communicative genres" (see Günthner & König, 2016). *Kommunikative Gattungen* are everyday patterns of language use (e.g., speed dating, lectures, job interview) that vary based on social and cultural context. As Günthner

The wording "with more experienced others" (He & Young, 1998, p. 7) — rather than, e.g., 'with native speakers' — is indicative of a larger shift occurring in SLA research in the 1990s, a shift away from the placing the L1 speaker at the center of L2 research. In their seminal paper, Firth and Wagner (1997) called for such a fundamental reconceptualization of SLA research. Without explicitly situating themselves within IC research, they criticized SLA models that construct the "native" speaker as the perfect communicator/language user and the "nonnative" speaker as permanently deficient (e.g., interlanguage, see Kasper, 1998; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). More specifically, Firth and Wagner (1997) took issue with the pervasive view in SLA that L2 speakers' communicative "problems" are more informative than their communicative "successes" (p. 288), even though L2 speakers at all levels of development can interact successfully in the L2 to a certain degree. For example, if an L2 speaker uses a word from their L1 in interaction, this can be taken to be indicative of a communicative problem stemming from a gap in their knowledge of the L2 (a "deficiency" view of L2 speakers) *or* as a *solution* to a communicative obstacle, and thus as a potential communicative *success* (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Firth & Wagner (1997) also challenged the implication from proficiency models that L1 speakers only experience problem-free interaction, without e.g., "'triggers'[6], 'repairs', and 'misunderstandings'" (p. 295), arguing that this view disregards how common such communicative "problems" are in "normal, conversational discourse, regardless of the social identities of the actors involved" (p. 295), and how integral strategies for addressing them are to interaction. Based on this, Firth and Wagner (1997) called for more emic approaches to SLA research, that is, approaches that examine both how L2 speakers interact in their L2 and how they acquire the L2 through interaction, particularly in environments outside the language classroom.

2.3 L2 speakers' interactions "in the wild": Conversation analysis and IC

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and König (2016) note, *kommunikative Gattungen* are dynamic and reflexive: They are dynamic in that *kommunikative Gattungen* can fall away from a sociocultural group's repertoire over time (e.g., communication via telegram) or be added to it (e.g., text messaging). They are also dynamic in the sense that a *kommunikative Gattung* is understood to both shape the language used for its achievement and be itself shaped by the language used for it (Günthner & König, 2016). Similar to conceptions of IC in the 1990s and early 2000s (Hall, 1995; He & Young, 1998; Young, 2000), individual *kommunikative Gattungen* are understood to require specific competencies; the competencies are also related to the roles and relationships of those participating in a *Gattung* (Günthner & König, 2016). However, as discussions of *kommunikative Gattungen* have been largely independent of research on IC, a further discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[6] Firth and Wagner (1997) appear to use *trigger* similarly to the CA term *trouble source*, which is some talk that interactants repair, because of a problem of speaking, hearing, or understanding (see Schegloff et al., 1977).

In the years following Firth and Wagner (1997), conversation analysts and SLA researchers increasingly took up their call for research investigating L2 interaction from an emic perspective (e.g., Cekaite, 2007; Hellermann, 2008). The resulting field of research — CA-SLA — increasingly understood IC as the "*ability for joint action*" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30, emphasis in original; see also Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011), that is, the ability to accomplish social actions (e.g., tell a story, Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; opening and close activities, Hellermann, 2007, 2008; do disagreement, Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; or complain, Skogmyr Marian, 2021) in ways recognizable to co-interactants. Central to the CA approach to IC was (and still is) Garfinkel's (1967) concept of *members' methods* (p. vii), i.e., those context-sensitive, "systematic interactional procedures" that members of a social group[7] "deploy for accomplishing social actions and establishing intersubjectivity" (Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018, p. 2). The development of IC in a second language is thus conceptualized — and witnessable — as the increase in the capacity for context-sensitive and recognizable conduct in L2 interactions (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018).[8]

CA research on IC takes either a longitudinal (e.g., Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Cekaite, 2007; Hellermann, 2008; Ishida, 2009; Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; Skogmyr Marian, 2021) or a cross-sectional approach (e.g., Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011), with some studies combining the two (e.g., Y. Kim, 2009).[9] The predominant body of IC research has examined how L2 speakers develop novel methods for accomplishing a specific social action (e.g., open a story, Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; do disagreement, Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; or complain, Skogmyr Marian, 2021) through the deployment of more context-sensitive (linguistic) resources. This body of research has found that, in developing their IC in an L2, L2 speakers diversify their resources and methods for accomplishing social actions. For example, in their study of disagreements in the L2

[7] In ethnomethodology, CA, and IC, the exact nature of the collectivities to which members belong, such as social groups (Pekarek Doehler, 2018, p. 5, 2019, p. 47; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 53; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2015, p. 235) but also *culture*, *society*, and *language* (e.g., Hellermann, 2008, 2011; Robinson, 2016; Sacks, 1992, p. 245; ten Have, 2002), is not clearly defined. I discuss this issue of members' collectivities and its implications for L2 IC research in Chapter 8.

[8] CA researchers were interested in the development of IC before CA-SLA. This interest was, however, focused on the ways in which children become competent members of their social group (see Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Sacks, 1992). For a further discussion of the origins of IC in CA, see Hall (2018).

[9] For more on these approaches, in particular longitudinal CA research, see Wagner et al. (2018), Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler (2021), as well as Section 3.5.

French classroom, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2011) found that the advanced students of French combined a more diverse range of resources to do disagreement than their lower-intermediate counterparts. While the lower-intermediate students used primarily *yes/no* tokens when doing disagreement, the advanced speakers diversified their resources for doing disagreement, using and combining *yes-but* type constructions, linguistic hedges, and clause combining patterns (Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011). Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) arrived at similar findings in their study of one au pair's storytelling openings. At the end of her sojourn, the au pair increasingly used more diverse resources to project an incipient storytelling (e.g., using the disjunct marker *mais* "but"), to indicate the upcoming storytelling's relevance to the ongoing talk, and to display the nature of the upcoming storytelling; at the beginning of her sojourn, the au pair tended to launch storytellings without any such prefatory work (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; for similar findings on L2 speakers' complaints, see Skogmyr Marian, 2020).

Diversifying one's resources, or *diversification*, does not only describe how L2 speakers employ more resources over time when performing these actions, but that the speakers employ more resources in *service* of the action. The L2 speakers performed the actions more recognizably, that is, in ways more fitted to the local context and designed for their recipient. In doing disagreement with more diverse resources, the advanced L2 speakers of French were able to fine-tune their disagreements with their co-interactants, on the one hand pinpointing the individual aspects of their co-interactants' talk with which they disagreed and, on the other hand, orienting to a preference for agreement over disagreement by delaying clearly disagreeing components within the unfolding turn (Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011). In the case of the au pair's storytelling openings in L2 French, (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018) found that she employed more diverse resources to open a storytelling and was thus better able to secure her co-participant's cooperation, i.e., their recipiency to and participation in the storytelling activity (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018).

But diversification also involves, to a degree, a *recalibration* of L2 speakers' resources (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011). Such recalibration includes L2 speakers deploying linguistic resources to which they already have access in novel action environments. In their study of storytelling openings, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) did not claim that the L2 speaker acquired the lexical item *mais* "but" specifically for the task of opening stories. *Mais*, like

English "but", is a common coordinating conjunction in French which the L2 speaker was likely already using in her interactions. Rather, the L2 speaker recalibrated *mais* "but" to (also) serve as a disjunct marker in storytelling openings (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, see also Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019; and Pekarek Doehler, 2018).

More recent research has suggested, however, that diversification is not the only trajectory by which L2 speakers develop their ability for recognizable and context-sensitive conduct in an L2. Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) analyzed one English L2 speaker's online, video-mediated collaborative task-based interactions, focusing specifically on how this speaker suspended ongoing talk with a co-participant to perform another activity on her screen. Initially, the L2 speaker relied on a variety of constructions, such as *wait a minute*, *i will try*, *i will copy* to do this, and eventually settles on *i'll check*; 4 years later, she used exclusively *let me check* to suspend ongoing talk (Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021). Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) refer to this "progressive simplification of a social action format in the specialized context at hand" (p. 199) as "streamlining" (p. 187); they demonstrate that the development of IC centers around the "deploy[ment of] contingent solutions for getting locally relevant interactional work done" (p. 199) and that development of these solutions can take different routes.

2.4 Interactional competence...s?

As our understanding of IC has developed, so too have criticisms of the concept and discussions of its shortcomings, many of them coming from the theory's proponents. These critics point out (and rightly so) that much of the empirical work that informs our current understanding of (which, in turn, informs further IC research, including that on L2 teaching and assessment; see Salaberry & Kunitz, 2019) focusses on how interactants develop *members' methods* (see Garfinkel, 1967) in terms of the recognizable performance of actions in interaction.

Understanding IC only through the lens of social actions, however, does not directly consider those structures underlying spoken interaction — what Levinson (2006) calls the "interaction engine" (p. 44) and Enfield (2017) the "conversation machine" (p. 6). From a CA perspective, these are structures such as the turn-taking system of interaction (Sacks et al., 1974), repair (Schegloff et al., 1977), or preference organization (Sacks, 1987; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Regardless of what language interactants are speaking, they are going to take turns at talk, things are going to 'go wrong' that interactants will need to 'fix' through the mechanism of repair, and

interactants are going to "follow principles, often implicit, when they act and react in a variety of interactional situations" (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013, p. 210), and these will manifest themselves in the details of how turns and sequences unfold. It is these structures that allow for successful interaction, including instances where interactants do not fully share a common language.

It is this critique of CA research on IC — that research to date has not sufficiently addressed the role of interaction's underlying, language-independent architecture — that both Hall (2018) and Kecskes et al. (2018) make. More specifically, Hall (2018) and Kecskes et al. (2018) argue that IC research has been using "interactional competence" to mean both "learners' basic competence for participating as human beings in their social worlds" — i.e., their knowledge of turn taking, repair, and preference organization (Hall, 2018, p. 26) — *and* those L2-specific resources that learners acquire and employ in their L2 interactions (i.e., as the objects of L2 learning). The authors suggest an alternative terminology for IC research. Hall (2018) proposes *interactional repertoires* to refer to objects of L2 learning, i.e., to those practices that L2 speakers develop to perform specific actions in L2 interaction; *interactional competence* would refer solely to the shared knowledge of turn-taking, repair, and preference organization. Kecskes et al. (2018) similarly propose a separation of *basic interactional competence* from *applied interactional competence*. While the former comprises the "knowledge of the principled ways in which utterances/actions can be discursively linked, or fitted to each other, to achieve *inter*action" (p. 89, emphasis in the original), a knowledge that interactants develop in infancy and bring with them into their L2, the latter refers to the "culture-specific knowledge learners acquire to interact effectively in a host culture" (p. 89).

From an empirical perspective, however, separating the underlying architecture of interaction from those actions and practices that interactants deploy in interaction may not be possible; attempts to do so run the risk of oversimplifying what interactants actually do when taking turns, doing repair, and managing preference in interacting with each other. To be able to access and take advantage of the "interactive engine" (Levinson, 2006, p. 44), interactants they must deploy — and recognize the deployment of — resources in interaction.

Let us consider, for example, turn-taking in interaction — one of the universal structures underlying human interaction (Levinson, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974; Stivers et al., 2009). Interactants take and coordinate turns-at-talk in minute and complex detail (Levinson, 2016;

Sacks et al., 1974), and this systematics has many similarities to turns-at-play in turn-based games (e.g., *Monopoly*). For example, interactants take turns talking; when one interactant reaches the possible end of their turn, another interactant can (and commonly does) begin a new turn at talk. Also like a game, turns-at-talk occur one at a time — interactants avoid talking at the same time (Sacks et al., 1974). But turn-taking organization in interaction extends beyond simply the transition of the floor from one interactant to another. Turn transitions in interaction commonly occur without gap[10] or overlap with co-interactants' talk, and overlapping talk (when it does occur) is brief (Levinson, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974). To see this system in action, let us consider Excerpt 1, which I take from a face-to-face meal interaction between Ina (INA) and Rachel (RAC). Rachel is doing an internship in a mid-sized city in Germany. During this internship, Rachel is living in a student residence; in line 01, Ina asks about this residence.

Excerpt 1: RAC_2019.08.13_05:06-05:11_*KMH*[11]

```
01   INA:   in welchem wohnheim SIND sie eigentlich.
            in which residence ARE you actually.
            which residence are you in.

02   RAC:   äh kah emm HA? ((=KMH))
            uh kay em AITCH? ((=KMH))

03   INA:   wo IS des;=
            where IS that;=

04   RAC:   =also das ist ZEHN minuten   vom   hauptbahnhof:—
            =PTCL that is TEN minutes from.the central station:—
            so it's ten minutes from the central station
```

In this excerpt, there are four turns: Ina's question in line 01, Rachel's answer in line 02, Ina's second question in line 03, and Rachel's second answer in line 04. There is no overlapping talk; the interactants are speaking one at a time. There are no gaps between turns; Rachel begins her

[10] In English, the average length of silence (or gap) between turns is approximately 230 milliseconds; while there is no similar analysis for German, across languages the average length of inter-turn silence is approximately 210 milliseconds (Stivers et al., 2009), or "the average duration of a single syllable" (Levinson, 2016, p. 7).

[11] All data is transcribed using the GAT 2 guidelines for basic transcript, with additional elements taken from the guidelines for a fine transcript that capture features of volume and rate of speech (Selting et al., 2009, 2011). In non-English excerpts, each numbered line of transcript includes three lines of text: the original transcript of the interaction (in Courier New, with a line number), an interlinear gloss (i.e., a word-for-word translation) to make the unfolding of each turn accessible to the reader (in italics), and — when necessary due to morphosyntactic differences between the transcribed language and English — an idiomatic translation into English (in Times New Roman). As I do not specifically investigate the deployment of grammatical forms and structures, I keep the description of the morpho-syntax of the original German to a minimum in the interlinear gloss for ease of reading. I indicate lines of analytical focus in each excerpt with an arrow (=>) between the line number and speaker code in the original transcript. For a complete list of the transcription symbols I use in this dissertation, see Appendix A. For a discussion of the role of transcription in the conversation analytic approach to the study of interaction, see Section 3.4

turn in line 02 within 200 milliseconds of the end of Ina's question in line 01, and Ina's second question in line 03 comes just as quickly after Rachel's answer. Rachel latches her turn in line 04 to Ina's question in line 03; that is, there is no hearable silence between the end of Ina's question in 03 and the beginning of Rachel's answer in 04.

The precise timing of turn-taking — that interactants generally do not begin turns "early" (before the previous turn is projectably complete) or "late" (after the average 200 milliseconds of silence) — suggests that interactants finely coordinate their turns with each other (Sacks et al., 1974). Specifically, it suggests that interactants can foretell when a co-interactant's turn will come to an end and plan next turns while current turns are under production (see Levinson, 2016). In other words, when taking a turn-at-talk, a current turn *projects* when it will be (possibly) complete (Sacks et al., 1974). By *project* I refer to how elements in interaction — individual morphemes, words, gestures, actions, sequences — foreshadow upcoming elements (Auer, 2005, p. 8).

One linguistic resource that significantly contributes to projecting an upcoming possible turn completion point is the *syntax* of a given language (Auer, 2005; Sacks et al., 1974). Syntax governs which words appear together (e.g., in different kinds of *phrases*) and the order in which words appear in a sentence. Put differently, as an interactant produces a turn-at-talk, after each word, syntax puts constraints on what (class of) word(s) can appear next. Syntax (in coordination with prosody and other grammatical features, e.g., morphology) allows a talking interactant to project for their co-interactants when their turn will come to an end (i.e., when they will finish producing the final word), thereby allowing for a co-interactant to time the beginning of their turn so as to minimize any gap or overlap in talk. Let us consider Ina's turn in line 01 in isolation:

Excerpt 2: RAC_2019.08.13_05:06-05:07_*KMH*

```
01   INA:   in welchem wohnheim SIND sie eigentlich.
            in which residence ARE you actually.
            which residence are you in.
```

This turn consists of six words: *in* + *welchem* + *Wohnheim* + *sind* + *Sie* + *eigentlich*. These words are in a specific order; a sentence such as *welchem eigentlich in Sie Wohnheim sind* ("which actually in you residence are") would be unacceptable in German.[12] Each word Ina

[12] It is important to note that the syntax of turns-at-talk does not always match, or is not necessarily limited to, the prescriptive rules of a language's (written) grammar. In some cases, interactants' deviations from these syntactic rules are due to errors in speaking (and may be cause for them to initiate repair, see Schegloff et al., 1977).

produces constrains both what can come immediately next and what can come later in the turn. Let us now look at the syntactic constraints in more detail.

Ina's turn in line 01 begins with a preposition, *in* "in", thereby starting a prepositional phrase. In German, prepositional phrases must contain two elements, a preposition and a noun phrase, in that order. What comes after *in* must therefore be a noun phrase — not a verb, not another preposition, but a noun phrase. Noun phrases can take several forms; they can contain an article (e.g., *der* "the", *ein* "a/an"), an adjective, an adverb modifying that adjective, etc. But one component is necessary: a noun (or equivalent, such as a pronoun). In German, these other elements (articles, adjectives, adverbs) appear before the noun. The noun that follows a preposition is not the subject in a sentence; that will have to come later.

As Ina continues her turn, each lexical item further constrains the possible syntactic development of the turn and further contributes to the projection of the turn's end. The noun phrase that *in* projects begins with the interrogative adjective *welchem* "which", after which either an adjective (with the dative ending *-en*) or a noun (that is in the dative case *and* either masculine or neuter) could come. The syntactic constraints on a turn- or TCU[13]-in-progress

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Interactants often, however, do not orient to such deviations and, in fact, some apparent deviations are not treated as ungrammatical but rather as systematic and regular features of spoken interaction. See Günthner (1996) for an interactional functional comparison of verb-final (the prescriptively 'correct' verb placement) vs. verb-second word ordering in German subordinate *weil* (because) and *obwohl* (although) clauses (see also Auer, 1996, 1997; Gohl & Günthner, 1999; Günthner, 1999).

[13] Or *turn-constructional unit*, a prosodically, grammatically, and pragmatically potentially complete unit (see Clayman, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974). By 'complete' I mean what interactants treat as a unit, which on the level of grammar could be a complete clause, but also smaller as well as larger items. Take Excerpt 1 (reprinted here).

RAC_2019.08.13_05:06-05:11 *KMH*

01	INA:	in welchem wohnheim SIND sie eigentlich.
		in which residence ARE you actually.
		which residence are you in.
02	RAC:	äh kah emm HA? ((=KMH))
		uh kay em AITCH? ((=KMH))
03	INA:	wo IS des;=
		where IS that;=
04	RAC:	=also das ist ZEHN minuten vom hauptbahnhof:—
		=PTCL that is TEN minutes from.the central station:—
		so it's ten minutes from the central station

In this excerpt, all the turns (one in each of the lines 01, 02, 03, and 04) consist of a single TCU, and after each TCU there is a speaker change (from Ina to Rachel or Rachel to Ina). There are three TCUs that are clausal (lines 01, 03, and 04) and one that is phrasal (line 02) (Clayman, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974). By default, after every TCU, there is a *transition-relevance place* (or 'TRP') at which another interactant can (but does not necessarily) take the floor (Clayman, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974). For example, in the above excerpt, Rachel and Ina each take the floor after the other has completed a TCU. In storytelling activities, however, interactants suspend this 'one turn-one TCU'

contributes to projecting when the turn/TCU will come to an end, or when it will reach a *transition relevant place* (or 'TRP', see p. 17, note 13)

Syntactic projection[14] is a resource that co-interactants use to plan when to begin a new turn at talk. Projection allows co-interactants to minimize the silence between the current speaker's turn and their (the co-interactant's) next turn as, absent of syntactic projection, the speaker would only have the silence following the end of a turn-at-talk as an indication that that turn has reached its end (Sacks et al., 1974). Because interactants minimize silences between turns (Levinson, 2016; Sacks et al., 1974), a silence between turns has consequences for the unfolding interaction; for example, a silence after an assessment (e.g., *God isn't it dreary*) is regularly taken to be indicative of disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984a). As a result of a delay, an assessing interactant may pre-empt an upcoming disagreement and do work on their assessment (e.g., downgrade it) to make it more agreeable to their co-interactant (Pomerantz, 1984a). Projection additionally prevents a next speaker from beginning their upcoming turn "too early", i.e., before the end of the current turn (Sacks et al., 1974). Syntactic projection — a language-specific resource — is central to the turn exchange system of interaction; that is, while interactants may have an underlying, language-non-specific competence regarding turn taking, they would not be able to take full advantage of the system by "appropriately projecting and using possible transition relevance places" (He & Young, 1998, p. 14) in an L2 without some grammatical competence in the L2.

The body of research to date on the turn-exchange system (as well as the organizations of repair and preference) in L2 interaction is small (cf., Cekaite, 2007; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2015), but it already demonstrates that Hall's (2018) and Kecskes et al.'s (2018) proposal to separate an "underlying" IC from a language- or group-specific competence may lead to an oversimplification of the relationship between the "interaction engine" (Levinson, 2006, p. 40) and L2 acquisition. And adding additional terminology (or, as Skogmyr Marian & Balaman

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exchange system so as to allot the telling interactant the multiple TCUs they require to tell their story (Mandelbaum, 2013; Sacks, 1974).

[14] My current discussion focuses on the role of one kind of projection — syntactic projection — and its role in the coordination of turn-taking in interaction. Interactants however use various kinds of projection for various purposes. For example, in word searches, interactants can use gesture to project the "conceptual profile" (Streeck, 1995, p. 102) of the solutions (e.g., turning an extended finger around in circles while searching for the word "spin"), which co-interactants can use to assist the interactant in producing the word search solution. Actions can also project further actions; for example, the question *are you free Friday night?* projects a further action, e.g., an invitation such as *Want to go the movies?* (Schegloff, 1980). These other kinds of projection also give information as to the shape of a turn-in-progress or an upcoming turn (Auer, 2005).

(2018) put it, "terminological hair-splitting" (p. 7)) is not without its consequences. Despite their criticisms of current terminology, Hall (2018) and Kecskes et al. (2018) both draw on a similar theoretical tradition in their approaches, that of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. Hall (2018) and Kecskes et al. (2018) also share in their goal of informing L2 teaching (e.g., Betz & Huth, 2014) and assessment (e.g., Salaberry & Kunitz, 2019) to better prepare participants for their interactions in the L2. Proposing additional terminology — while it enriches the discussion surrounding SLA and the development of L2 IC — risks obscuring what all IC research shares in terms of theoretical underpinnings, methodological approaches (see Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021; Wagner et al., 2018; Chapter 3, Section 3.4), and goals for L2 education (Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018). Focusing on these commonalities will contribute to keeping research findings accessible to L2 students, teachers, and testers (Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018).

2.5 Conclusion

In the past six decades, IC developed from Chomsky's (1965) cognitive *linguistic competence* through Hymes' (1972) *communicative competence* as an individual's language-in-use to an understanding of competence in interaction as a social and collaborative achievement between interactants (Hall, 1995, 1999; He & Young, 1998; Kramsch, 1986; Young, 2000). Additionally, IC researchers stepped away from the conceptualization of L2 speakers as being *a priori* deficient communicators to studying the ways in which L2 speakers develop ways to be successful in interaction (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Starting in the 2000s, CA research on IC began to emerge (e.g., Cekaite, 2007; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011). With its analytical focus on the turn-by-turn unfolding of interaction (see Schegloff, 2007; Chapter 3, Section 3.1) and members' methods (see Garfinkel, 1967), CA helped turn IC's focus to L2 speakers' developing ability to use linguistic resources from the L2 in service of social actions in interaction. In line with the most recent work on IC, in the dissertation, I understand IC as interactants' "*ability for joint action*" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30, emphasis in original) and do not separate turn-taking, repair, and preference organization from the linguistic resources that participants deploy in the service of a project and/or action in interaction. In my analysis chapters, I scrutinize my participants' use of discourse markers — specifically one participants' sequence-initial use of the change-of-state token combination *achja* "oh that's right" (Betz &

Golato, 2008; Küttner, 2018) and another's developing use of the discourse marker *also* (Alm, 2007; Deppermann & Helmer, 2013) — to examine, on the one hand, the notions of *members' methods* and *recognizability* and, on the other hand, the developmental trajectories of an emerging L2 IC. In the following chapter, I introduce CA, its analytic approach, theory of interaction, and — important for this dissertation — *longitudinal CA*, that is, CA applied to the study of change in interaction and interaction patterns over time (see also Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021; Wagner et al., 2018).

Chapter 3 Conversation analysis: Analyzing, transcribing, and collecting data of social interaction

In line with IC research (see previous chapter), I use conversation analysis to describe and track my participants' changing use of discourse markers in their everyday conversations during their sojourns to Germany. The purpose of the current chapter is to introduce theories and methodologies of CA, specifically of data collection, preparation, and analysis. I intend the audience of this dissertation to be broad, to include scholars of CA and IC but also in related fields, such as second-language teaching and assessment. I thus demonstrate the fundamentals of conversation analytic inquiry, including how the nature of interaction informs CA's approach to the collection, transcription, and analysis of interaction data. In Section 3.1, I introduce CA by analyzing a segment of interaction to demonstrate fundamental principles of human interaction and how they inform conversation analytic inquiry. I then (in Section 3.2) explain *collection building*, i.e., how CA takes analyses of several individual segments of recorded interaction and formulates the form and function of specific members' methods (in the for of practices and actions; see Heritage, 2010a; Schegloff, 1996a). Having outlined the CA approach to analyzing data, I continue by discussing how conversation analysts record interaction data, the technical and analytical considerations that go into recording, and recording's role in conversation analytic inquiry (Section 3.3). I then outline the conversation analytic approach to *transcribing* recorded interaction, explaining both the basics of reading a conversation analytic transcript (of which there are many in this dissertation) and accounting for the CA's detailed transcription notation and conventions (Section 3.4). These four sections represent how much of conversation analytic research approaches the study of human interaction. I, however, also do a *longitudinal* analyse one of my participants' discourse marker use in order to describe how that use changes over time (Chapter 7). To do so, I apply longitudinal CA, that is the application of conversation analytic methodologies to the study of interactional change over time (Wagner et al., 2018). In Section 3.5, I discuss longitudinal CA and its implications for collection building and recording.

3.1 Analyzing interaction: Orderliness in time

Conversation analysis is a data-driven approach to the study of (human) interaction; it views interaction — particularly mundane, everyday interaction — as the primordial site of human

social life (Enfield, 2017; Sidnell, 2010). As such, CA's data consist of recordings and transcriptions of spontaneous human interaction — e.g., of friends spending time together, of colleagues in an office, of clerk-customer interactions in a store. 'Data-driven' means that CA is a bottom-up approach: It bases its theories, methodologies, findings, and conclusions on what *is visible in the data*: what people *do* and how they *orient* to their own and others' contributions in interaction (Sidnell, 2010).

CA has its roots in Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (the study of the (accountable) 'methods' that members of a social group employ to achieve and maintain social interaction, see Garfinkel, 1967) and Goffman's sociological *interaction order*, which views interaction as a "sustained, intimate coordination of actions" (Goffman, 1983, p. 3; see also Stivers & Sidnell, 2013). As such, a central goal of conversation analytic lines of inquiry is to uncover the underlying machinery of human interaction (see Enfield, 2017). In their analyses of human interaction, conversation analysts take a radical participants' (i.e., an emic) perspective: rather than relying on their own intuition and experiences, analysts describe participants' interpretations and understandings of the unfolding interaction by scrutinizing the design (e.g., of turns at talk) and context (e.g., sequential placement; see Schegloff, 2007) of those participants' contributions (Psathas, 1990; Sidnell, 2010). While other approaches, such as surveys or introspective tasks, may capture people's beliefs about their interactions, that is, their intuitions about their conduct in interacting with others (e.g., regarding politeness), CA describes and analyzes what interactants *do* in interaction (A. Golato, 2003).

As Wagner et al. (2018) aptly put it, "orderliness in interaction is *constrained in time*" (p.4, my emphasis; see also Deppermann & Günthner, 2015). Simply put, time is linear;[15] events occur one after another, and once an event occurs, it cannot un-occur. For current purposes, whatever happens in interaction happens after something else; interactional events occur sequentially. As CA research repeatedly demonstrates, interactants design their turns-at-talk based on what occurred (directly) prior and use the ordering of events in interaction to interpret and make meaning from their co-interactants' turns-at-talk. Consider the following utterance, taken from the meal interaction between Rachel (RAC) and Ina (INA) previously discussed in Chapter 2.[16]

[15] Or, rather, humans' experience of time.
[16] All person and place names in transcripts are pseudonyms.

Excerpt 3: RAC_2019.08.13_05:07-05:08_*KMH*

```
02 =>RAC:   äh kah emm HA? ((=KMH))
            uh kay em aitch? ((=KMH))
```

From the transcript, we can describe how Rachel structures this utterance: she produces an *äh* "uh" and then utters three letters of the alphabet. However, without context, it is difficult to determine what Rachel is doing in this utterance. What does Rachel mean with KMH? Where/When in the interaction does Rachel utter this turn? Is Rachel producing these letters unprompted, or is she responding to something? Is Rachel in the middle of a larger turn-at-talk (e.g., is she telling a story)? Without context — i.e., surrounding talk — it is impossible to describe the interactional import of an utterance. Let us add some context by including the preceding utterance:

Excerpt 4: RAC_2019.08.13_05:06-05:08_*KMH*

```
01 =>INA:   in welchem wohnheim SIND sie eigentlich.
            in which residence ARE you actually.
            which residence are you in.

02   RAC:   äh kah emm HA? ((=KMH))
            uh kay em AITCH? ((=KMH))
```

In line 01, the turn before Rachel utters *KMH*, Ina launches a request for information in the form of a wh-question[17]: she asks Rachel in which of the student residences she lives (*in welchem Wohnheim sind sie eigentlich* "which residence are you in actually").[18] If we consider Rachel's utterance of *KMH* in line 02 in relation to Ina's question in line 01, it becomes clear what she was doing: Rachel is giving the requested name of her student residence, that is, she is answering Ina's question.

My analysis, in its current state (i.e., based on only these two lines of transcript), however, relies only on my perspective. I am interpreting RAC's turn in line 02 as an answer to INA's question using primarily my intuitions (developed from an extensive personal experience asking, answering, and responding to questions) about what interactants do after questions, i.e., answer them. Questions and their responses are one of the most researched areas in CA (e.g., Fox &

[17] Or *question-word question*, a question fronted with a question word such as *who*, *what*, *when*, *where*, *which*, and *how*.

[18] In German cities with post-secondary institutions, it is common to have a local state-run *Studienrendenwerk* that manages student affairs, including student health insurance, loans, and housing (in the form of student residences). Cities with a *Studierendenwerk* typically have several student residences distributed throughout the city. Ina's use of the question word *welchem* "which" orients to there being several (but a finite number of) residences in which Rachel could be living and requests Rachel select hers from those residences.

Thompson, 2010; Keevallik, 2010; Lee, 2013; Raymond, 2003; Stivers et al., 2018), as questions play a central role in the organization of interaction and thus our social lives (see Hayano, 2013). To support my analysis of Rachel's turn in line 02, I could cite this previous research. However, as a conversation analyst, I am responsible for describing interaction as it unfolds moment-by-moment *for the participants in their here and now* (Psathas, 1990; Sidnell, 2010; Stivers & Sidnell, 2013). Participants are not relying on research on question-answer sequences nor on my personal interactional history when they produce and respond to questions. That is, while Rachel's turn in line 02 ("KMH") is arguably hearable to an analyst such as myself as the name of a residence and thus a fitting answer to Ina's question in line 01 ("which residence are you in"), I, sitting at my computer typing these words, am not a participant in this interaction; therefore, my interpretation of Rachel's turn in line 02 plays no role in how Ina, the questioner and only co-participant, interprets Rachel's answer (or, more specifically, displays her interpretation of Rachel's turn). To determine if Ina understood Rachel's turn in line 02 as an answer to the question in line 01, we need to again take advantage of that most fundamental of constraints on interaction: time. We will inspect the turn following Rachel's "KMH" for Ina's interpretation of Rachel's turn. That is, we will use the *next-turn proof procedure* (Sidnell, 2010; Stivers & Sidnell, 2013). Let us add the next two turns to our transcript:

Excerpt 5: RAC_2019.08.13_05:06-05:11_*KMH*

```
01    INA:    in welchem wohnheim SIND sie eigentlich.
              in which residence ARE you actually.
              which residence are you in.

02    RAC:    äh kah emm HA? ((=KMH))
              uh kay em AITCH? ((=KMH))

03 =>INA:     wo IS des;=
              where IS that;=

04    RAC:    =also das ist ZEHN minuten   vom   hauptbahnhof:—
              =PTCL that is TEN minutes from.the central station:—
              so it's ten minutes from the central station
```

In line 03, the turn after Rachel's "KMH", Ina asks another wh-question: *wo is des* "where is that". This question also requests information pertaining Rachel's student residence; however, rather than requesting a name (as does Ina's question in line 01), this question requests a location. By requesting a location, Ina is choosing to (in this moment) move on from the "name-of-residence" issue; in doing so, she orients to Rachel's "KMH" in line 02 as being the information

she (Ina) requested in line 01 and, thus, as an answer[19] to her question (rather than, for example, a random selection of letters). Regardless of whether Rachel intended to produce the name of her residence or a random selection of letters (her answer in line 04 shows she did, in, fact, produce the name of her residence), Ina interprets Rachel's "KMH" as an answer by virtue of when it occurs in time or, more specifically, where it occurs in the sequence: after a question. This excerpt and, in fact, any excerpt of interaction, demonstrates that time and the ordering of events in time is fundamental to how participants both produce their talk and actions as well as interpret the talk and actions of others in interaction.

3.2 Studying methods for interaction: Practices and collection building

While my analysis of a 5-second excerpt in the previous section demonstrates the orderliness of interaction, an analysis of a single segment of interaction cannot, on its own, provide (much) insight into any specific methods that interactants use to accomplish social actions in interaction. It is impossible to tell, for example, if there is a relationship between the form or format of Rachel's answer in line 02 (a hesitation marker *äh* "uh" plus a proper place name *KMH* "uh"[20]) and how Ina asked her question in line 01, or what Rachel's turn-initial *also* in line 04 contributes to her following answer. In order to be able to describe the interactional function of a particular *practice* — in my case, my participants' interactional uses of the 'little words' *achja* (Chapter 6) and *also* (Chapter 7) in their L2 German interactions — the analyst has to analyze more than one instance of that practice. To describe my participants' practices for using German 'little words', I must build a *collection* (or, even, collections) of instances of a practice to, a) establish that it is a *recurring* practice, b) identify the contextual (e.g., sequential) features of the practice, and c) formulate the *action* a particular practice performs in interaction (Heritage, 2010a; Schegloff, 1996a). In this section, I outline collection building, the conversation analytic approach to studying practices; I begin with a discussion of CA's concept of *practice* (see Heritage, 2010a).[21]

[19] Answers are not the only possible next actions after questions. After Ina's question, Rachel could have, e.g., given a response that challenges the presuppositions encoded in Ina's question (e.g., "I don't live in a residence, I live in an apartment", see Heritage, 2010b), given a response that claims an inability to answer the question (e.g., *I can't remember the name*), or produce no response. For an overview of questions and their responses, see Stivers (2010), Lee (2013), and Hayano (2013).

[20] Rachel could have also answered using another grammatical structure, such as a prepositional phrase (e.g., *im KMH* "in KMH") or a clause (e.g., *Ich wohne im KMH* "I live in KMH") (see Fox & Thompson, 2010).

[21] For published, step-by-step demonstrations of the following explanation, see Heritage (2010a) and Schegloff (1996a).

Much of conversation analytic inquiry describes the connection between a practice and the action it implements (Clift & Raymond, 2018; Schegloff, 1996a, 1997). Practices are "any feature of the design of a turn in a sequence that (i) has a distinctive character, (ii) has specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) is distinctive in its consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements" (Heritage, 2010a, p. 212). Take, for example, German *achso* in the uptake of repair,[22] which interactants use to signal their problem of non-understanding has been resolved (A. Golato & Betz, 2008). *Achso* is (i) distinctive in the sense that it has a different composition and turn design (typically stand-alone) than other kinds of repair uptake in German (e.g., repeating the repair solution, see Betz et al., 2013; or receipting the solution with *ach*, see A. Golato & Betz, 2008). It has a (ii) specific location in its turn (most commonly standalone) and repair sequences (third position) (A. Golato & Betz, 2008). And it has (iii) distinctive consequences: it claims now-understanding of the repair solution and closes the repair sequence (A. Golato & Betz, 2008).

The first step in describing the distinctiveness of a practice and its consequences is *noticing* a potential practice. For example, an analyst may be looking at transcripts and listening to recordings and notice that interactants start some turns with *well* in English (Heritage, 2015; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2019; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987).[23] Or one may notice in a piece of data that co-interactants sometimes respond with *ach* and at other times with *achso* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008). Or you may notice that interactants will sometimes repeat some or all of their co-interactant's prior turn (Betz et al., 2013; Schegloff, 1996; see also Rossi, 2020). Noticing a potentially distinct practice does not occur after seeing it only once, but after seeing several similar cases (e.g., "hey I've seen this elsewhere before") (Schegloff, 1997). The analyst now has a 'candidate' practice. At this stage, the analyst must not (and typically cannot) describe *exactly* what the practice is that they (the analyst) are investigating; by building

[22] The term *repair* refers to the mechanisms interactants use to deal with "recurrent problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding" in interaction (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 361; see also Hayashi et al., 2013). For a more extensive discussion of repair and its structure, see Section 6.4.1

[23] The role of noticing in CA research is one of the reasons conversation analysts regularly host and attend 'data sessions', or meetings with other analysts at which they analyze and discuss data (e.g., a transcript, a collection of examples). Data sessions are a central component of conversation analytic inquiry, as they lead to regular contact with data outside of their ongoing projects, leading to more noticing of potential practices and (thereby) the generation of research topics. Data sessions are also an opportunity for analysts to get analytical notes from their colleagues on a project and to practice general conversation analytic skills.

a collection of instances of the candidate practice, the analyst can reveal the structural features and functions of the practice.

With a candidate practice to investigate, you can now scour the available corpus (or corpora) for comparable instances in order to identify what are — and are not — features of the practice (Clift & Raymond, 2018). That is, you begin building a *collection* of comparable instances. If you are investigating the German particle *ach* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008), you find as many instances of *ach* as possible; this could include *ach* in combination with other particles, such as *so* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008) and *ja* (Betz & Golato, 2008). When you first noticed your potential practice, you may have developed some hypotheses about the features and functions;[24] despite preliminary hypotheses, in building a collection, you gather together any instances that look similar to those you have already seen (e.g., every *ach* you can find), even those instances that are only tentative candidates or are clearly not examples of the same practice (Schegloff, 1996a, 1997). Including and analyzing those cases which you are certain are not instances of your focal practice forces you to explain *why* they do not belong, i.e., what characteristics differentiate them from the practice you are investigating (Schegloff, 1996a, 1997).

A central characteristic that collection building allows you to describe are the sequential features of your practice (Heritage, 2010a). With *sequential features*, I mean both the kinds of sequences (e.g., repair sequences, opening sequences, storytelling sequences, invitation sequences) and the position within those sequences the practice occupies (e.g., in question-answer sequence: as part of the question in first position, the answer in second, or the receipt of the answer in third).[25] At this stage, it is possible (or even likely) that you identify several practices. Continuing with *ach* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008), you may find the instances of the particle in three different sequential positions, i.e., first, second, or third position. At this point, you divide your collection of *ach* into three: a collection of sequentially first *ach*s,

[24] Or its "consequences for the nature of meaning of the action that [a] turn implements" (Heritage, 2010a, p. 212).
[25] *Position* can also refer to a practice's location relative to non-linguistic elements, such as gesture and facial expressions (see, e.g., Helmer et al., 2021, on the coordination of German *okay* with nods; and Mondada, 2019, sec. 4, on *thank you*s embedded in silent request sequences). For more on the interplay between verbal and non-verbal elements in interaction, specifically grammar and turn construction, see Schegloff (1996b, pp. 102–104)

one of sequentially second *ach*s, and one of sequentially third *ach*s. You now have several sequentially distinct practices.[26]

Formulating the *action* that a particular practice performs is the eventual goal of collection building. Although many action types (e.g., storytelling, invitations, greetings) have been documented across languages and cultures, the practices for performing those actions depend on the linguistic resources distinct languages offer and can be culture-specific (Clift & Raymond, 2018). Describing and comparing the sequential features of your practice (or, now, practices) across several instances, you can formulate the action your practice potentially performs and 'test' that formulation (Heritage, 2010a). In testing your action formulation, it is important to scrutinize how the interactants orient to your practice. With *ach*, you may find[27] that interactants employ the particle in sequentially third position of repair sequences to receipt a repair solution (which contains some new information for the *ach* speaker). Furthermore, in your collection, interactants follow *ach* with further talk (commonly a candidate understanding, in the form of either a repeat of the repair solution or more talk related to the trouble source) (A. Golato & Betz, 2008). When you analyze the interactants' orientation to *ach* (+ further talk) turns, you see that *ach* turns do not close a repair sequence but expand it (A. Golato & Betz, 2008). The participants' orientations to *ach* thus reveal that, rather than indicating a repair solution has resolved the trouble, *ach* only receipts the information content of a repair solution without claiming understanding of that information.[28]

Finally, after describing the sequential features and the action a practice performs (with the interactants' orientations as evidence for your claim), you have to give an account for why that kind of talk/conduct can recognizably perform that action, i.e., "why or how that practice can yield that action" (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 173) (p. 173). In the case of *ach* + further talk, an account for why *ach* only receipts a repair solution (rather than claim understanding of it) is that the further talk specifies the additional work the interactants must do to repair the trouble (i.e.,

[26] After creating collections based on sequential position, you may further find differences in turn design, e.g., that *ach* can occur with or without other particles, such as *so* (see A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008) or *ja* (see Betz & Golato, 2008); in this case, you further divide your collections according to the turn design, i.e., build collections of *ach*, *achso*s, and *achja*s.

[27] As Golato and Betz (2008) do.

[28] Golato and Betz (2008) compare *ach* and the particle combination *achso* (which also appears in third position of repair sequences) in order to better describe the function of both practices. Whereas *ach* turns are not sequence-closing implicative, *achso* commonly leads to the closing of a repair sequence. Comparing items that appear in the same sequential position, i.e., comparing two collections of similar but distinct practices, can lead to a more efficient identification of practice-specific features and functions (see also Betz & Golato, 2008; Koivisto, 2016).

confirm a candidate understanding) (A. Golato & Betz, 2008). These findings on *ach* can also contribute to accounts for other action-practice relationships. For example, in the combination *achso*, which interactants use to receipt and claim understanding of a repair solution, *ach* receipts the *information* in the repair solution, and *so* (which can manage topic and sequence shifts, see Barske & Golato, 2010; as well as refer to past actions, see A. Golato, 2000) receipts the *action* of the previous turn (i.e., receipts the repair solution as a repair solution), thereby claiming understanding and making closing of the repair sequence (and a shift/return to other matters) relevant (A. Golato & Betz, 2008).

In this section, I have described the process of collection building, an approach of describing the connection between a particular practice and the action it performs in interaction. Building a collection begins with noticing a potential practice, collecting and comparing other instances of your practice to determine what are and are not features of your practice, formulating the action the practice performs, and giving an account as to why a particular practice performs a particular action. *Comparison* is of central importance to conversation analytic inquiry, for it is through comparing with what occurs in other data segments that the analyst can make sense of what happens in any single episode of interaction. In this discussion, however, I have not explicated precisely what I mean with "(interaction) data" and how to go about collecting it. In the following two sections, I describe the data of conversation analytic inquiry (recordings of spontaneous interaction) and the theories and methodologies of its collection (i.e., recording, Section 3.3) and its preparation for analysis and presentation (i.e., transcription, Section 3.4).

3.3 Recording human interaction for transcription and repeated inspection

In Section 3.1 of this chapter, I analyzed a segment of conversation to demonstrate the temporal organization of interaction. This was not an invented segment of interaction but one that occurred between two people in a particular place at a particular time. Nor is it a segment recreated from memory, neither from my own nor from the participants'. It is a segment of interaction that has been preserved *in* the moment of its occurrence, in which a selection of the details of what the interactants said and how they said it are available for repeated scrutiny; that is, it is a *recorded* segment of interaction.

Without recording technology, CA in its current form would not exist as an approach for studying interaction. As previous conversation analytic research shows, features such as the

timing of overlapping talk (Betz, 2008; Sacks et al., 1974), intonation contours of particles (Betz & Golato, 2008; Couper-Kuhlen, 2009; A. Golato, 2012), the placement of listener responses during storytellings (e.g., continuers, see Schegloff, 1982; and nods, see Stivers, 2008; see also Voutilainen et al., 2019), and embodied resources such as facial expressions (Kaukomaa et al., 2013, 2014, 2015), gaze (C. Goodwin, 1980, 1981; Rossano, 2013), body position (Schegloff, 1998), and gesture (Deppermann, 2014; C. Goodwin, 2003; Kendon, 2004; Mondada, 2007) all have consequences for the unfolding of interaction. Unlike other data collection methods, such as field notes (which rely on an observer's memory) or interviews about interactions (which are *post hoc* reconstructions of events), recordings capture the in-the-moment "continuous temporality of action" of interaction and the finely tuned participant behaviour contained therein (Mondada, 2013, p. 55). Recording also allows the analyst to repeatedly listen to (and, in the case of video recordings, watch) an interaction; with each new listen, the analyst notices additional details of the interaction, which they can then include in a transcript of the recording (see the following Section, 3.4, for more on transcription).

Conversation analytic data is not interaction itself, but rather recorded (and transcribed) interaction. Furthermore, although recording can capture the fine details of interaction, no recording (or set of recordings) can capture every possibly relevant feature of an interaction. The activity of recording is thus an analytical one that is subject to technology, the participants, and the researcher (Mondada, 2013). While early recording technology (e.g., audio recorders, cameras) was limited in terms of its availability (e.g., due to cost) and quality, there is now a wide range of recording devices with which research can collect interaction data. In addition to pocket-size camcorders and high-quality audio-recording devices (e.g., wearable lavalier microphones, Edirol portable recorders; Mondada, 2013), research can track eye movements (e.g., with eye-tracking glasses; Auer, 2021; Weiß & Auer, 2016) and (in controlled environments) capture body motions (e.g., Stevanovic et al., 2017). While using too few recording devices for a given interactional context may lead to the exclusion of some interactionally relevant conduct (e.g., a single camera perspective may fail to record some bodily conduct, or a single microphone may not capture all participants' spoken contributions in a large, multi-party interaction), using too many may also not be analytically useful. When recording an interaction, it is possible, for example, to place cameras all over a space to capture all potential embodied conduct, to equip every participant with a lavalier microphone, and have participants

dress in motion capture suits; doing so would certainly make available a large amount of data from a single interactional encounter. However, with each additional source of recording comes an additional layer of complexity for the researcher, as each additional source "involves a risk of fragmentation" (Mondada, 2013, p. 41) of the analyst's access to the interaction — not to mention the additional work of editing and synchronizing the various data sources in preparation for analysis.

Along with the decision at to *what* technology to use, in the case of co-present interaction, the researcher must also decide where to place their recording devices.[29] In the case of cameras, the general principle is to capture as much of the interactional space and the participants' conduct as possible; static cameras that are recording an entire interactional space and its participants (i.e., from wide angle) at head level are preferred over moving cameras that shift focus from participant to participant, as moving cameras *react* to a participant's conduct and typically do not record the onset of the conduct (Mondada, 2013). However, a camera can only visually capture that which is visible to its lens; objects and events that occur in the foreground can obscure those in the background, and objects or events that occur beyond the edges of a lens's view will remain invisible to the camera. In deciding where to place a camera (or, often, cameras), the researcher is prioritizing what they will record (and later transcribe and analyze). Audio recording devices have similar limitations; a microphone's placement will prioritize those sounds (or talk) that occurs in their proximity over those that occur farther away. Decisions regarding how to record thus have consequences for what will (and will not) be in the data (Mondada, 2013).

Therefore, in order to decide what approach to recording an interaction would best suit the research project, the researcher must become familiar with the environment and context in which the to-be-recorded interaction will take place (Mondada, 2013). Decisions as to *how* to record an interaction (or, in the case of the current dissertation, a series of interactions) must balance "what is technically possible" to record in the interaction (e.g., a dyadic meal interaction in which participants are seated likely requires fewer camera perspectives than a dynamic construction site in which multiple participants are regularly mobile), what is useful and adequate to record for the eventual analysis (depending on those features of interaction participants orient to), and what is

[29] This is also an issue in online video-mediated interactions, in which choice of perspective (i.e., which participant's computer) can also have analytical consequences (Seuren et al., 2021).

acceptable in terms of research ethics (particularly when recording delicate interactions, such as medical or psychotherapeutic interactions) (Mondada, 2013, pp. 38–39).[30]

A recording of an interaction is already an analytical product. It cannot capture every detail of interaction that is (possibly) relevant to the interactants. Choices as to what recording technology to implement and where to locate it will favour some aspects of the interaction over others. How an analyst records an interaction has consequences for their future sequential analyses of the interaction. Recording does, however, capture and preserve the interaction for future analysis. It allows for analysts to observe and describe the minute and mundane details of interaction. In most cases, however, recordings alone are not sufficient; while they preserve the micro-details of interaction, they do not, on their own, reveal them to the analyst (see, however, Kidwell, 2013, on studying interaction among young children). It is by listening to a recorded interaction repeatedly and by *transcribing* the recording that the analyst captures those micro-details. In the next section, I discuss the conversation analytic approach to transcribing recorded talk-in-interaction and its role in conversation analytic inquiry.

3.4 Transcription[31]

Before diving into the details of a transcript and the contributions of transcription to conversation analysis, I begin with an anatomy of the transcript. See Figure 1, in which I use an excerpt presented earlier in this chapter (Excerpt 4) to indicate the typical parts of a transcript.

[30] A common concern when recording interaction is that the presence of a recording device will influence how study participants interact. While moments in which participants orient to the presence of recording devices are not uncommon, participants often report (after recording) having forgotten the presence of recording devices, likely because the recording device is typically "not omni-relevant to the participants" (Mondada, 2013, p. 34). Furthermore, those instances during recording in which participants *do* orient to the recording device are identifiable in the data and can, themselves, be analytically useful (Mondada, 2013).

[31] My goal in this section is to provide an overview of the theory and motivations behind the conversation analytic approach to transcription, but not to give a complete glossary of transcription notation. For a complete list of the transcription symbols I employ in this dissertation, which I take from the GAT-2 conventions for a basic transcript with some additional conventions for a fine transcript to capture volume and tempo, see Appendix A.

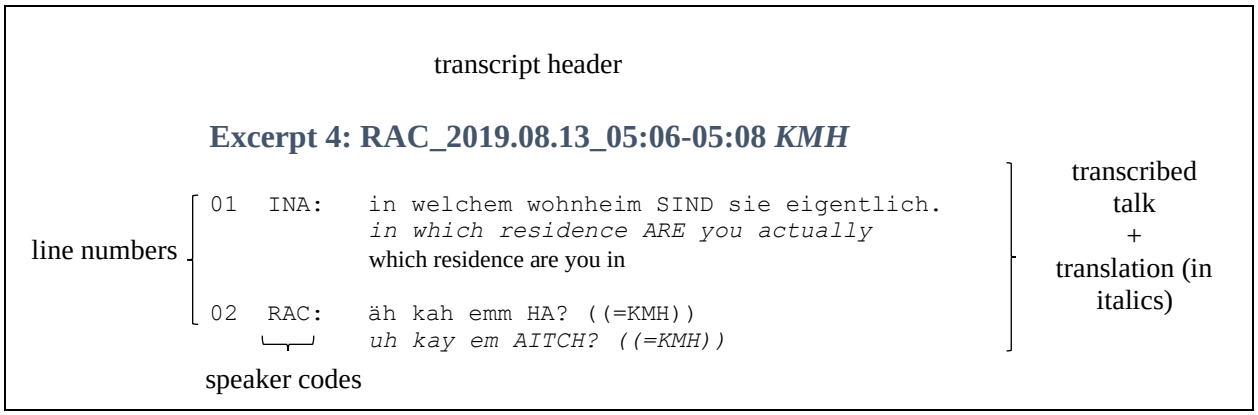

Figure 1: Anatomy of a transcript

A transcript begins with a transcript header (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Selting et al., 2011). This contains information concerning the source of the transcript, specifically: the corpus, here "RAC" for the corpus of recordings including Rachel; the features identifying the specific recording in the corpus, here the recording date (in the format "year.month.day");[32] where in the interaction this excerpt occurs, here the time stamp in the audio recording of the interaction; and a title for the excerpt (in italics), with translation, if necessary.

Below the header is the content from the interaction. Moving from left to right, we have: the line numbers (i.e., 01 and 02), the speaker codes (INA and RAC), and the transcribed talk (+ translation). Line numbers are the primary way in which a transcript captures the chronological order of events of an interaction. They serve two purposes: first, as a practical matter in analysis, they allow for several people analyzing a transcript (e.g., an author and reader, a presenter and their audience, collaborators at a data session) to quickly draw each other's attention to specific portions of the transcript (i.e., by naming the line number); second, line numbers represent the course of time in the interaction. Ina's question occurs before Rachel's answer, so Ina's question gets a smaller number (i.e., 01) than Rachel's answer (i.e., 02). Typically, only the lines of original talk get a number.[33] Translations are not in the interaction and thus have no chronological relationship to any of the contributions to the interaction.

[32] I chose to use the date as the intra-corpus organizational feature to allow for the easy chronological arrangement of the recordings for a longitudinal analysis.

[33] The convention of giving only talk and silences line numbers in transcripts (and not embodied conduct, such as gaze and gesturre) treats these elements of interaction as the "relative temporal metrics to which gesture and other embodied conducts are synchronized" (Mondada, 2014, p. 9), thereby giving, in the transcript, visual primacy to talk

To the right of the line numbers are the speaker codes. These indicate which interactant is speaking in which line. Typically, the speaker codes are shortened forms (down to two or three letters) of the participants names (or, more commonly, their pseudonyms) — i.e., INA for Ina and RAC for Rachel. However, speaker codes must only allow the reader of the transcript to be able to distinguish between the contributions of individual participants; codes that have no connection to a name (e.g., speakers A, B, and C) are also commonly used.

On the very right of the transcript is the actual transcribed talk. This is where the transcript captures the talk, i.e., what the participants say.[34] Even without training in transcription, the transcribed talk in Figure 1 is relatively straightforward to read. There are, however, some principles and symbols of the transcription system I employ in this dissertation — GAT 2 (or the *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem-2*, see Selting et al., 2009, 2011) conventions for a basic transcript — visible in Figure 1. For example, while in standard German orthography all nouns are capitalized (e.g., *Wohnheim* "student residence") as well as the honorific *Sie* "you", in a GAT-2 transcript, capitalization is reserved to mark *focus accents*, i.e. a "syllable that is phonetically prominent due to pitch movement and/or loudness and/or length and that crucially determines the meaning of the utterance" (Selting et al., 2011, p. 18). In line 01, the focus accent is on the conjugated verb form *SIND* "are". Also, in Rachel's turn in line 02, I transcribe the acronym *KMH* phonetically according to the letter names, i.e., *kah emm ha* "kay emm aitch", rather than using the graphemes. This is the case in GAT-2 transcripts, so transcribers can accurately mark focus accents and other phonetic/prosodic features (particularly in multi-syllabic letter names such as English *double-you* "w" or the German *ypsilon* "y") (Selting et al., 2011). While GAT-2 conventions do not require the transcript to provide the grapheme to the corresponding letter names, for clarity, I include the letters in a double-bracketed transcriber's comment (e.g., Figure 1, line 02: ((=KMH))).

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and silences. However, interactants can also coordinate their talk and silences around embodied actions and resources; in these cases, a transcription approach that prioritizes the temporal unfolding of the *action* (e.g., request) over any particular modality could be more analytically useful (Mondada, 2019). Mondada (2019) proposes, for these situations, a transcription convention in which 1) numbered lines measure the duration (in seconds) of the (clusters) of the interactants' talk and embodied actions, and 2) subordinate lettered lines (i.e., *a, b, c*) contain the interactants' talk and embodied action (visually aligned with time segments in the numbered line). As I analyze only audio-recorded interaction data, a further discussion of the transcription of multimodal features of interaction is outside the scope of this chapter.

[34] And, if analytically necessary, do (i.e., embodied actions) (see Mondada, 2014)

Also important in a GAT-2 transcript are the unit-final punctuations marks. For example, I have been calling Ina's turn in line 01 a question: it contains the question word *welchem* "which" and inverts the positions of the subject (*Sie* "you") and predicate verb (*sind* "are"). However, I do not punctuate Ina's question with a question mark, but with a period. And Rachel's answer in line 02 I punctuate in an opposite manner, i.e., with a question mark. Punctuation that, in standard orthography, denotes the separation of clauses (i.e., periods, semi-colons, dashes, commas, and question marks) indicate in GAT-2 the pitch movement at the end of an intonation phrase; I transcribe Ina's question with a period since she produces the question with falling intonation, and Rachel's answer with a question mark because she produces the answer with rising intonation.

I have just mentioned intonation phrases, which are the units around which a GAT-2 basic transcript organizes lines of transcript. When speaking, intonation is a common resource interactants use to denote their units of talk from one another; that is, interactants commonly produce units with a single intonation contour (see Selting et al., 2011). In a GAT-2 basic transcript, this single intonation contour is denoted by the two intonation features I discuss above: the focus accent (marked with capital letters) and final intonation (marked with clause delineating punctuation). For example, while Ina's question in line 01 and Rachel's answer in line 02 are syntactically quite dissimilar — one is a grammatically complete clause and the other is an acronym — both are produced with a single focus accent and final intonation. In a GAT-2 basic transcript, every numbered line of transcribed talk contains a single intonation phrase (Selting et al., 2011).

The features of production of talk-in-interaction, however, can be much more complex than Ina and Rachel's question and answer sequence in Figure 1. Take Excerpt 6, in which Canadian Nina (NIN) is explaining to Germans Dan (DAN) and Paulina (PAU) and to the French Anna (ANN) the process by which someone obtains their driver's license in Ontario (Nina's home province in Canada).

Excerpt 6: NIN_2020.06.21_02:00-02:10_*Führerschule* "leader school"

```
01   NIN:    abe:r (.) <<len> nachdem du:> in eine FÜHRerschein::(0.3)schule gehts-
             bu:t (.) <<len> after you:> go to a DRIver's license:: (0.3) school-

02        35 FÜhrerschule?
```

[35] Notice here that I do not include a speaker code in line 02; in accordance with GAT-2 guidelines, I do not include the speaker code in a new line of transcript if it is the same speaker as the previous line (Selting et al., 2011). For

```
            leader school?

03   DAN:       FAHR[schule.]
            DRIving [school.]
04   PAU:           [   FAHR]schule  j[a.  ]
                    [DRIving] school y[eah.]
05   NIN:                            [   F]AHRschule.
                                     [   D]RIving school.

06   DAN:   <<pp> ja.>=
            <<pp> yeah.>=

07   NIN:   =OH führerschule,=my ba_haha
            =OH leader school,=my ba(d)_haha
```

Excerpt 6 contains more transcription symbols than any of the transcripts I have presented thus far. Colons, numerals, equal signs, round brackets, square brackets, less-than and greater-than signs — for those unfamiliar with conversation analytic transcripts, they can be daunting to look at. There is more to talk, however, than words and intonation. Interactants lengthen some syllables and shorten others, sometimes whisper and sometimes yell; there are moments of silence in interaction where no one speaks and moments where several interactants are speaking at once; talk can be quick, and talk can be slow. In the conversation analytic approach to transcription, the goal is to capture as many details of interactants' production of talk as possible; no detail is excluded *a priori* (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). In CA, transcription is not only the methodology by which researchers make recordings of interaction presentable in a printed format; transcription is an analytical step. It forces the transcriber, each time they hear and re-hear a recorded interaction, to pay attention to the brief, moment-by-moment features of interaction, to capture those features and take them into account in their analyses (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017).

The transcription symbols are thus necessary to the transcriber so they can efficiently and accurately capture the details of talk. Let us read through and encounter these symbols by reading through Excerpt 6. In the first word of transcribed talk, Nina's *aber* in line 01, we have a first symbol: a colon. In GAT-2, colons represent the lengthening of the directly preceding sound, here the vowel in the second syllable of Nina's *aber*; a single colon (:) signifies the sound was (approximately) 0.2 to 0.5 seconds in length, double colons (::) 0.5 to 0.8 seconds, and triple colons (:::) 0.8 to 1.0 second(s) (Selting et al., 2011, p. 24). Looking down the same line, we see

clarity's sake, I make an exception for overlapping talk, in which I include the speaker code for every line containing overlapping talk as well as the first line after the end of overlap.

also see colons on the vowel in Nina's *du:* "you:" as well as the syllable-final consonant in *FÜHRERschein:* "DRIver's license:".

After *aber*, there is a period in (single) parentheses. One role of parentheses is to mark a silence in the interaction, and their contents denote the length of those silences.[36] A period in parentheses denotes a micropause — a hearable silence of less than 0.2 seconds (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Selting et al., 2011). Pauses longer than 0.2 seconds — such as the 0.3-second pause between *schein* and *schule* in line 01, are measured and the length included in the parentheses (in seconds).[37] Between intonation phrases, there is generally a micropause of silence that (unless hearable in the recording) remains unmarked in transcripts; however, when there is no silence between two intonation phrases — i.e., when one intonation phrase is *latched* onto another — this is marked with equal sign (=) in the transcripts. When the latching occurs between lines, the end of the latched upon line ends with an equal sign and the latching line starts with an equal sign. For example, Nina produces her *OH führerschule* in line 07 without leaving any silence after Dan's *ja* in line 06. When latching occurs within a line (e.g., when a single line contains two short intonation phrases), only a single equal sign between the latched items is required; for example, because I transcribed line 07 to include two short intonation phrases, when Nina leaves no micropause between *führerschule* and *my ba(d)*, only one equal sign is necessary.

Next in line 01, there is a double less-than sign (<<) followed by *len*, then a greater-sign (>), then *nachdem du* and a final greater-than sign. GAT-2 uses less-than and greater-than signs to mark relative changes in volume and tempo (as indicated in the double-bracketed segment, here the *len*) and the scope of those changes (as indicated by the first less-than sign and the second greater-than sign). GAT-2 uses music notation to indicate the change in volume/tempo; *len* in line 01 is short for *lento*,[38] indicating the interactant is producing the talk more slowly. In line 06, Dan's *ja* is similarly marked with a *pp* for *pianissimo*, or 'very soft'. Strictly speaking, GAT-2 reserves the marking of tempo or volume changes for fine transcripts, a significantly more detailed set of transcription conventions that also call for the marking of the pitch movements of

[36] Single parentheses surrounding some transcribed talk indicate, when it is not clear in the recording (due to, e.g., overlap, background noise, low volume), a transcriber's best guess at what an interactant is saying.
[37] It is a GAT-2 convention to transcribe the duration of, e.g., pauses, lengthened syllables, in- and out-breaths, in seconds (see Selting et al., 2011). Another option is to time durations relative to the speaker's rate of speech, e.g., by counting "none one thousand, one one thousand" at the speaker's rate of speech and measure the duration based on the number of complete and partial "one one thousands" (see Hepburn & Bolden, 2017, p. 26).
[38] A tempo marking in music meaning a piece is to be played slowly.

individual syllables. However, because the changes in volume and tempo were salient while transcribing the recorded interactions, I mark them in my excerpts, even though I primarily employ the GAT-2 conventions for a basic transcript.

Finally, while the default in interaction is that "[o]verwhelmingly, one party talks at a time" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 700), there are moments in interaction where several people are talking at once. In a transcript, square brackets indicate segments of overlapping talk: what each participant says during the overlap appears in separate but adjacent lines of transcript, the talk that is overlapping is bracketed with square brackets in each line, and (for ease of reading) that bracketed talk is formatted in the transcript so that the square brackets in each line of transcript are aligned. See, for example, in Excerpt 6, how Dan's *schule* in line 03 overlaps with Paulina's *fahr* in line 04, and then how the *a* in Paulina's *ja* in line 04 overlaps with the *f* in Nina's *FAHRschule* in line 05.[39]

Preparing a transcript for presentation is a balancing act: on the one hand, a transcript of spoken language should capture as many details of the talk as feasible (hence the symbols); on the other hand, a transcript ought not contain so much detail as to make transcription and reading transcripts restrictively difficult. A transcript can always contain more detail of the interaction; with every repeated listening (or watching) of a recorded interaction, the transcriber analyst may observe as-of-yet unheard/unseen details of the interaction that they (the analyst) can add to the transcript.[40] While a transcript in IPA (the International Phonetic Alphabet) may more accurately capture how a speaker produces speech, transcribing and reading an IPA transcript would require significantly more training than most conversation analysts have and make transcripts all but inaccessible to anyone outside of the field. While the scope of the dissertation limits the extent to which I can discuss the activity of transcription and conventions, I hope that this section provides a sufficient guide to the transcription conventions I employ in my dissertation (see Appendix A for a complete list) in the transcribed excerpts I analyze throughout.

Transcription, along with recording (see Section 3.3), are fundamental to conversation analysis; without recording technology, the repeated hearings required to describe the fine-tuned

[39] The marking of overlap in transcripts has a further consequence for transcript formatting, namely that conventions consistently call for the use of monospaced fonts, i.e., fonts in which character takes the same amount of typed space (see Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Selting et al., 2011). This makes aligning and the representation of overlapping talk across lines clearer.

[40] In fact, suggestions regarding additions or modifications to a transcript are common when an analyst presents their data to colleagues.

moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction would be impossible; and without detailed transcription, analysts would likely overlook the subtle qualities of speech production to which interactants attend. Along with collection building, recording and transcription form the basis of any conversation analytic inquiry; together, they systematically capture, describe, and account for the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction — a local conception of time. However, to describe change over time in interactants' achievement of interaction, there are considerations for the study design to allow for longitudinal comparison. In the following section, I discuss those considerations and their theoretical underpinnings.

3.5 Interaction and change over time

Longitudinal research is interested in time. Specifically, it investigates whether and how given elements in system change over time. All CA research focusses on participants' local orientations to time — the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction. Longitudinal CA, however, has a dual focus: the role of time both locally within an encounter (e.g., in a turn, sequence, interaction) *and* across encounters (Wagner et al., 2018). Simply put, longitudinal CA investigates how an individual's (e.g., an L2 speaker's, Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; or a child's, Cekaite, 2007; Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019; Pfeiffer & Anna, 2021; Wootton, 1997) or a population's (e.g., pharmacy students' Nguyen, 2018) interactional practices change over time, e.g., from encounter to encounter (e.g., Beach et al., 2018), from month to month (e.g., Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019), or even from decade to decade (e.g., Clayman et al., 2006; Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Couper-Kuhlen, 2021; Heritage & Clayman, 2013).[41] As in all CA research, longitudinal CA relies on comparison and collection building to describe practices (see Section 3.2). Longitudinal studies in CA will generally use a series of chronologically ordered recorded interactions to analyze how the interactant(s) of study uses practices to accomplish an *action* (e.g., tell stories, see Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; or make requests, see Wootton, 1997) or how they employ an interactional *resource* in certain

[41] It is important to note that longitudinal CA is not the only method by which to measure change over time in social interaction; cross-sectional studies, such as Pekarek Doehler and [Pochon-]Berger work on disagreement across groups of students of French (2011; see also [Pochon-]Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2011), or Stivers et al.'s (2018) study of the responsive behaviour of children between 4 and 8 years old, also provide insight into the role of time in changing behaviour in social interaction.

practices (e.g., French *comment on dit* “how do you say”, see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). With chronologically ordered recordings, it is possible to track how the accomplishment of the action or deployment of the resource changes over time (Wagner et al., 2018).

Collection building is the cornerstone of longitudinal CA; the analyst collects instances of similar interactional objects and compares them in order to describe the features of a practice and the action it performs (see Section 3.2 on collection building). Studies in longitudinal CA require several collections, each one containing only those instances of the action/resource under investigation from a window of time (Koschmann, 2013; Wagner et al., 2018). For example, in their study of Julie, an L2 French speaker on a 9-month sojourn in French-speaking Switzerland, and her development of practices for telling stories, Berger and Pekarek Doehler (2018) present and compare three collections: Julie's storytellings from months 1-3 of her stay ("Initial Months", p. 75), months 4-6 ("Midway", p. 83), and months 7-9 ("End of Stay", p. 87). In building a series of chronologically ordered collections of a particular action or resource use, the analyst can both describe the individual's/population's practices during specific periods of time *and* (by comparing across the chronologically ordered collections) the changes in the practices over time (Koschmann, 2013; Wagner et al., 2018).

In comparing collections, longitudinal CA seeks to describe how practices change as a product of *time*. However, interactants may change how they accomplish actions or use resources for several reasons: performing a similar action (e.g., opening a storytelling) in different sequential positions (e.g., first position, second position) may require different interactional work from the interactant (see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018); and the resources an interactant has to employ to successfully perform an action (e.g., referring to a non-present person) are often dependent on the recipient of the action (e.g., whether the recipient personally knows the referred-to non-present person or not, see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). In order to "maximize comparability" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, p. 559) and isolate the role of time, the analyst has to ensure that their collections are, indeed, collections of *the same* (Koschmann, 2013; Wagner et al., 2018). Longitudinal studies, however, describe differences between some action or resource at some later time (time "n+1") and some earlier time (time "n") (Wagner et al., 2018). In longitudinal CA, then, the analyst must do a "same-but-different" analysis (Koschmann, 2013, p. 1039): assuming, on the one hand, that the interactant or population accomplish an action or use a resource *differently* at different points in time, but, on the other

hand, demonstrate that the interactant or population is still accomplishing the *same* action or is using the *same* resource (see also Wagner et al., 2018).

To warrant comparability across collections — i.e., to build collections of the "same" — and isolate time as a factor of change, the analyst must be specific and explicit in their approach to selecting what does and does not belong in their collections as well as in their approach to collecting data (Wagner et al., 2018). That is, the items under investigation across the collections must be in

> "(a) specifiable and comparable sequential environments [and] also (b) comparable or identical speech exchange systems [...], (c) comparable or identical 'organizational domains of activity' [...], that is, activity contexts with similar conversational organization, and, possibly, (d) involving the same (co-)participants or same types of (co-)participants" (Wagner et al., 2018, p. 23; see also Schegloff, 1993, 1999)

Pekarek Doehler and Berger's 2018 study of the aforementioned Julie and her development of practices for *opening* storytellings in L2 French can serve as an illustration. Storytellings — or "stretch[es] of talk to which both speaker and recipient orient as a telling about events situated in the past", most commonly reports of one-off events but also "repeated or habitual past events" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, p. 559) — are common in spoken interaction. Storytellings often occur in series (i.e., an interactant will often produce a second storytelling after a first telling from a co-interactant), and the work required to tell a second story is different than the work required for a first story. For example, in opening a *first* story, an interactant telling a story needs to signal the upcoming storytelling activity so that their co-interactants give the telling interactant the floor for more than one TCU (see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, pp. 560–561).

To warrant a longitudinal comparison across Julie's practices for opening storytellings at different points in her sojourn, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) built collections of Julie's storytellings from specific sequential contexts: unelicited sequentially first stories in which Julie recounts past events for which her co-participant was not present.[42] That is, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) chose "specifiable and comparable sequential environments" (Wagner et al., 2018,

[42] A prime motivator for their choice of action environment was the frequency with which Julie produced unelicited first stories; in 7 hours of recorded data, Julie told 26 such stories (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018).

p. 23) from which to build their set of chronologically ordered collections,[43] warranting comparability in across their collections.

To warrant comparability across the collections, the analyst must also ensure that the interactional contexts of the recordings in their corpus are as similar as possible. Different interactional contexts have different architectures; for example, whereas in everyday, multi-party conversation, by default any interactant can take the floor at the end of a turn (Sacks et al., 1974), in classroom interactions, teachers are responsible for allotting turns to interactants (Gardner, 2013). Interaction is also shaped by the activity in which interactants are participating. When playing a table-top game, interactants must attend to the written/accepted rules of the game as well as to the actions of their co-interactants to, e.g., know when to begin a turn at play (Hofstetter, 2021); in everyday conversation, there are no such rules to which to attend. In addition, locally relevant social relationships also shape interaction; in interactions between L1 and L2 speakers, the co-interactants may construct the L1 speakers as 'language experts' and the L2 speakers as 'novices', which has consequences for how the interactants deal with language troubles (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019).[44]

Warranting comparability therefore also depends greatly on the data recording procedures (Wagner et al., 2018). That is, in recording the interactions of a particular participant or a population of participants (e.g., journalists, see Heritage & Clayman, 2013), the analyst should strive to keep the kind of interaction (e.g., classroom vs. everyday), the activity (e.g., playing a game vs. cooking a meal together), and the participant relationships (e.g., L1 speaker-L2 speaker, journalist-president) as constant between recordings as possible (Wagner et al., 2018). In their studies of Julie's storytellings, Berger and Pekarek Doehler (2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018) had Julie record her everyday interactions (most commonly meal interactions) with her host family (two host parents and siblings), warranting for comparability across the temporally separated interactions.

[43] Pekerak Doehler and Berger (2018) present the analyses of two collections in their paper, one from months 2-3 of Julie's sojourn and one from months 7-8.

[44] It is important to note that interactants' identities need to be shown to be *locally* relevant. That is, while in L1-L2 interactions, the co-participants commonly construct the L1 speaker as the language expert, it is possible that (in multi-party interaction) an L2 speaker claims expertise over an L1 speaker in a linguistic matter (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017). Furthermore, as an L2 speaker develops their IC, the interactants may no longer orient to troubles as problems of speaking an L2 but rather as troubles belonging to the larger conversational business (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). Participant identities are thus not static but rather locally constructed and locally relevant membership categories.

Tracking change over time in the achievement of interaction requires the analyst to adapt their approach to collection building and recording to ensure that any differences they observe are, in fact, due to the march of time (i.e., due to a participant's repeated participation in interaction) and not some other factor (e.g., a change in interaction partners, activity, social context). In building a series of chronologically ordered and temporally separated collections, the analyst must be specific in the action environment or interactional resource they track; in recording interaction data, the analyst should strive to keep the interactional context, activity, and participants constant between recordings (Wagner et al., 2018).

In this chapter, I described the CA approach to the study of human interaction, including turn-by-turn analysis (Section 3.1), collection building (Section 3.2), recording (Section 3.3), and transcription (Section 3.4). I also presented *longitudinal CA*, the application of CA to the study of change over time in interaction (Section 3.5). In the following Chapter 4, I present the data corpus to which I apply these methodologies in the current dissertation.

Chapter 4 Data collection and corpus

This chapter presents the data I analyzed for my dissertation. In Section 4.1, I outline the recording procedures I employed, discussing in particular my approach for collecting data for my longitudinal analysis in Chapter 7. In Section 4.2, I introduce my two participants, Rachel and Nina, who are both L2 speakers of German who (at time of data collection) were sojourning in Germany. I give details regarding their experiences learning German, their sojourns, and their respective corpora of recorded interactions.

4.1 Recording procedures

The main body of CA work, which investigates specific practices, resources, or other interactional phenomena (e.g., turn-taking, repair, preference organization) generally base their analyses on excerpts from recordings of single, independent encounters between interactant, and not a series of recordings between the same interactants taken at different occasions.[45] This is because the objects of study (e.g., storytellings) occur whether or not a recording device is present and activated. In short, for these investigations, it typically does not matter *when* these encounters with these interactants take place with respect to other encounters, but *that* these encounters take place (Koschmann, 2013).[46]

In longitudinal CA studies, however, the *when* is a central concern. This is because these studies are interested in *change* in the achievement of interaction. Change is not an 'all-or-nothing' process; it is a complex, iterative, and reflexive process that happens continuously (see Larsen-Freeman, 1997). Any interaction — recorded or not — could reveal aspects of change, and a series of recordings could reveal the process by which the change is occurring. Thus, in longitudinal studies, any unrecorded interaction represents a potential missed opportunity to capture an aspect of change.

[45] There are CA studies which do not investigate change over time but whose findings are nevertheless supported by inspections of several recorded interactional encounters between the same co-participants. For example, in her study of the Estonian particle *no(h)* in initiating actions, Keevallik (2013) found that speakers use the particle at the beginning of telephone conversations to continue or request an update of a topic from a previous encounter and thus achieve continuity across encounters; while there was local evidence that this is a function of Estonian *no(h)*, Keevallik's (2013) was able to locate in earlier recordings between the same interactants those topics that *no(h)* (re-)introduces in later encounters. She could thus describe *no(h)*'s function in conversation openings using both the local environment and the larger interactional history between the interactants (Keevallik, 2013; see also Egbert, 2003 on German *übrigens*).

[46] For a detailed discussion of recording in CA research, see Section 3.3.

Now, no researcher would recommend recording every moment of your participants' lives; while there is a constant desire for more interaction data (with some caveats; see Section 3.3), such a recording procedure would produce more data than feasibly usable.[47] However, this concern of when to record is an important one to longitudinal CA, because any interaction that is unrecorded will remain unrecorded. In order to compensate for this constraint that the march of time puts on this longitudinal research, researchers use recording protocols that allow for flexibility in the collection of data. For example, in their studies of au pairs in French-speaking Switzerland, Pekarek Doehler and Berger supplied their participants with audio recorders and had the participants self-record their interactions (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2015). Simply audio recording (rather than audio *and* video recording) does sacrifice the quality of the individual recordings; it makes impossible any analysis of multimodal features of their participants' interactions. However, this recording protocol allowed for a large amount of flexibility: It required no scheduling between the participants and researcher, allowed for recording to take place whenever convenient for the participants, and was simple to set-up for each recording. The flexibility of this approach to recording thus promoted the comparative quality of the entire corpus or recordings, as the recordings were frequent and regular during the au pairs' sojourns.

Collecting data for longitudinal CA studies requires the researcher to balance the desire for recordings that capture as many features (i.e., linguistic and multimodal) of the encounter with the constraint the march of time puts on the collection of chronologically comparable data. The balance I strike is similar to that of Berger and Pekarek Doehler (2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019). I supplied my participants (Rachel and Nina) with recording equipment (one audio recorder, two cameras). I trained them both on how to use the recording equipment and on how to record interaction for social research. This included specific recording techniques (e.g., the placement of the recording equipment and how to angle the cameras angles so that the recordings capture as much of the interaction as possible) and non-technical aspects (e.g., the

[47] Not to mention the serious ethical questions the recording of participants' entire lives would raise (see, e.g., Weir, 1998).

kinds of interactions to record, where to record, candidate co-participants, and the ethical approach to this kind of social research[48]).

Once I equipped and trained the participants, I instructed them to record their everyday interactions with their consenting friends and acquaintances; specifically, I suggested they keep the small audio recorded on their person so that they may spontaneously record their everyday interactions with their consenting acquaintances while, for example, visiting an acquaintance at their home or having a drink in a café. By doing so, I was able to achieve that flexibility so valuable to longitudinal studies of human interaction.

However, unlike Berger and Pekarek Doehler's au pairs (2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019), my participants had two cameras with which to record their interactions. This additional equipment made possible the collection of data that captures more contextual features of interaction. For example, video recordings can capture the multimodal aspects (e.g. gesture, facial expression) of my participants' interactions, the spaces in which my participants are interacting (e.g., residence rooms, cars), and the participants' configuration within those spaces (i.e., where the participants are situated relative to each other and to the objects and boundaries of the space) (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3). However, setting up cameras for recording requires both more spatial and technical considerations (e.g., where to place the camera, which camera angle is optimal) and time; requiring my participants to use the cameras for every recording would have impinged heavily on that flexibility. Therefore, I instructed my participants to prioritize spontaneous, regular recordings with the audio recorder, and to use the camera when there was sufficient time to set it up, for example for planned get-togethers or group activities at someone's home. While there are few video-recorded interactions in my corpus (see Section 4.2), the prioritizing of flexibility allowed my two participants to collect, between them, 14 hours of recorded interaction.[49] Beyond the amount of the data, my participants also recorded their interactions *at regular intervals* during their sojourns, every two to three weeks. This regularity

[48] Data collection occurred as part of the *Transcultural Encounters Across Programs* research project in the University of Waterloo's Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies. The University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics, which grants ethics approval according to Canada's *Tri-Agency Framework: Responsible Conduct of Research* (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2016) approved these data collection procedures.

[49] For some fields of social research, 14 hours of data may not seem like a large amount, or, rather, an amount that can provide much insight. However, as many conversation analysts will say, the repeated analysis of even a single, short (e.g., 5-second-long) excerpt can offer deep insights into the "interaction engine" that drives human interaction. For a similar discussion of corpora size in conversation analytic research, see Zinken (2016, p. xvi).

enables me to track and describe the course my participants' development of interactional competence takes during their sojourn.

Longitudinal CA research must balance the desire for quality recordings with the need for regular recordings; this requires the researchers to employ flexible recording protocols that may sacrifice the richness of the individual recordings but that promote the comparative potential of the corpus as a whole (see Section 3.5). In the next section, I present the corpus of longitudinal data I use in my dissertation and the participants who recorded their interactions.

4.2 Participants and Corpus

For this study, I follow two participants during their respective sojourns to the same mid-sized city in southwestern Germany: Rachel and Nina. Both Rachel and Nina are female undergraduate students in their early 20s majoring in German studies at a university in Canada. They have both spent most of their lives and education in English-speaking Canada. Both Rachel and Nina had completed intermediate German language courses (B1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference, see Council of Europe, 2001) prior to their sojourns. It is also important to note that both Rachel and Nina are highly motivated to speak and improve their German as well as learn about aspects of German culture. Collection of data occurred in the second half of 2019 and the first half of 2020. I summarize my participants' biographical information in Table 1.

	Rachel	**Nina**
Age	Early 20s	Early 20s
Sex	Female	Female
L1	English	English
Program of study	German studies	German studies
Last level of German-language course completed	B1	B1
Additional languages	N/A	Spanish, Portuguese, French
Length of sojourn	3 months	1 year
Purpose of sojourn	Internship	Study exchange at German university

Previous sojourns to Germany	6 months studying in same city	5-week intensive language course in a different region of Germany

Table 1: Participants' biographical information

We have already seen Rachel in Chapter 2 (Excerpt 1 and Excerpt 2) and Chapter 3 (Excerpt 3, Excerpt 4, and Excerpt 5) . This is Rachel's second sojourn to this area of Germany. Three years before this sojourn, she took part in an exchange program at the university in her city of residence; this previous program was 6 months long and included German-language courses. As such, Rachel already had an established circle of German-speaking friends and acquaintances in the area with whom regularly she met and spent time; these are Rachel's primary co-participants in the recorded data. For this sojourn, Rachel worked as an intern at a German company. Rachel thus spent much of her professional and personal life during the sojourn interacting in German.

Rachel's sojourn was 15 weeks in length. Including one interaction recorded 7 weeks after Rachel's return to Canada, there is a total of 4 hours of recordings of Rachel's everyday German interactions. These everyday interactions include communal baking, spending time in her student residence, and carpooling home from work. There are also 2 recordings in the collection with a professor from Rachel's home institution. While there is evidence of an institutional relationship between Rachel and the professor in these two interactions (e.g., through the reciprocal use of the formal second-person pronoun *Sie* rather than the informal *du*), their interactions themselves are non-institutional: They are not institutionally sanctioned meetings (e.g., for the purposes of examination or instruction) and the conversation topics are primarily on matters in the interactants' personal lives. These two interactions are thus still comparable to Rachel's other everyday interactions. In Table 2, I give an overview of Rachel's recorded interactions, including how many weeks after Rachel's arrival in German each interaction took place.

Weeks after arrival	**Recording situation (activity and location)**	**other interactants (all L1 speakers of German)**	**Length of recording**	**Recording sources**
3	Preparing cookie batter for baking in communal space in student residence	Freya (friend, student) Anne (friend, student)	41 minutes	Video, audio
6	Driving home from work	Erik (co-worker)	30 minutes	Audio

6	Everyday interaction in communal space in student residence	Freya (friend, student)	40 minutes	Audio (1)
7	Driving home	Erik (co-worker)	2 minutes	Audio
12	Meal interaction at restaurant	Ina (professor)	91 minutes	Audio
22 (*after return to Canada*)	Online video-mediated meeting over video-conferencing software	Ina (professor)	34 minutes	Video and audio (recorded with the video-conferencing software)
Total length of recordings			238 minutes (4 hours)	

Table 2: Overview of Rachel's recorded interactions. Participant names are all pseudonyms.

We have also seen Nina in the previous chapter (Section 3.4, Excerpt 6). Nina's sojourn was a year-long exchange at a German university she undertook during her undergraduate studies, from the summer of 2019 to summer of 2020. Like Rachel, Nina had also previously sojourned to Germany, but in a different area. This previous sojourn was a 5-week German language program, at which Nina completed her courses in intermediate German (CEFR A2-B1); she returned to Canada from her language program one year before the beginning of the current sojourn. In addition to German and English, Nina speaks Portuguese, Spanish, and French. In Table 3, I give an overview of Nina's recorded interactions, including the number of weeks after Nina's arrival in Germany the recordings took place. Due to the size of the corpus and limited transcription resources, my longitudinal analysis of Nina's use of the discourse marker *also* (Chapter 7) focusses on a subset of the recordings from the first 4 months of Nina's sojourn and the final 2 recordings in the corpus. I give more detail on the sub-corpus of data I analyze as well as the decisions behind the construction of the sub-corpus in Chapter 7.

Weeks after arrival	Recording situation (activity and location)	Other interactants	Length of recording	Recording sources
5	Everyday interaction with residence-mates in communal space at student residence	Anna (exchange student) Karla (exchange student)	34 minutes	Audio
7	Everyday interaction in private residence room	Susa (L1 speaker of German)	47 minutes	Audio
9	Everyday interaction while walking	Anna (exchange student) Karla (exchange student)	44 minutes	Audio
10	Meal interaction at student residence	Anna (exchange student) Karla (exchange student)	47 minutes	Audio
14	Everyday interaction at student residence	Emma (exchange student) Simon (exchange student)	41 minutes	Audio
16	Everyday interaction with other exchange students at the university cafeteria	Emma (exchange student) Simon (exchange student)	36 minutes	Audio
16	Everyday interaction at student residence	Emma (exchange student) Simon (exchange student) Kevin (L1 speaker of German)	64 minutes	Audio
17	Meal interaction with other exchange students at the university cafeteria	Emma (exchange student) Simon (exchange student)	27 minutes	Audio
20	Meal interaction with other exchange students at the university cafeteria	Emma (exchange student) Simon (exchange student)	53 minutes	Audio
29	Everyday interaction in private residence room	Anna (exchange student)	49 minutes	Video, audio
32	Everyday interaction in the student café	Anna (exchange student) Paulina (L1 speaker of German)	32 minutes	Audio
45	Everyday interaction while travelling on regional train	Anna (exchange student)	11 minutes	Audio
45	Everyday interaction at student residence	Anna (exchange student) Dan (L1 speaker of German) Paulina (L1 speaker of German)	28 minutes	Audio
Total length of recordings			544 minutes (9 hours)	

Table 3: Overview of Nina's recorded interactions. Participant names are all pseudonyms.

Like Rachel, Nina is highly motivated to learn German. For example, she used the recording situation as a pretext to speak German (rather than English) with her co-participants.[50] As is

[50] While that Nina incorporated the recording into her learning of German may seem to affect the everyday and spontaneous nature of her recorded interactions, i.e., because these were constructed as language learning situations. None of the interactions, however, were arranged for the purposes of recording; there were all spontaneous

visible in Table 3, Nina recorded regularly and often during the first 4-5 months of her sojourn; she recorded an interaction every 1 to 4 weeks. There is a 9-week gap between her recordings in weeks 20 and 29; this period corresponds to her host university's winter break, during which many students (including exchange students) leave the city and student residences. The other significant gap in recording is the 13 weeks between the recording in week 32 and the recordings in week 45; this corresponds to the first set of COVID-19 restrictions in Germany, from March to June 2020. While Nina remained in Germany for the entire duration of her exchange program despite the COVID-19 pandemic, the restrictions necessary to curb the spread of SARS-CoV-2 in tandem with the exodus of many students from student residences understandably impacted Nina's ability to record her interactions. Nina took the final two recordings in week 45, around the same time as restrictions eased following the first wave of COVID-19 in Germany.

As I explain in Section 4.1, I instructed my participants to record their everyday, face-to-face interactions with their German-speaking friends and acquaintances. I supplied my participants with two cameras and an audio recorder to do so. To ensure recording was flexible for the participants, I instructed them to record more frequently, even if that resulted in most interactions being only audio recorded. However, as I include in Table 2 and Table 3, my participants did not limit themselves to only using the recording equipment I supplied to them (a video camera and an audio recorder with a multi-directional microphone). In Rachel's last recorded interaction, she is meeting online with a professor using video-conferencing software. Nina, on the other hand, takes advantage of the fact that she is typically carrying her cell phone; several of her recordings she took with her smartphone.

This creativity and flexibility in recording on the part of my participants points to an issue not often addressed in longitudinal research on the development of L2 interactional competence in study abroad: That of participant selection. The study design I employ, which I model after Berger and Pekarek Doehler's work (2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019), requires *highly* motivated participants who are willing to take on responsibilities typically expected of the researcher. Not only were my participants willing to have themselves recorded, but they were also willing to take on the responsibility of recording their interactions, including: setting up recording equipment, planning recording sessions, and sending me the recordings. In my case,

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conversations that Nina began recording after they had already begun. Furthermore, while in some earlier recordings the participants do orient to a normative expectation to speak German for the recording, as Nina's sojourn progresses German appears to become more and more the *lingua franca* among her and her co-interactants.

my participants were also responsible for the recruitment of their co-participants (i.e., their friends and acquaintances). The effort my participants put into recording their interactions for this study, combined with their continuing motivation to learn German (and, in Nina's case, her use of the recordings as an excuse to speak German with her co-participants), suggests that, if I do find that my participants are, indeed, more interactionally competent by the end of their sojourn, it is not necessarily only because they took part in a sojourn; more likely, any increases in my participants' interactional competence are due to the combination of the sojourn *and* their motivation to learn German, and quite possibly some additional factors that my dissertation will not be able to describe.

Research on language learning during study abroad has demonstrated that causation (e.g., that sojourning directly and invariably leads to improved L2 language abilities) is difficult to establish in any meaningful and predictive way (see Coleman, 2013). Every person who goes abroad will have vastly different experiences, based not only on the language and their motivations to learn it, but also on the interplay of personal factors such as gender, sex, race, class, as well as program factors such as the home and host institutions, home and host country, and participants' study program (Coleman, 2013). Study abroad research, a field with which CA unfortunately connects only seldomly, has therefore moved towards a 'whole-person' approach to study abroad. This is visible in the shift from using language testing data to assess participants' language skills before and after a sojourn (Coleman, 2013) using data such as written and oral reflections (e.g., Allen, 2013; Jackson, 2013; Smolcic, 2013), interviews (e.g., Brown, 2013; Jackson, 2013; McGregor, 2016; Smolcic, 2013; Tan & Kinginger, 2013; Wolcott, 2013), questionnaires (e.g., Dervin, 2013), ethnographic field notes (e.g., Smolcic, 2013; Wolcott, 2013) as well as recordings of everyday interactions (e.g., Brown, 2013). This 'whole-person' approach seeks not simply to account for changes in participants' L2 linguistic abilities, but also to uncover and describe participants' rich and unique experiences while abroad (see Coleman, 2013). In light of the complexity of participants' experiences during their sojourns, my dissertation will thus in no way attempt to establish a causal link specifically between studying abroad (with its presumed increased contact with the L2) and the development of interactional competence. I describe my participants' interactions in L2 German and the developmental trajectories that L2 IC may take.[51]

[51] In Chapter 6, I do investigate the interplay between the structures of English and German in Rachel's use of the German token combination *achja*. I conclude, however, that while Rachel's use of *achja* is competent in the sense

4.3 Conclusion: CA in the dissertation

In the previous two chapters, I outlined the CA approach to the study of interaction. In Chapter Chapter 3, I began by demonstrating the orderly nature of interaction (Section 3.1) and how CA inquiry uses *collections* to investigate interactants' *practices* in interaction (Section 3.2). I then moved to the role of recording interactions (Section 3.3) and transcription (Section 3.4). I use CA as I outline it in Sections 3.1 to 3.4 to conduct two analyses of my participants' discourse marker use: in Chapter 6, to explore how one L2 speaker of German deploys the German change-of-state particle combination *achja* in her spontaneous German interactions with others to do discourse organizational work; and in Chapter 7, to track how another German L2 speaker's use of the German discourse marker *also* (Alm, 2004; Deppermann & Helmer, 2013) changes over time. before moving to my analyses, I review cross-linguistic research on discourse markers, focussing on their form, placement, and function. This review is in the following chapter.

that it contributes to the recognizable accomplishment of resumption (see Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001), her participation in interactions with L1 speakers of German cannot account for her using *achja* to do resumption in her spoken German interactions.

Chapter 5 Discourse markers: Form, function, syntax

A competent contribution to interaction is a contribution that accounts for its own production (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Robinson, 2016; Wagner et al., 2018). Interactants need not discuss what it is a competent contribution is doing (e.g., by initiating repair); they recognize the contribution for what it is doing and treat it as such (Robinson, 2016; Wagner et al., 2018). A central way in which a contribution accounts for its own production is by indicating its connection to the local interactional context, that is, to previous contributions. In a first encounter between two strangers, they may take the conversation's opening to perform self-introductions (e.g., *I'm Sam*); in the context of a conversation opening, self-introductions are fitted and, thus, generally left unmarked (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In this context, self-introductions account for themselves in that their fitted to the context of conversation openings.

To account for some contribution's production — particularly if that contribution is out of its home environment (i.e., the position in the interaction or sequence where they are expectable) — an interactant may somehow mark the contribution. For example, if strangers neglect to introduce themselves to each other in the opening of the conversation and instead carry out introductions later, interactants may mark the introductions as in some way misplaced with *by the way* (e.g., "Oh, by the way, I'm Sam" ; see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In doing so, an interactant displays their understanding of the local interactional context and accounts for the delayed production of an introduction; with *by the way*, the interactant instructs their co-interactant not to use the local context to assist in their interpretation of the introduction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

Interactants commonly use linguistic markers — or *discourse markers* (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Schiffrin, 1987) — such as *by the way* to connect a contribution (i.e., a turn or TCU) to its local interactional and sequential context. Discourse markers are single or multi-word constructions that work on the discursive level of interaction; they signal to recipients how to interpret a TCU with respect to the interaction thus far (and even with respect to interactants' larger interactional history; see Keevallik, 2013, on Estonian *no(h)*). Discourse marker use has consequences for the unfolding of interaction and is thus important for the competent accomplishment of joint action.

Discourse markers are common elements of interaction, exist across languages (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017), and have been a central topic of research in CA (for examples of CA research on discourse markers, see Auer & Günthner, 2005; Betz, 2017; Blühdorn, 2017; Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Bolden, 2006, 2008, 2009b; Deppermann & Helmer, 2013; Gohl & Günthner, 1999; Günthner, 1999, 2017; Helmer & Deppermann, 2017; Heritage, 2015, 2018; Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994, 2018b; König, 2017; Oloff, 2017; Proske, 2017; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987). Despite their importance, ubiquity, and popularity, and despite the quickly growing body of research into the development of L2 interactional competence (see Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Kramsch, 1986; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Young, 2014), discourse markers have received little attention in research on the development of L2 IC (cf., Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009; Masuda, 2011). The focus of L2 IC research has instead been on specific action environments (e.g., telling a story, Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; doing disagreement, Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; or complaining, Skogmyr Marian, 2021) and on L2 speakers' developing resources for accomplishing those actions (cf., Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). This focus has shaped our understanding of the development of L2 IC and is captured in the notion of diversification of resources for interaction.

In this chapter, I outline current understandings of discourse markers in interaction in terms of their formal aspects (Section 5.1) their interactional functions (Section 5.2), and their placement within turns-at-talk (Section 5.3). I additionally review research on L2 IC that takes discourse markers as an analytic starting point (Section 5.4). The goal of this chapter is to both prepare the reader for the analyses in the following two analysis chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) and the ensuing discussions on the nature of IC and its development (Chapter 8).[52]

5.1 Formal aspects of discourse markers: What do they look like?

In recent decades, research on interaction has become increasingly interested in discourse markers in a variety of languages (see Schiffrin, 1987; and collected volumes Blühdorn et al.,

[52] This review focusses on research on discourse markers in German, with some references to discourse markers in other languages (e.g., Dutch, English, Estonian) to demonstrate the breadth of work that can be done through discourse markers. It is important to note, however, the research on discourse markers in other languages, including Finnish (e.g., Sorjonen, 2018) and Danish (e.g., Heinemann & Steensig, 2018; Steensig & Asmuß, 2005), which I do not summarize here.

2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018a). Also called *discourse particles*,[53] *pragmatic markers* or *Gliederungssignale* (or "structuring signals", see Gülich, 1970), discourse markers connect units of discourse to one another (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schiffrin, 1987). In CA, in which one central topic is the turn-taking system of interaction (Sacks et al., 1974; see also Chapter 3), units of discourse can be TCUs, turns (including multi-unit turns such as in storytellings), sequences, or even entire interactional encounters (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Keevallik, 2013; Schiffrin, 1987). "Connecting discourse units", however, underspecifies the contributions that discourse markers make in interaction; they communicate to co-interactants how to interpret some upcoming talk in relation to some prior talk (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b).

Being primarily a functional (rather than formal) category, the term *discourse marker* brings together linguistic elements that have interaction-organizational functions but share few formal features. Particles (e.g., German *ja* "yes", Betz, 2017; German *naja*, A. Golato, 2018; or English *well*, Heritage, 2015, 2018; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2019; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987), interjections (e.g., German *ach*, Golato, 2010; Golato & Betz, 2008; or English *oh*, Bolden, 2006; Heritage, 1998, 2002, 2018; Schiffrin, 1987), connectives (e.g., German *so*, Barske & Golato, 2010; German *also*, Deppermann & Helmer, 2013; or English *so*, Bolden, 2006, 2008, 2009), conjunctions (e.g., German *weil* "because", Gohl & Günthner, 1999; German *obwohl* "although", Günthner, 1999; Golato & Golato, 2018; Dutch *maar* "but", Huiskes & Mazeland, 2001; English *and*, Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994; or English *or*, *but*, and *because*, Schiffrin, 1987), adverbials (in particular temporal adverbs, such as German *dann* "then", Deppermann & Helmer, 2013; or English *now* and *then*, Schiffrin, 1987), verb phrases (e.g., German *guck mal* "look", Günthner, 2017; or English *look*, Sidnell, 2007; see also Proske, 2017), and other multi-word constructions (e.g., German *weißt du* "you know", Günthner, 2017; German *ich weiß nicht* "I don't know", Helmer & Deppermann, 2017; English *I mean*, Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002; Schiffrin, 1987; English *y'know*, Schiffrin, 1987; French *je sais pas* "I don't know", Pekarek Doehler, 2016) have all been found to have discourse marker uses in interaction.

[53] While both *discourse marker* and *discourse particle* both describe units of language that appear at the syntactic periphery of TCUs and that show the relationship between discursive units (see Section 5.3 on syntax and discourse markers), *particle* exclusively refers to "single, uninflected elements of language" (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, p. 3). *Discourse markers* include verb forms, adverbials, adjectives, interjections, and multi-word constructions as well as particles (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b). The category of *discourse marker* is thus primarily a functional category, whereas *discourse particle* is a formal and functional category (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b).

Discourse markers generally develop through *pragmaticization*, the process through which linguistic constructions take on pragmatic functions (in addition to their literal uses) (see Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017).[54] As a linguistic structure undergoes pragmaticization, its formal features become more sedimented and reduced (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017). Despite the disparate linguistic categories from which discourse markers can develop, they share the formal property of "particle-ness" in that discourse markers have no declension (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017). Furthermore, as a linguistic construction progressively develops and sediments a function as a discourse marker, it general undergoes some morphophonetic reduction; for example, German *ich weiß nicht* "I don't know" is also realized as *weiß nicht* "don't know", i.e., without the pronoun *ich* "I" (Helmer & Deppermann, 2017). As part of the development of a discourse marker function, linguistic constructions also undergo semantic bleaching, or the (progressive) loss of semantic meaning if favour of pragmatic function. For example, in her study of the German *guck mal* "look", Günthner (2017) found two separate contexts of use of the imperative construction: one where interactants draw their co-interactant's visual attention to some object in the immediate environment; and one where interactants refocus their co-interactant's attention and introduce an argument. While the first (non-discourse marker) use retains the semantic meaning of the verb *gucken* "to look", the second (discourse marker) use does not involve visual perception, that is, it has been bleached of its original semantic meaning (Günthner, 2017). It is important to note, however, that the literal and discourse marker use of *guck mal* "look" share a refocusing of the co-interactant's attention through an imperative form (Günthner, 2017). Discourse markers that develop from other parts of speech (such as *guck mal*) generally retain some aspects from their original, semantic meaning, and may do so to different extents in their different interactional usages (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017).

5.2 Functions of discourse markers: What do they do in interaction?

As I discuss in the introduction to this review, discourse markers connect units of discourse. In CA, units of discourse are understood in interactional terms, i.e., turns, TCUs, sequences, and

[54] Previous research has also explored whether *grammaticalization* can describe the development of discourse marker functions (e.g., Auer & Günthner, 2005; Gohl & Günthner, 1999; Günthner, 1999); it is, however, unclear what *grammatical* function linguistic constructions develop as they take on discourse marker functions (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017). I discuss the relationship between discourse markers and grammar (in particular syntax) in Section 5.3.

interactional encounters (Schiffrin, 1987). As I also say above, *connecting units of discourse* underspecifies discourse markers' contributions to interaction and language use. Discourse markers build coherence in interaction by showing the relationship of some upcoming talk to both the prior talk and to the local interactional context (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schiffrin, 1987). In deploying a particular discourse marker in a particular context, an interactant is communicating to their co-interactant how to interpret their (the interactant's) turn (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017), and the interactant simultaneously shows their own understanding of the local interactional and sequential context. For example, in German, interactants sometimes preface responses to wh-questions and confirmables[55] with prosodically integrated *ja* "yeah", and this signals to their co-interactant that that there is trouble in answering. The talk following *ja* then *may* (but need not[56]) constitute an answer to the question. *Ja*-prefaced responses can be dispreferred answers or departures from the formal expectations encoded in the question, or (if prefacing a fitting answer) mark the answer as insufficient (Betz, 2017). With a *ja*-prefaced response, an interactant also orients to the sequential relevance of a response as created by the initiating wh-question or confirmable (Lee, 2013; Schegloff, 2007) as well as to the expectations encoded in the question.[57]

German *ja*-prefaces show the sequential relationship between two adjacent turns: an initiating wh-question or confirmable (both of which are first-pair parts, or FPPs, see Schegloff, 2007) and a responsive second pair part (or SPP).[58] Interactants also use discourse markers to show that the current turn is *not* connected to a prior turn, that is, to instruct their co-interactant not to interpret the turn against the local sequential context, but rather connect it to an earlier action, topic, or activity (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In Dutch, for instance, speakers can use *maar* "but" preface to resume a sequence that was put on hold by a more-than-minimal side sequence (Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001). *Maar* "but" instructs the co-interactant to search for

[55] i.e., "turns that make relevant confirmation or disconfirmation" (Betz et al., 2013, p. 138).
[56] That is, it may be a non-answer response (Betz, 2017; see also Stivers, 2010, on question-answer sequences). Particularly in responses to confirmables do *ja*-prefaces project a non-answer response (Betz, 2017).
[57] See also Schegloff and Lerner (2009) and Heritage (2015, 2018) on *well*-prefaced responses in English interaction.
[58] An *adjacency pair* is sequence that consists of two ordered turns: a "first pair part" (FPP), such as a question, a first greeting, an understanding check; and a "second pair part" (SPP), a turn made relevant by the FPP, such as an answer, a second greeting, or a confirmation (Schegloff, 2007). While minimal adjacency pairs consist of only an FPP and an SPP, they may be minimally expanded with some response or receipt of the SPP in third position (Schegloff, 2007).

some other-than-prior talk against which to interpret the current turn (Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001; see also my analysis of Rachel's use of *achja also* in Section 6.4.3).

In addition to communicating against which context and talk to interpret an utterance, interactants use discourse markers to manage (epistemic, deontic, affective) stance and turn-taking. With the German discourse markers *also* and *dann*, for example, interactants formulate their understandings of a co-interactant's prior talk, but in two different ways (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). With *also*, interactants offer inferences that make explicit some implicit meaning from their co-interactant's prior turn (i.e., what the co-interactant meant with their prior turn), presenting these for confirmation; with *dann* "then", interactants frame inferences as not implied by the co-interactant (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). In other words, while interactants use *also* to formulate intersubjective inferences, they use *dann* to formulate inferences that are subjective and unilateral (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). However, while many discourse markers indicate how units of discourse are connected, they can also signal that a current unit will move away from some aspect of an earlier unit. For example, with turn-initial German *naja*, interactants are breaking with a position or stance that they previously held (A. Golato, 2018). Discourse markers can also project aspects of the shape of the current TCU: English *well*, when prefacing responses to polar (i.e., yes-no) or wh-questions, regularly signals that the response will consist of multiple TCUs (rather than the single TCU normally allotted in the turn-exchange system; Heritage, 2015; see Sacks et al., 1974, on turn-taking in interaction). And English *okay*, as a preface to an answer to a question, projects multi-unit answers in which a first unit[59] that does not answer the question is followed by a second that does (DeSouza et al., 2021). Thus, with the turn structure "*Okay* + UNIT 1 (not 'the' answer) + UNIT 2 ('the' answer)" (p. 48), *okay*-prefaces project both a turn shape (i.e., a multi-unit turn) *and* the nature and ordering of those units (i.e., a non-answer followed by an answer) (DeSouza et al., 2021).

As with all contributions to interaction, discourse markers are reflexive: They both reflect the context of their deployment *and* create the context for upcoming contributions (see Heritage, 1984b; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b). Discourse markers are also both backward- and forward-looking. By backward-looking I mean that discourse markers communicate the interactant's understanding of, orientation to, or stance towards the prior talk in relation to its context; by forward-looking, I mean that discourse markers communicate how to interpret, understand, and

[59] DeSouza et al. (2021), with UNIT, refer to units that contain either a single or multiple TCUs.

orient to the current talk under production in relation to its local context (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b). For example, by prefacing a response to a question with *well* in English, interactants both orient to the question making relevant an answer while projecting that this answer will be nonstraightforward in some way (Heritage, 2015; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). While all discourse markers can be said to be 'Janus'-faced in this way, a discourse marker's orientation may not be balanced between its backward- and forward-looking aspects (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, p. 13). In English, by prefacing a response to a question with *oh*, a responding interactant marks the prior question as "problematic in terms of its relevance, presuppositions, or context", that is, as *inapposite* (Heritage, 1998, p. 291). While an *oh*-preface foreshadows reluctance to taking up the topic proposed in the question, the backward-looking character is more prominent in that *oh* primarily communicates the interactant's orientation to the prior (as an inapposite question). In another context, however, an *oh*-preface may have a stronger forward-looking character, namely when used to introduce new courses of action (Bolden, 2006). Interactants use *oh* to introduce self-attentive courses of action, such as storytellings pertaining to the *oh*-speaker (Bolden, 2006). Interactants launch these courses of action when they have possibly closed the prior topic or sequence (Bolden, 2006). In these contexts, *oh* thus has a stronger forward-looking character, as it primarily projects the nature of the talk that is upcoming rather than display an orientation to the prior (Bolden, 2006).

5.3 Syntactic features of discourse markers: Where are they located?

Discourse markers can perform their discourse organizational functions by virtue of their syntactic position within turns and TCUs. My discussion of discourse markers' dual backward- and forward-looking nature in the previous section already hints at discourse markers' placement: between discursive units, more specifically, between TCUs. Discourse markers thus appear on the periphery of TCUs (Auer, 1996, 1997), that is, as a TCU's first or final element (e.g., question tags, see König, 2017). As it is the better understood and widely considered to be the canonical position for discourse markers (Auer, 1996, 1997; Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schegloff, 1987), I focus here on discourse markers in TCU-initial position (but see König, 2017).

The beginning of a TCU gives information about the TCU under production (Auer, 2005; Deppermann, 2013; H. R. S. Kim & Kuroshima, 2013). in English, a TCU that begins with the pronoun *I* syntactically projects a declarative clause (with the next item being the finite verb), whereas a TCU that begins with a question word (e.g., *why*) projects an interrogative clause (with the verb appearing before the subject[60]). Syntactic projection is an important resource for the turn-taking system of interaction, as it also projects when the current TCU will end and reach a TRP.[61] Interactants track the syntactic unfolding of TCUs and turns-at-talk of their co-interactants to be able to predict when the current TCU will reach an end and prepare their own turn; syntactic projection thus allows interactants to take the floor as soon as their co-interactants' current turn has reached and end, thereby minimizing the silence between turns (see Section 2.4).

A central feature of TCU-initial discourse markers is that they project more talk (Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017). TCU-initial discourse markers, however, do not project the (syntactic) form of the current TCU (Auer, 1996, 1997; Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schegloff, 1987).[62] Discourse markers project aspects of the action the current TCU will perform, and the action's fit with the prior. For example, an *okay*-prefaced response to a question in English projects an answer, but an answer first postponed by a nonanswer (DeSouza et al., 2021). They are "harbingers of stance and action in interaction" that signal to co-interactants how to interpret the current TCU in relation to the local context (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, p. 5).[63]

That discourse markers do not project on a syntactic level has additional implications in German, as syntactic projection has consequences for verb placement. German is a combination SVO (verb-second) and SOV (verb-final) language (see Betz, 2008, p. 15; and also grammis at IDS Mannheim, n.d., for more on German syntax). In independent, declarative clauses, the finite verb occupies syntactically second position (e.g., *Morgen **ist** Sonntag* "Tomorrow **is** Sunday"),[64] and in subordinating clauses, it occupies the final position (*e.g., Wenn du mit automatisch*

[60] Or, rather, more strongly projects an interrogative clause than a declarative clause fronted with a question word.
[61] See p. 17, note 13.
[62] That is not to say that discourse markers do not project some shape of the upcoming talk, but rather that they do not project specific grammatical formats. In his quantitative analysis of English *well*, Heritage (2015) found that the discourse marker regularly prefaces expanded (i.e., multi-unit) responses to questions. See also earlier discussion on DeSouza et al.'s (2021) analyses of *okay* prefaces.
[63] It is important to note that Heritage and Sorjonen (2018b) focus on turn-initial (rather than TCU-initial) particles. But they do recognize that turn-initial and TCU-initial position share many functions in interaction, particularly in terms of projection (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, p. 6).
[64] This and the following examples, including those in Table 4 and Table 5, I take from the excerpts in my analysis from Chapter 7.

bestehst "If you pass with automatic", lit. "If you with automatic **pass**"). In yes-no interrogatives, the finite verb occupies first position (e.g., ***Spielst*** *du ein Instrument?* "do you play an instrument?" lit. "**Play** you an instrument?"), and in wh-questions, the finite verb is placed directly after the question word (e.g., *Was* ***ist*** *das Wort für squat?* "What **is** the word for squat?"). Additionally, in independent clauses (either declarative or interrogative) with an auxiliary or modal as the finite verb, the past participle or infinitive occupies the final position (e.g., *Wir* ***haben*** *es nicht* ***geplant*** "We did not plan it", lit. "We **have** it not **planned**"; ***Könnte*** *ich eine anderen Stück* ***bekommen*** "Could I get another piece?", lit. "**Could** I another piece **get**?"). Because of the syntactic positions of verbs within the sentence, German is said to have a *Satzklammer* or 'sentence brace' (Auer, 1996, 1997), in which either the finite verb (in independent clauses) or the subordinating conjunction (in subordinating clauses) constitutes the left brace and the clause-final verb constitute a right brace. Table 4 illustrates the sentence brace.

Sentence and *translation*	**Front field**	**Left brace**	**Mid field**	**Right brace**
Sie kann die zwei haben *She can have those two*	Sie *She*	kann *can*	die zwei *these two*	haben *have*
Wenn du mit Automatisch bestehst *If you pass with automatic*		Wenn *If*	du mit Automatisch *you with automatic*	bestehst *pass*
Wir haben es nicht geplant *We didn't plan it*	Wir *We*	haben *have*	es nicht *it not*	geplant *planned*
In Kanada müssen with das noch neu machen	In Kanada	müssen	wir das noch neu	machen
We have to do that again in Canada	*In Canada*	*must*	*we that still again*	*do*

Table 4: The German sentence brace

Importantly, in independent clauses, the place before the finite verb (the 'front field', see Table 4) need not be occupied by the subject; adverbs, objects, phrases, and even clauses can appear before the verb (*e.g., In Kanada* ***müssen*** *wir das noch neu* ***machen*** "We have to do that again in Canada", lit. "In Canada **must** we that still again **do**"). Should the front field be occupied by something other than the subject, then the subject appears as the first item after the finite verb (in the 'mid field', see Table 4). Discourse markers, although they appear in TCU-initial position, are

not in the front field, but in the *pre-front field*, a position before the front field (Auer, 1996, 1997; Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017). For example, in the declarative sentence *also eins ist die beste Note* "PCTL one is the best grade", the discourse marker *also* occupies the pre-front field and is followed by the subject *eins* "one" (and not the finite verb *ist* "is"). Table 5 provides an illustration of the pre-front field.[65]

Pre-front field	**Front field**	**Left brace**	**Mid field**
Also	eins	ist	die beste Note
PTCL	*one*	*is*	*the best grade*

Table 5: The pre-front field in German in declarative clauses

There are two implications to draw from this placement of discourse markers in the pre-front field. The first aligns with that which I have already discussed: Items occupying the pre-front field do not project a specific *syntactic* shape for the current TCU (Auer, 1996, 1997). Second, as linguistic items develop functions as discourse markers (see Section 5.1), they move from other syntactic fields into the syntactic periphery of the pre-front field, thereby becoming syntactically disintegrated (Auer, 1996, 1997). This is also the case with subordinating conjunctions that develop discourse marker uses. For example, as a connective subordinating conjunction, *obwohl* "although" projects a finite verb in final position; but as a discourse marker in the pre-front field (which functions to project a correction of the prior assertion), the finite verb no longer appears in syntactically final position, but in second position (Günthner, 1999). Thus, pre-front field placement of a linguistic item in German is an indicator that that item is developing a discourse marker function (Auer, 1996, 1997).

5.4 Discourse markers in the study of interactional competence

While most studies on the development of L2 IC have focussed on how L2 speakers develop methods for accomplishing specific actions in interaction (e.g., Balaman & Sert, 2017; Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019; Pekarek

[65] It is important to note that discourse markers are not the only elements that can occupy the pre-front. However, a discussion of all the items that can occupy the pre-front field in German is outside the scope of this dissertation (see, however, Auer, 1996, 1997).

Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011, 2015; Skogmyr Marian, 2021), there is little research on IC that has as its analytic point of departure a linguistic resource and tracks the changes in action environments to which that resource contributes over time (e.g., Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). Pekarek Doehler (2018) describes both how L2 speakers of French shift from using *parce que* "because" to express causal connection to using it to pursue affiliation from a co-interactant, and how L2 speakers move from using *je sais pas* "I don't know" literally in responsive positions to account for not being able to answer a question to using the construction in turn-final positions as a turn-exit device. Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) analyze online collaborative task-based interactions between L2 students of English and describe how one speaker routinizes *let me check* as a resource for suspending an ongoing sequence so that she can accomplish some on-screen activity. And Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2019) describe how one L2 speaker of French goes from using *comment on dit* "how do you say" to recruit co-interactants' assistance in a word search activity to using the construction to hold the floor while she (the L2 speaker) searches for a word search solution herself. These studies demonstrate how, over time, L2 speakers grammaticalize linguistic formats, that is, how L2 speakers develop interactional uses for such formats that go beyond the formats' semantic meaning. In other words, the L2 speakers are recalibrating their L2 linguistic resources to meet local interactional needs (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018).

There are, however, few studies into L2 speakers' developing use of particles and discourse markers (cf. Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009; Masuda, 2011). In two studies on the development of L2 IC, Y. Kim (2009) and Ishida (2009) investigated L2 speakers' use of discourse markers in Korean and Japanese, respectively (see also Masuda, 2011). Y. Kim's (2009) study was a cross-sectional study of Korean L2 speakers' use of two forms of the same discourse marker, *kuntey* (a conjunction) and *-nuntey* (a suffix). *Kuntey* and *-nuntey* are related grammatical constructions that express contrasts, like the English conjunction *but* (Y. Kim, 2009). In interaction, both constructions can be used as discourse markers, contributing to dispreferred actions (particularly, the marking of dispreferred responses), topic/activity shifts, and to shifts out of self-repair sequences (see Y. Kim, 2009). The two constructions differ in their syntactic placement: *kuntey* appears commonly in turn-initial position, and *-nuntey* in turn-medial and final positions (Y. Kim, 2009). Kim (2009) compared novice, intermediate, and advanced L2 speakers' use of the

discourse marker to L1 speakers' use. She found that, while intermediate and advanced speakers' use of the discourse marker in turn-initial and -medial positions was similar to that of L1 speakers (specifically in disagreement, in topic resumption, and prelimaries), novice speakers commonly used a less target-like and less common *kulehciman*; Kim (2009) attributes the use of *kulehciman* to Korean language textbooks, which offer *kulehciman* as a translation for English *but*. Y. Kim (2009) also found that only the advanced speakers used turn-final *-nuntey*; as *-nuntey* syntactically projects a main clause, the advanced L2 speakers (like L1 speakers) use a turn-final *-nuntey* to leave the un-uttered main clause for the co-interactant to infer (Y. Kim, 2009; see also Raymond, 2004, on stand-alone English so). Kim's (2009) findings point to diversification (see Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018) in the L2 speakers' use of *kuntey/-nuntey*, in terms of both syntactic placement and interactional use.

In a related study, Ishida (2009) tracked one Japanese L2 speaker's use of the question tag *ne* during a 9-month sojourn to Japan. Question tags are a promising topic for IC research, as they make relevant a response from a co-interactant, thereby creating a sequential place where the co-interactant is prompted to display their understanding of the L2 speaker's prior turn (Ishida, 2009). While Ishida's (2009) participant did not use *ne* at the beginning of the sojourn, by the middle he was using the discourse marker "in turns where [the participant] could take control over the trajectory of talk-in-interaction" (p. 379), specifically to introduce new topics, to occasion a recipient-response during an extended telling, and to emphasize a reconfirmation. By the end of the sojourn, the participant was using *ne* much more frequently (Ishida, 2009). In addition to the uses that Ishida (2009) observed at the middle of the sojourn, the participant was using *ne* to align (or project upcoming alignment) with a co-interactant's telling, in the assessment of new information, and (in tellings) to pursue agreement from a recipient to a specific aspect of the telling. The participant thus moved from using *ne* to display his own alignment to using it to pursue alignment from his co-interactant. Ishida's (2009) analysis of the L2 speaker's "use of *ne* [...] revealed how the [L2 speaker] became more competent in engaging in conversation by taking a variety of interactional roles" (p. 382; see also Masuda, 2011).

Both Kim (2009) and Ishida (2009) use CA's participant-oriented focus to investigate the development of IC through discourse markers; that is, they seek to describe how their participants' development of IC is visible in the participant orientations in their recorded interactions. However, they both (particularly Y. Kim, 2009) additionally include comparisons

with findings on L1 speaker interactions to describe their participants' *development* of IC. Comparing L2 speakers to L1 speakers in the study of L2 IC makes two assumptions, and I will comment on them in turn. First, such a comparison assumes that L1 speakers have a "fully" developed IC, that is, they never fail in recognizably accomplishing actions in interaction; this is similar to views of L1 speakers in SLA theories, such as proficiency models of language learning (see Higgs & Clifford, 1982; Lowe, 1983) and interlanguage (see Kasper, 1998; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; see also Chapter 2, Section 2.2, on the historical development of IC).

While interactants generally are successful in interaction, it is not the case that every attempt at an action is recognized by a co-interactant, and interactants have strategies for addressing failures of recognition. Betz and Golato (2008) describe such a practice in German interactions between L1 speakers: If an interactant recognizes that some response to a co-interactant's prior turn is now relevant, but the interactant has not recognized the action of the prior turn (and thus cannot determine what kind of response is relevant), the interactant may utter *^achja* (with a pitch peak on the first syllable). In doing so, the interactant withholds that next-relevant action and signals to their co-interactant that more work is needed before they can supply a next relevant action (Betz & Golato, 2008). That German has a linguistic resource to deal with (specific kind of) failure of recognition suggests that L1 speakers' regularly produce actions that are (at least initially) not recognizable to their co-interactants, and that the interactants must address the failed recognition (with a clarification or some other kind of expansion) before co-interactants can produce a response.

Second, describing L2 speakers' IC by comparing them to L1 speakers assumes that L1 speakers' methods for interaction lead to successful interaction, and that those methods are shared amongst all L1 speakers (of a linguistic group). Developing L2 IC is developing "*the ability for joint action*" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30; emphasis in original) and the ability to recognizably perform actions in interaction (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, p. 53); L2 IC is not (centrally) the degree to which a participant interacts like an L1 speaker.[66] In Chapter 6, I

[66] It is also important to note that L2 speakers may have different rights and privileges to using linguistic resources than do L1 speakers. In his study of L2 speakers' use of Korean honorifics during a sojourn to Korean, Brown (2013) found that, although the L2 speakers had a high degree of explicit knowledge of the use of Korean honorifics, they used primarily the most informal honorifics in their interactions. Brown's (2013) investigation revealed that, during their sojourn, the L2 speakers were actively discouraged by the L1 speakers from using Korean honorifics as L1 speakers would. Without having the rights to using Korean honorifics, the resources to which L2 speakers and L1 speakers had access for negotiating social relationships (and, as Brown's analysis suggests, the social

will demonstrate how my participant Rachel combines *achja also* to resume suspended topics; L1 speakers have been shown to use the combination *naja* for this purpose (see Golato, 2018). While Rachel's combination reflects how speakers do resumption in English (by combining a change-of-state token oh with a resumption marker anyway, see Ferrara, 1997; Heritage, 1984a), Rachel's apparently non-target-like approach to doing resumption was still recognizable to her co-interactants and thus, I argue, successful.

Previous CA research also suggests that L1 speakers do not share methods for interaction, but vary in their use of specific resources based on the variety they speak or era in which they acquired their L1. For example, speakers of one variety of German spoken in Romania — *Siebenbürger Sächsisch* — use pivot constructions in quotative constructions, specifically to mark the end of reported discourse (Betz, 2008, p. 180) whereas speakers of varieties of German within Germany use *und ich so*/*und er so* "and I like/and he like" to introduce reported discourse (Golato, 2002); speakers of varieties of German spoken in Germany do not use pivots for reported discourse, and speakers of *Siebenbürger Sächsisch* do not use *und ich so/und er so* "and I like/and he like" (Betz, 2008). And the use of particles can also be shown to change over time. Couper-Kuhlen (2021), for instance, compared uses of *okay* and *oh* among L1 speakers of American English in the 1960s and the 1990s/early 2000s. Her longitudinal analysis revealed that L1 speakers of American English increasingly use *okay* to manage epistemics (specifically to receipt new information with no implications for the speaker's agenda), taking over functions from the change-of-state token *oh* (Couper-Kuhlen, 2021). While Couper-Kuhlen (2021) does not investigate whether the 1960s uses of *oh* and *okay* persisted until the 1990s/early 2000s (i.e., whether the 1960s uses of *oh* and *okay* were sedimented or whether the uses also changed), her investigation demonstrates that L1 speakers of a language (variety) are not a static, homogeneous group of individuals who all deploy linguistic recourse (including particles) in the same way. In investigating the development of IC, investigators must take care when comparing L2 and L1 speakers to be explicit about the contributions that such comparisons make to their analyses.

In my analyses, I also refer to research on L1 speakers' discourse marker use, with specific intentions. In the following Chapter 6, in which I analyze Rachel's use of the token combination *achja* (and its phonetic variants), I review cross-linguistic research on token and lexico-semantic

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relationships themselves) were fundamentally different (Brown, 2013). I discuss Brown (2013) in more detail in terms of *members' methods* (Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii) in Chapter 8.

combinations with similar compositions to demonstrate that combining a change-of-state token (such as ach, see Betz & Golato, 2008; A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008) with a confirmation/acknowledgement token (such as ja, see Betz & Golato, 2008; and also Gardner, 2001) is common pattern for indexing now-remembering (see Section 6.2). Also in Chapter 6, I refer to research on German and English L1 interactions to explore possible influences on Rachel's use of *achja* in her L2 German interactions. In Chapter 7, in which I analyze Nina's developing use of the discourse marker *also*, I review research on *also* to demonstrate the breadth of functions the discourse marker has; this review is meant to account for the breadth of contexts in which Nina employs the discourse marker. In neither of my analyses, however, do I use comparisons between my participants' discourse marker use and the discourse marker use of L1 speakers to describe the how interactionally competent participants are (or are not). To describe my participants' interactional competence, I analyze their co-participants' local orientations to my participants' contributions (specifically, those turns in which my participants' deploy the discourse markers in focus).

5.5 Conclusion

Discourse markers are a common and abundant resource across languages. By deploying discourse markers, interactants communicate how their following contribution ought to be interpreted against the prior talk, the local sequential context, and the current interactional moment. Discourse markers can connect turns separated by long stretches of talk (or even by encounters), thereby reinitiating or resuming some course of talk (A. Golato, 2018; Keevallik, 2013; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001). And when prefacing an answer to a question, a discourse can mark a question as having been irrelevant (or “inapposite”, see Heritage, 1998), indicate some trouble or problem with the upcoming answer (Betz, 2017; Heritage, 2015, 2018; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009), or project some delay in answering (DeSouza et al., 2021). Having developed from other parts of speech, discourse markers can take advantage of their meaning to do discourse organizational work, for example by claiming now-remembering when opening a self-oriented topic to avoid "appearing excessively self-attentive" (Bolden, 2006, p. 678) or using a verb of perception to refocus a co-interactant's attention on some aspect of an argument (Günthner, 2017). L2 speakers also use discourse markers in their everyday interactions, and their discourse marker use changes over the course of a sojourn (Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009;

Masuda, 2011). Because languages have broad sets of distinct discourse markers with specific interactional functions, discourse markers are a fruitful, yet understudied, area of research for the study of L2 IC. In the following two analysis chapters, as well as in my discussion (Chapter 7), I explore what the study of discourse markers can contribute to our understanding of L2 interactional competence and its development.

Chapter 6 'Little words' in an L2: Why study IC through discourse markers

6.1 Introduction

In interaction, interactants frequently put on display their cognitive processes for their co-interactants (Heritage, 2005). Interactants claim surprise (A. Golato, 2012), disappointment (Couper-Kuhlen, 2009; A. Golato, 2012), understanding (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008; Heritage, 1984a), realization (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010), or now-remembering (Betz & Golato, 2008; Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; Koivisto, 2013; Küttner, 2018) for their co-interactants. To display a cognitive process — or "change in ... [a speaker's] locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 299) — interactants across languages regularly employ particles (e.g., English *oh*, German *ach*, Danish *nå*) or *change-of-state tokens* (Heritage, 1984a).

A recurrent position for change-of-state tokens in interaction is in response to some informative turn from a co-interactant.[67] This is in large part because indexing a change of state in response to some information is useful in interaction; for example, claiming (and/or displaying) understanding of an answer to a question — i.e., in sequentially third position — signals to an answering co-interactant that they sufficiently answered the question (Heritage, 2016). Take for example German *achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008). A combination of the German change-of-state token *ach* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008; Imo, 2009) and the acknowledgement token *ja* "yes", speakers use *achja* in response to an informative turn from a co-interactant to claim now-remembering of some temporarily forgotten information.

Change-of-state tokens, however, do not only occur in responsive (e.g., sequentially second or third) positions. In sequence-initiating and turn-initial positions, change-of-state tokens take a discourse-organizational function, indicating to the co-interactant how to interpret the following talk in the local interactional context; that is, they function as *discourse markers* (see Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017; Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b; Schiffrin, 1987). Previous research has found that, when used as discourse markers, these tokens take advantage of the change-of-state they index to do some discourse-organizational work; for example, in English, interactants use *oh* in

[67] Interactants also use change-of-state tokens in reaction to features of their environment or their own cognitive processes (e.g., sudden realization); see Golato's (2010) analyses of the German change-of-state tokens *ach* and *achso* across sequential positions (including first position).

opening new topics that are about themselves to claim that the topic just occurred to them (rather than having been on their mind all along, see Bolden, 2006).

Excerpt 7 provides an instance of a participant using the token combination *åhja*[68] in a sequence-initiating position. This excerpt comes from an interaction between L2 speaker of German Rachel (RAC) and her professor Ina (INA). Rachel is a Canadian undergraduate student of German who (at time of recording) is doing an internship at a company in Germany. In this interaction, Rachel and Ina are having dinner at a restaurant in Germany; at this point, they have received their meals and begun eating. After a lapse in talk (line 01), Rachel announces that the side dish that came with her schnitzel — *Bratkartoffeln*[69] — does not qualify as *Bratkartoffeln* (lines 03 and 04).

Excerpt 7: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:42-00:41:58_*ich kann die auch gut machen* "I can make them well too"

01		((Essgeräusche, 2.0 Sek))
		((eating noises, 2.0 secs))
02	INA:	((beißt in den Flammkuchen))
		((bites into the Flammkuchen))
03	RAC:	muss ich sagen,
		i have to say
04		diese sind eigentlich nicht BRATkartoffeln?
		these aren't actually BRATkartoffeln?
05		aber °h
		but °h
06 =>		↑**ÅHja;** ich kann die AUK gut machen.=
		↑***ÅHja;***[70] *i can make them well TOO.=*
07	INA:	=stimmt. °hh
		=(that's) right. °hh
08	RAC:	ich hab viele gute reZEPte gefunden?
		i found a lot of good REcipes?
09	INA:	für [ge\=BRATkartoffeln?
		for [fri\=BRATtkartoffeln
10	RAC:	[°hh
11	RAC:	mm?mm[:.
12	INA:	[ja.
		[*yeah.*

[68] Although it is not part of the standard German alphabet or orthography, I use *å* in my transcripts to capture the production of open back rounded vowels, particularly in the variations of the particle *ach/ah*.

[69] *Bratkartoffeln* are a popular German dish in which boiled slices of potato are pan fried, typically with diced onion and bacon bits (*Speck*).

[70] As I explore possible translations for Rachel's uses of *achja* into English later in this chapter (Section 6.5.2), I leave her sequence-initial *achja*s untranslated.

((Rachel continues to explain that seasoning is what differentiates *Bratkartoffeln* from other similar potato-based dishes))

Rachel's ↑*ÅHja;* and the following TCU are not responsive to a turn from her co-participant. Rachel was the last person talking prior to her TCU in line 06. Furthermore, unlike responsive *achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008), Rachel's TCU in line 06 does not lead to sequence or topic closure; on the contrary, her ↑*ÅHja;* introduces a new topic, as she produces further talk about her ability to cook *Bratkartoffeln* well in line 08 (*ich hab viele gute reZEPte gefunden* "i found a lot of good REcipes"). Research on German talk-in-interaction has not yet described such uses of sequence-initial *achja*.

In this chapter, I use the theories and methodologies of conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974; Sidnell, 2010) to analyze Rachel's use of phonetic and prosodic variants of *achja*[71] in sequence-initiating turns. The purpose of this chapter is to show what an analytic focus on discourse markers (including change-of-state tokens with discourse marker uses) can contribute to our understanding of IC and L2 speakers' achievement of interaction. While there is a body of IC research that takes an action-oriented approach (see Chapter 2), showing how L2 speakers diversify their resources to recognizably perform actions in interaction, such as opening a conversation (e.g., Hellermann, 2008; see also Taleghani-Nikazm, 2019), managing topic/activity transition (e.g., Hellermann, 2008), telling a story (e.g., Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018), complaining (e.g., Skogmyr Marian, 2021), and doing disagreement (e.g., Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; [Pochon-]Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; see also Chapter 2), there is still little IC research that takes as its point of departure L2 speakers' deployment of a linguistic resource (cf. Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019), and discourse markers in particular (e.g., Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009; Masuda, 2011). As I argue in this chapter, analyzing IC through the use of

[71] For ease of reading, when speaking of the entire collection, I refer to Rachel's prosodic and phonetic variants of German *achja* (including *ahja*, *åhja*, and *oh ja*) in the current collection simply as *achja* for the remainder of this chapter. When discussing specific transcripts, I use the transcribed realization of the particle combination (e.g ↑*ÅHja;* in Excerpt 7). In Section 6.2, I review research on just-now remembering and argue that combinations of change-of-state tokens + assertions of independent access (e.g., through acknowledgement, confirmation, endorsement) are a recurrent pattern across languages for doing now-remembering. Due to the small size of the collection (8 instances) and the recurrent patterns of use (which I describe in Section 6.3), I tentatively treat Rachel's combinations of change-of-state token + *ja* as functionally equivalent. I discuss this issue in more detail in Section 6.4.

discourse markers can reveal how L2 speakers use a particle's core function (e.g., indexing now-remembering) to do other interactional work (e.g., backlinking or resumption).

The collection of instances on which I base my analyses in this chapter is quite small — only eight in total —, due to both the corpus size (4.5 hours of recording over 3 months) and the low frequency with which Rachel uses *achja* in her German interactions. As such, any claims of Rachel's uses of *achja* as constituting interactional practices[72] must remain tentative. Still, this chapter demonstrates that interactional competence in an L2 includes the innovative deployment of L2 linguistic resources, such as taking advantage of a core function of a linguistic resource to do interactional work outside of its home environment and in ways that differ from L1 speakers.

I seek to answer the following research questions:

1. How does Rachel use sequence-initiating *achja* in sequentially first position? Do Rachel's participants orient to the action Rachel is performing (or seeking to perform) with *achja* (and the *achja* turn) in this position? That is, is it *recognizable* to the co-interactants what Rachel is doing with *achja*?
2. What factors are shaping Rachel's uses of *achja* in L2 German? For example:
    a. Does Rachel encounter and attend to similar uses of *achja* in her interactions with L1 speakers of German? (the Participation Hypothesis)
    b. Is Rachel using German linguistic resources similarly to how she would use linguistic resources in her L1 (English) to achieve specific actions in interaction? (the Transfer Hypothesis)

To answer these questions, I begin with a review of conversation analytic research on indexing now-remembering across languages (Section 6.2), starting with German *achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008). Here I compare the features of two prosodic and functional variants of the particle combination in order to highlight the features of turn design and sequence specific to now-remembering *achja.* Then, and as previous research has done, I point to the formal similarities in the linguistic resources for doing remembering in different languages (specifically, Danish, Finnish, and English; see Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; Koivisto, 2013; Küttner, 2018), namely the combination of a change-of-state token (e.g., *ach, oh*) with an item doing acknowledgement (e.g., *ja, that's right,* see Küttner, 2018, p. 117). In Section 6.3, I present the

[72] i.e., as individual "feature[s] of the design of a turn or sequence that (i) ha[ve ...] distinctive character[s], (ii) ha[ve] specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) [are] distinctive in [their] consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements" (Heritage, 2010a, p. 212). See also Section 3.2, on practices.

data and participant in focus (Rachel). In Section 6.4, I explore Research Question 1, presenting my analyses of Rachel's use of sequence-initiating *achja* to do: now-remembering after a search,[73] backlinking, and resumption.

Following the analyses, I test the Participation and Transfer Hypotheses in Section 6.5, addressing Research Questions 2a and 2b. To test them, I take the one action environment in which Rachel uses *achja* for which there exists research in German and English: resumption. I first test the Participation Hypothesis by comparing Rachel's resumptions to A. Golato's (2018) analyses of resumptions with *naja* from L1 speakers of German (Section 6.5.1). I also do a corpus search in order to investigate how often L1 speakers produce the combination in spoken interaction. I then test the Transfer Hypothesis (Section 6.5.2), reviewing research on resumptions in English and presenting a candidate functionally equivalent combination the Rachel's resuming *achja*s: English *oh anyways* (Heritage, 1984a, pp. 299–300, 2005, p. 188). In the discussion and conclusion (Section 6.6), I come back to the goal of this chapter and discuss the contributions the study of particles can make to our understanding of L2 IC.

6.2 Doing remembering with particle and lexico-syntactic combinations across languages

Conversation analytic studies on doing remembering in interaction have found that, across languages, participants regularly index now-remembering (or "'just now' recollection", see Heritage, 1984, p. 389; Küttner, 2018; or also "realization", see Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010) with particle combinations (e.g., German *achja*, see Betz & Golato, 2008; Danish *nåja*, see Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; and Finnish *ai nii(n)*, see Koivisto, 2013) or other lexico-syntactic combinations (e.g., English *oh that's right*, see Küttner, 2018) in response to some information from a co-participant. Documented combinations share a similar format, that is: a change-of-state token (*ach, ai, nå, oh*) followed by an acknowledgement token (*ja, nii(n)*) or format (*that's right*). This is possibly due to the claims an interactant makes when doing now-remembering is: On the one hand, an epistemic claim that the interactant is gaining (or has just gained) access to some information; and on the other hand, confirming the truth of the information (which an interactant can only do if they had previous independent access to the

[73] While the placement of *achja* in these searches is not turn- or TCU-initital but rather TCU-internal, the searches are part of sequence-initiating moves, specifically the openings of storytellings (see Mandelbaum, 2013; Sacks, 1974, 1986).

information), thereby claiming that the information is not new, but was rather temporarily forgotten. Additionally, interactants use claims of now-remembering (or, rather, the claims of temporary forgetfulness or inaccessibility) in service of larger interactional tasks, for example to account for having taken an unknowing epistemic stance when asking a question the answer to which should have already been known (Koivisto, 2013; Küttner, 2018) or for having taken a disaffiliative stance in a previous turn (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010).

In this section, I provide a cross-linguistic comparison of research on claims of remembering in spoken interaction. I begin by reviewing in more detail Betz and Golato's (2008) findings on responsive German *achja* and contributions of *ach* and *ja* to the particle combination's functions. I then outline similar findings on functionally similar particle and lexico-syntactic combinations for claiming now-remembering in responsive positions in other languages, namely Finnish (*ai nii(n)*), Danish (*nåja*), and English (*oh that's right*). In particular, I discuss how participants use claims of remembering in responsive positions in Finnish, Danish, and English to do more than now-remembering, for example to having assumed an epistemic stance of being not/less knowledgeable (through posing a question) or for having taken a disafilliative stance. In the following analysis section, I use this discussion to explore how Rachel deploys *achja* claims of now-remembering in service of some larger interactional project in sequence-initiating turns.

6.2.1 Doing remembering with a particle combination: German *achja*

In their study of German *achja* as response particle combination, Betz and Golato (2008) found two prosodic variants that participants use in response to an informative turn from a co-participant, namely: *achJA/ahJA*, with prosodic prominence (through higher amplitude represented by capitalization) on *JA*; and *^achja/^ahja*, with prosodic prominence (through a pitch peak represented by ^) on *^ach/^ah.* For the current work, I focus on *achJA/ahJA*, as it functionally most closely resembles Rachel's use of the particle combination.[74] Let us first look at Excerpt 8, taken from Betz and Golato (2008, pp. 62–63), to review the features of *achJA/ahJA*. Excerpt 8 comes from a phone call between Markus (M) and Ines (I); Markus is

[74] Interactants use *^achja/^ahja*, the other prosodic variant, in response to informative turns to withhold a relevant next action, for example when the action of the prior turn is ambiguous (e.g., hearable as either a serious suggestion or a joke) or when the next action is projectably dispreferred (e.g., a negative assessment) (Betz & Golato, 2008).

telling Ines about his plans for the next day, which include going to the opera in the evening (line 01).

Excerpt 8: Segment178_Oregon2A_riguletto_228 (from Betz & Golato, 2008, pp. 62-63)[75]

```
01   M:   und dann abends äh gehmer in die oper. .hhh
          and then in the evening uh we're going to the opera .hhh

02         und [da gibts       ]
          and [there's         ]
03   I:       [was läuft?      ]
              [what's playing?]

04   M:   isch glaub riguletto.
          i think rigoletto.

05         (0.5)

06   M:   .h muß jetzt- ja doch riguletto .hhhh
          .h now (i) have to- yeah that's right rigoletto .hhhh

07   M:   naja [un-  ]
          well [an-  ]
08   I:        [  von] wem isn des nochma?
               [ from] whom is+PRT that again?
               [who's] that by again?

09   M:   .hh ve- äh verdi
          .hh ve- uh verdi

10         (.)

11=> I:   achJA. dann kenn isch des auch.
          oh that's right.[76] then i know it too.

12   M:   ja.
          yeah.

13   I:   weil isch hab (.) isch hab des immer in verbindung
          because i always (.) i always link that

14         damit gebracht, mit (1.2) wart ma da gibts so ne
          to that, to (1.2) wait a sec there's like an

15         (.) italienische (.) speise irgendwie (.) die
```

[75] When including transcripts from previously published research, I do the following: First, I present all transcripts in Courier New, both to have formal consistency between all transcripts and to have all transcripts in an equidistant font (see Hepburn & Bolden, 2017, p. 17; Selting et al., 2011, p. 6). Second, I maintain the transcript orthography (see, e.g., the capitalization in Excerpt 22), notation, and numbering (conventions) in the original work, as I do not have access to the recordings and can thus neither take the analytical step of transcribing the recordings myself (see, Section 3.4, on the role of transcription in research on social interaction) nor re-transcribe the interactions according to the GAT-2 guidelines for a basic transcript (see Selting et al., 2009, 2011, Appendix A). And finally, in the case of transcripts of non-English interactions, I translate the original lines of transcript as I do my data (regardless of the translation approach in the source publication).

[76] Betz and Golato (2008, n. 2), based on Heritage (1984a), argue that, in responsive positions, *oh that's right* is a functional translation of *achja* into English. Küttner's (2018) analyses of *oh that's right* in English conversation support this translation. I provide a cross-linguistic discussion of particle and lexico-syntactic combinations for doing now-remembering in Section 6.2.2.

```
          (.)   italian    (.)  dish somehow    (.) that

16        heißt so ähnlisch (.) und so konnt isch mir
          has a similar name (.) and that's how i could

17        immer riguletto *merken* ((*smile voice))
          always *remember* rigoletto

18   M:   hehe=

19   I:   =isch hab des irgenwie immer verknüpft
          =I always made that connection somehow

20        (0.8)

21   M:   naja und dann [.hh
          well and then [.hh
22   I:                 [warum läuft denn jetzt das band überhaupt wieder mit?
                        [why is the tape running again?

23        ich dacht des wär zu ende?
          I thought it was over?
```

Markus' utters this TCU in line 01 with falling intonation, which does not project more talk. After a lengthened in-breath at the end of line 01 (during which Ines produces no uptake) Markus begins a new TCU in line 02; with *und da gibts* "and there's", Markus projects more information about the opera, e.g., the name or the composer. However, in overlap, Ines asks an information-seeking question, requesting the name of the opera in line 03 (*was läuft* "what's playing"). Markus answers Ines question in line 04, (*ich glaub riguletto* "i think rigoletto"); with *ich glaub* "i think", Markus marks his answer as uncertain. After a pause in line 05, Markus re-produces his answer in line 06, now with more certainty (*ja doch riguletto* "yeah that's right rigoletto").

After another lengthened in-breath at the end of line 06, Ines asks another question in line 08, now requesting the name of the composer (*von wem isn des nochma "*who's that by again"). In the design of her question, specifically through her use of *nochma* "again", Ines is claiming to have previously had access to the name of the opera's composer, but currently does not; she has forgotten the composer's name. In line 09, Markus answers her question: *Rigoletto* is by Verdi. After a micropause in line 10, Ines receipts Markus' answer in line 11; with *dann kenn isch des auch* "then I know it too", following the initial *achJA*, Ines claims (again) to have had prior independent access to the opera and (thanks to Markus' answer in line 09) has re-established that access. That is, Ines claims to have undergone a change of state, from not-remembering to now-remembering the opera.

Ines' *achJA* embodies her actual claim of remembering; that is, the (cognitive) re-establishment of access to the opera *Rigoletto* is claimed to occur as Ines produces *achJA*. In

lines 13 to 19, Ines produces stronger display of remembering of *Rigoletto*, namely that she connects the opera's name to the similar-sounding name of an (here unnamed) Italian dish.[77] With this display of remembering, the expanded sequence begun in line with the question *was läuft* "what's playing" in line 03 comes to an end: Rather than provide more talk on *Rigoletto*, Markus utters a turn-initial *naja* in line 12, signalling the resumption of a previous topic (A. Golato, 2018), grammatically projecting a next item in some list in progress but put on hold with the conjunctions *und* "and" and *dann* "then". Markus' stops his resumption, as in lines 22 and 23, Ines initiates a new sequence and topic in overlap with Markus' in-breath: she asks why the tape (presumably the tape recording their conversation) is still recording.

In terms of turn design — i.e., the accompanying explicit claim and display of remembering — and its closing of the sequence, the *achJA* in Excerpt 8 is representative of the instances of *achJA/ahJA* Betz and Golato (2008) describe. Betz and Golato (2008) argue that it is the combination of the tokens *ach* and *ja* in tandem with prosodic prominence on *ja* that allow for *achja/ahja* to act as a claim of now-remembering. *Ach* is a common change-of-state token in German and appears as a single token or in combination with another token (e.g., *achja* but also *achso*, see A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008; Imo, 2009). On its own, *ach* receipts new information but makes no claim of understanding the information and (particularly in response to repair solutions) typically accompanies other turn components (e.g., understanding checks) that request confirmation of the *ach*-speaker's understanding of the information they receipted. Whereas combinations such as *achja* and *achso* lead to sequence closure, *ach*-fronted turns lead to sequence expansion (Betz & Golato, 2008; A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008).

The response token *ja*, on the other hand, is similar to English *yeah* (see Gardner, 2001) in that it commonly appears as both a continuer and an acknowledgement token at the beginnings of responsive turns in German (A. Golato & Fagyal, 2008) and as a confirmation token (see A. Golato, 2002a). Continuers and acknowledgement tokens have similar interactional functions: participants use both to claim that there is "no problem in understanding or agreement" with their co-participant's previous turn (Gardner, 2001, p. 34). That is, in uttering a continuer or acknowledgement token, a participant is passing an opportunity to initiate repair on their co-

[77] In displaying a change of state, an interactant provides evidence that the change of state did, indeed, occur. Whereas Ines' *achJA. dann kenn isch des auch* "oh that's right. then I know it too" in line 11 claims (but does not provide evidence that) Ines has prior independent access to (i.e., had forgotten but now remembers) the opera *Riguletto*, by taking the opera's name and "performs an operation" (Sacks, 1992, p. 141) on it, i.e., connecting its name to that of an Italian dish in line 13-19, Ines *displays* that she has remembered *Riguletto*.

participant's previous turn (Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 1982). Continuers and acknowledgement tokens, however, differ in their relationship with surrounding talk: with a continuer, as a listener response during a multi-unit turn (e.g., a storytelling) from a co-participant, a participant signals to their co-participant "I recognize where you are in the larger sequence and that the larger unit is not yet complete, please continue", thereby allowing the co-participant to maintain the floor and continue their talk (by, e.g., producing a next-item in a multi-unit turn); with an acknowledgement token, a participant takes the floor (however briefly) from their co-participant, commonly producing additional turn components after the acknowledgement token (Gardner, 2001). Whereas continuers are forward looking, claiming understanding to allow a co-participant to produce more talk (Schegloff, 1982), acknowledgement tokens are backward looking, primarily confirming, affirming, or agreeing with the co-participant's prior turn (Gardner, 2001).

Betz and Golato (2008) argue that, in producing *achja/ahja* and placing prosodic prominence on one particle over the other in the combination, participants achieve the "foregrounding of one element and its function (confirmation of new/newly received information in the case of *achJA/ahJA*)" (p. 92). With *achJA/ahJA*, interactants thus primarily acknowledge or confirm — to confirm some information, an interactant must already have independent access to that information — a co-interactant's prior turn (with the stressed *JA*), secondarily indexing an epistemic change of state (with *ach/ah*).[78]

That participants use the combination of a change-of-state token (i.e., *ach/ah*) and an acknowledgement token (i.e., *ja*) to claim now-remembering reveals the interactional work that goes into indexing remembering in response to information from a co-participant. On the one hand, to do now-remembering, a participant has to index that they are undergoing an (epistemic) change-of-state, i.e., that they now have cognitive access to information to which they previously (or temporally) did not. On the other hand, the participant must also signal that this is not the first time they have had access to this information; that is, the information in their co-participant's previous turn is not *new* information, but temporally *forgotten* or *unavailable* information. In the following section, I review research on remembering in interaction across languages, which shows that the format "change-of-state token + acknowledgement/confirmation" to claim now-remembering is not unique to German.

[78] With the second prosodic variant, *^achja/^ahja*, participants primarily receipt new information (with pitch-peaked *^ach*/*^ah*), giving the floor back to their co-participant with a continuer *ja* (Betz & Golato, 2008).

6.2.2 Doing remembering with particle combinations in other languages: Finnish, Danish, and English

In this review of research on formats for doing now-remembering across languages, I explore the formal and functional similarities — and differences — of responsive claims of remembering in German, Finnish, Danish, and English. I begin with Finnish *ai nii(n)*, which is the most similar to German *achJA* in terms of composition, function, and turn-design (Koivisto, 2013), following with Danish *nåja* (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010), and finally English *oh that's right*, which is the least similar to German *achJA* in composition and turn design (Küttner, 2018). I pay special attention to how speakers of Finnish, Danish, and English use claims of now-remembering in responsive positions to address some other interactional problem, such as accounting for having previously asked an inapposite question (Koivisto, 2013), done another kind of inapposite action (Küttner, 2018), or taken a disaffiliative stance in an earlier turn (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010). Reviewing formal similarities for claiming now-remembering and the larger interactional functions that claims of now-remembering can serve will inform my analyses of my research participant Rachel's sequence-initiating *achja*s (and variants thereof).[79]

Out of the three combinations I review here (including the Danish *nåja* and English *oh that's right*) Finnish *ai nii(n)*, a combination of *ai* + *nii(n)*[80] (Koivisto, 2013). In question-answer sequences (including polar questions, information-seeking questions, and proposals), participants receipt answers in sequentially third position with turn-initial *ai nii(n)* to claim just-now-remembering of the information in the answer (Koivisto, 2013). Like German *ach*, Finnish *ai* is a change-of-state token that receipts new information (Koivisto, 2013). Finnish *nii(n)*, while not an acknowledgement token, is similar to German *ja* in that participants use *nii(n)* to affiliate, agree with, or confirm a co-participant's previous turn (Sorjonen, 2001). As is the case for *achJA*, participants do not produce third-position *ai nii(n)* as a standalone item; rather, they follow *ai*

[79] Seuren et al. (2016) describe a similar function of claiming now-remembering for the Dutch combination *oh ja*. Seuren et al.'s (2016), however, do not include an investigation of the relationship between the composition of the particle combination *oh ja* and its function as a claim of now-remembering, nor do they describe systematically *oh ja*'s function in addressing some larger interactional problem. I therefore do not discuss their study at length in this chapter.

[80] While, in Finnish orthography, the particle *niin* ends with a nasal *-n*, speakers of Finnish often realize the standalone token as *nii* (Sorjonen, 2001). Koivisto's (2013) bracketed *(n)* in *nii(n)* indicates that, while participants produce the combination both as *ai nii* and *ai niin*, there are no detectable functional differences between these two realizations.

nii(n) with turn elements that make explicit what it is that the *ai nii(n)*-speaker is remembering (Koivisto, 2013). Also like *achJA*, *ai nii(n)* turns lead to sequential closure (Koivisto, 2013).

Koivisto (2013) argues that, by receipting answers with claims of now-remembering, interactants are orienting to a *preference for remembering*. In everyday interaction, in asking a question, a participant takes an 'unknowing' (or K-) epistemic stance relative to their co-interactant; that is, in the moment of asking the question, the participant is saying 'I know less about this matter than you do' and thereby places the co-interactant in a relative more knowing (K+) position (see Heritage, 2013). By claiming remembering in sequentially third position, however, a participant indicates they already had access to the answer, marking their previous question as irrelevant (or "inapposite", see Heritage, 1998) — i.e., as a question the participant should not have asked. Indeed, in Koivisto's (2013) data, participants commonly produce *ai nii(n)* after answers that, in their design (e.g., produced with a tone of frustration), point to the question as having been inapposite. Such answers embody the expectation that participants do not ask questions to which they (ought to) already know the answer; that is, they embody a preference for remembering (Koivisto, 2013). Thus, *ai nii(n)* claims of remembering deal with the larger interactional problem of having posed an inapposite question: In receipting an answer with a claim of remembering, a participant also accounts for having asked the question by claiming temporary forgetfulness (Koivisto, 2013).

Speakers of Danish also use claims of remembering — in the form of the particle combination *nåja* — to deal with some larger interactional issue (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010). In its composition, Danish *nåja* is like German *achJA*. *Nå* is a common change-of-state token in Danish that is functionally similar to English *oh* (Heritage, 1984a) and German *ach* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008) in that *nå* receipts new information (Heinemann, 2009, 2017, p. 264). And like German *ja*, Danish *ja* can function as a continuer and an acknowledgment token (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; see also Gardner, 2001). Emmertsen and Heinemann (2010) describe *nåja*'s function as a claim of realization, that is that a speaker has (through now-understanding or now-remembering) realized something applicable to prior talk. In this way, *nåja*'s function is broader than *achJA*'s (which speakers use to claim now-remembering) in terms of the changes of state that the particle combination indexes.

Speakers of Danish, however, use *nåja* to deal with a specific interactional issue: having taken a disaffiliative stance in a previous turn (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010). In *nåja*

sequences, some speaker A produces a turn with which some speaker B disaffiliates in some way. The disaffiliation can be implicit (e.g., not producing a response or a next-relevant action) or explicit (e.g., a challenge to "the relevance of another's talk in the first place", Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010, p. 121). In response to the disaffiliation, speaker A produces some information that B either did not know (i.e., new information) or did not consider (e.g., information B already knows but temporarily forgot) to secure B's affiliation; securing speaker B's affiliation may take several turns. In a subsequent turn, speaker B produces *nåja* plus turn components (e.g., assessment of news delivery, agreement) that serve to cancel and replace their earlier disaffiliative turn with an affiliative one (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010). With the *nåja,* speaker B claims that it was because of confusion or forgetfulness that they previously took a disaffiliative stance and, due to their now-realization, they can produce the previously lacking disaffiliating response (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010).

Like Finnish *ai nii(n),* interactants use the Danish particle combination *nåja* — or, more specifically, the change of state it indexes — to account for having produced some earlier problematic action (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; Koivisto, 2013). And like *ai nii(n)* and German *achja*, *nåja* does not operate alone; it appears with further components that contribute to its interactional work in the same turn. However, whereas *ai nii(n)* and *achja* accompany explicit claims or displays of remembering — e.g., producing the forgotten and just-now-remembered information (Betz & Golato, 2008; Koivisto, 2013) — that put on display the change of state a participant is claiming to undergo, the turn components that accompany *nåja* do not contribute to the change of state proper; rather, they cancel and *replace* the earlier, disaffiliating response with an affiliating one (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010). The *nåja* indexes realization without further explication (Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010).

The final combination I review here — the English lexico-semantic combination *oh that's right* — similarly claims now-remembering (or 'just-now recollection'[81]) in responsive positions without an explicit claim or display of what the participant is remembering (Küttner, 2018). This is despite the similarity in interactional function between *oh that's right* and the other combinations I discuss here: like *ai nii(n),* English speakers use standalone *oh that's right* in

[81] While Küttner (2018) uses "recollection" rather than "remembering" to describe the function of *oh that's right* in the title of his paper, he, like others who have written on now-remembering in interaction (e.g., Betz & Golato, 2008; Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010; Heritage, 1984a, 2005; Koivisto, 2013), uses "recollection" and "remembering" interchangeably in his analyses. For ease of comparison and discussion, I use "remembering" throughout the rest of the chapter.

sequentially third position to claim forgetfulness as an account for having previously produced an inapposite action (Küttner, 2018, p. 108). *Oh that's right* sequences are regularly organized as follows:

1. First, speaker A produces some initiating action such as "asking a question, forwarding a candidate understanding, making an offer" (Küttner, 2018, p. 108), which reveals their presuppositions regarding some state of affairs (see also Heritage, 2010b, on presuppositions).
2. Second, speaker B issues a "reminder" that "challenges A's action by undermining, rejecting, or even correcting the presumption A's turn conveyed" and that simultaneously "positions A as (actually or in fact) knowing better than what his/her first turn suggests" (Küttner, 2018, p. 108)
3. Third, speaker A produces a standalone *oh that's right*, which accepts B's interpretation that A's inapposite action in first position was based on false presuppositions and, "in [accepting B's interpretation], registers the inadequacy of the first action and withdraws the action as well as its sequential implications" (Küttner, 2018, p. 108).

Küttner (2018) argues that it is by virtue of the sequential structure of *oh that's right* sequences and the combination's composition (i.e., *oh + that's right*) that co-participants can infer an *oh that's right* speaker is claiming now-remembering without explication. Returning to the three-part *oh that's right* sequence above, in second position, speaker B, by using a 'reminder', both signals to speaker A that their initiating turn (in first position) was inapposite due to the presumption it conveys and gives A the opportunity to claim forgetfulness to account for having produced the inapposite action (Küttner, 2018). That speaker B 'sets the place', so to speak, for A to claim forgetfulness enables A to claim recognizable claim now-remembering in third position without any explicit claim or display of remembering (Küttner, 2018). The success of *oh that's right* as a claim of now-remembering is further evidenced in that the combination leads to sequential closure, either by directly closing the sequence or having sequence closure after a minimal acknowledgement of the prior turn from B.

The formal composition of *oh that's right* (as is the case with *achja*, *ai nii(n)*, and *nåja*) also contributes to it being hearable as a claim of now-remembering. Research on English *oh* (Bolden, 2006; Couper-Kuhlen, 2021; Heritage, 1984a, 1998, 2002, 2018) shows that, in a

variety of contexts, the token *oh* indexes a change of state in an interactant's "locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 299). In response to informative turns (particularly in sequentially third position), like German *ach* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008; Imo, 2009), Finnish *ai* (Heinemann, 2016; Koivisto, 2013), and Danish *nå* (Heinemann, 2016, 2017), English *oh* receipts new information (Heritage, 1984a).

The format *that's right* is functionally similar to German and Danish *ja* in that speakers of English employ it to confirm a prior speaker's turn; in confirming the prior turn, the *that's right* speaker is claiming to be more informed on the matter at hand than the prior speaker (Küttner, 2016, 2018). In claiming now-remembering (with *oh that's right*), however, a speaker is not claiming a higher level of informedness than their co-participant, but rather claims to now be more informed than "their [own] earlier contribution suggested" (Küttner, 2018, p. 116). It is *that's right*'s function in independently endorsing the co-interactant's prior assertion (see Küttner, 2016) that more clearly plays a role in the combination *oh that's right*. With an endorsement, a participant agrees with a co-interactant's prior turn (e.g., assessment) without claiming to be better informed on the matter than the co-participant; a participant indicates that, from their perspective, the contents of the prior turn were 'correct'. In the combination *oh that's right*, *oh* (as do *ach*, *ai*, and *nå*) indexes the change of state and *that's right* asserts the correctness of the prior turn (Küttner, 2018).

In responsive positions, claims of now-remembering are efficient and effective at dealing with certain interactional problems. In responsive positions, a claim of now-remembering is also a claim of temporary forgetfulness, which allows for a participant to account for having previously produced a problematic, either inapposite (see Koivisto, 2013; Küttner, 2018) or disaffiliative (see Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010), action. And in claiming now-remembering, an interactant signals that their prior forgetfulness has now been remedied (through either their co-participant's contribution or their own cognitive processing), and they now have access to the relevant information. Because the forgetfulness is no longer an issue, the participant can withdraw (or, in the case of *nåja*, replace, see Emmertsen & Heinemann, 2010) their prior action and close the sequence. In other words, the participants can move on.[82]

[82] Although sequential closure is common after third-position change-of-state tokens (see Heritage, 1984a), Koivisto (2013) argues that claims of now-remembering, because they signal that a participant's access to the information is not new but rather re-established, may be more strongly sequence-closing implicative than other changes of state, e.g., now-understanding or increased informedness.

Across languages, responsive claims of remembering have similar formats. They are generally combinations consisting of two items: a change-of-state token, which indexes the change of state from not having access to now having access to some information; and some item (a particle, a phrasal format) that asserts the participant's (prior) independent epistemic access (through acknowledgement, confirmation, endorsement of the prior). In my Section 6.4, I analyze the L2-German speaker Rachel's use structurally similar combinations — change-of-state token + *ja* — in sequence-initiating positions in spoken German interaction. I first briefly describe my data for this chapter in the following section.

6.3 Data[83]

The data in this chapter come from Rachel (RAC). Rachel is an undergraduate student at a Canadian university who, at time of recording, was completing her B.A. in German studies. She had already taken two years of university German language courses up to the Common European Framework of Reference's (CEFR) B1 level (see Council of Europe, 2001, 2018). As she had completed additional coursework in German and has sojourned in Germany prior to her participation in the study, her proficiency in German according to the CEFR was likely higher. At time of recording, Rachel was doing a 3-month internship at a large German company and is living in a mid-sized university city. This was her second sojourn in this region of Germany and, as such, she arrived in the city with an already-established circle of friends who are L1-speakers of German and with whom Rachel speaks in German.

In the current chapter, I present excerpts of Rachel's *achja*s from two face-to-face interactions. The earlier interaction is one with Rachel's friend and co-worker Erik (ERK) as he drives Rachel home from their shared place of work, as he did daily. The later interaction is a shared restaurant meal with Ina (INA), one of Rachel's professors from her university in Canada who is visiting the city in which Rachel is living.[84] Both Erik and Ina are L1 speakers of German with whom Rachel regularly speaks German.

[83] For a more complete description of the participant Rachel, the data corpus, and the recording procedures, see Chapter 4.

[84] As a professor for German in Canada, Ina regularly interacts with adult L2 speakers of German; she also completed her graduate studies in North America and regularly works in English. It is likely that Ina's experience with L2 speakers of German and her own competence in English (Rachel's L1) contributes to her and Rachel's co-achievement of interaction. It is, however, unclear how Ina's linguistic history contributes to the competence of

6.4 Analysis

I now analyze Rachel's use of *achja* in her German conversation in the second half of her 3-month sojourn. During this period, Rachel uses *achja* exclusively in sequence-initiating turns, that is, she is not responding to, or receipting, a co-participant's prior talk with *achja*. Similar to Betz & Golato's (2008) *achJA*s, Rachel's *achja*s are never standalone; she always follows *achja* with further talk. Rachel's *achja*s are also always TCU initial. In the following sections, I present my analyses of Rachel's use of *achja* to perform three actions in interaction: to index now-remembering after a search (6.4.1), to do backlinking (6.4.2), and to do resumption (6.4.3). I base my analyses on a collection of 8 instances of sequence-initiating *achja* in 4.5 hours of recorded interaction data from Rachel; I present a summary of the collection in Table 6, below. In my analyses, I demonstrate that each of these uses takes different advantage of *achja*s 'core' function as a particle combination that claims now-remembering. I also discuss how — and whether — Ina orients to Rachel's deployments of *achja*.

Function of sequence-initiating *achja*	**# of instances**
Now-remembering after a search	4
Backlinking	2
Resumption	2

Table 6: Frequency of Rachel's sequence-initiating *achjas* by function

At this point it is important to address the different phonetic variations of *achja* I analyze in this chapter. Rachel's *achja* combinations vary along two dimensions that prior research on German indicate may be of consequence: first in terms of prosodic prominence, with Rachel producing combinations with prominence on the first, the second, or neither syllable; and second in terms of the vowel of the first token, with Rachel realizing the change-of-state token as *ah* [a], *åh* [ɒ], or *oh* [oʊ]. As I discuss in Section 6.2, when in responsive positions, German *achja* differs in its function based on prosodic prominence, with speakers foregrounding one token in the combination over the other. *achJA* (with prominence on *JA*) functions as an index of now-remembering because it foregrounds the confirmation of the information in the prior turn (Betz

Rachel *achja*s, as there is only one case in the corpus of Rachel using the combination with another speaker. See, however, Salaberry and Burch (2021) for discussion of the co-construction of IC.

& Golato, 2008; see also note 74 on ^*achja*). It is, however, unclear what the relationship between prosodic prominence and function is for the combination in non-responsive, sequence-initial position.

The case is similar for the vowel of the first token. German has several lexically distinct tokens that index different changes of state, such as: *ach* for epistemic changes of state, i.e., changes of state to do with access to information (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008); and *oh* for emotional changes of state, such as disappointment or surprise (A. Golato, 2012). German even has tokens that do more than index a change of state; for example, by receipting new information *aha*, as speaker both indexes a now higher level of knowledgeability and marks the information as somehow insufficient (Imo, 2009; Schirm, 2019). The now-remembering that the combination *achja* indexes has to do with the retrieval of *information,* a change of state tied to its first token — *ach*. The research on remembering in conversation, in German and across languages (see Section 6.2) has only described remembering in terms of information retrieval. It is possible that, by using different tokens (i.e., *ah, åh,* and *oh*) in combination with *ja*, Rachel is indexing different kinds of now-remembering, such as the retrieval of information vs. the 'reliving' of some past emotion. It is, however, unclear whether speakers of German index different kinds of now-remembering (beyond information retrieval), and whether they differentiate between these flavours of now-remembering through their choice of change-of-state token. Additionally, the collection of instances of Rachel using a change-of-state token + *ja* is too small to be able to identify whether the variations in change-of-state token also represent different kinds of remembering.

The items I include in the collection for this analysis chapter, however, all share a similar composition: they all consist of a change-of-state token (*ah*, *oh*, and the phonetically similar *åh*) followed by a confirmation/acknowledgement token (*ja*). As I discuss in Section 6.2, that these items share this composition is not insignificant; it is a pattern across languages (including in German) for indexing now-remembering, albeit in sequentially responsive positions. The analytic question of this chapter — RQ 1 (see Section 6.1) — pertains to Rachel's use of these combinations of a change-of-state token and *ja* (which I continue to refer to as *achja* for ease of reading) to do primarily discourse organizational work, that is, to show how the talk following the combination is connected to the preceding talk, to its sequential environment, indeed to the current interactional moment. As my analysis demonstrates, Rachel's *achja*s achieve the work

they do by taking advantage of the now-remembering the combinations index, regardless of the specific change-of-state token in the combination. With the (albeit it small and varied) collection I assembled I can describe *how* (or, in other words, with what strategy) Rachel performs different actions in her L2 interaction, and *whether* those are interactionally competent strategies.

6.4.1 Now-remembering after a search

Searches (most commonly word searches) are a kind of conversational repair (see Schegloff et al., 1977). Repair is a mechanism by which participants can identify and address problems of hearing (e.g., not hearing a prior speaker's turn), speaking (e.g., mispronouncing some lexical item in their own turn), or understanding in conversation in their own or others' talk (Schegloff et al., 1977). Interactants predominantly initiate repair to address some earlier trouble in conversation. Take, for example, the following turn from Ina, which I copy from Excerpt 7 (here reprinted as Excerpt 9):

Excerpt 9: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:47-00:41:48_*Bratkartoffeln*

```
09   INA:   für [ge\=BRATkartoffeln?
            for [fri\=BRATtkartoffeln
10   RAC:       [°hh
```

In line 09, after *für* "for", Ina begins a new word with *ge* (potentially starting *gebratene Kartoffeln* "fried potatoes"); she then cuts off the new word and replaces it with *Bratkartoffeln* (see footnote 69). Repair sequences consist of three, ordered elements: a trouble source (here, *ge*), a repair initiation (here, the cut-off), and the repair solution (here, *Bratkartoffeln*) (Egbert, 2009; Schegloff et al., 1977). In initiating repair, a participant puts the progressivity of the ongoing sequence or talk on hold until the trouble source is addressed; with a repair solution, the talk or sequence resumes (Schegloff et al., 1977).

In a word search, however, no participant has yet produced the trouble source — the trouble source is the yet-to-be produced searched-for item. Take Rachel's utterance in Excerpt 10:

Excerpt 10: RAC_2019.08.13_00:10:38-00:10:39_*Deutschlandleute* "Germany people"

```
02   RAC:   alle die: (.) DEUTSCHlandleute sind hier,
            all the: (.) GERmany people are here,
```

Rachel lengthens the vowel on the definite article *die* relative to the other syllables in the utterance, and there is a micropause after *die*. The lengthening and the micropause suggest that,

in comparison with the rest of her talk, Rachel is having difficulty producing the next item after *die*. As she pronounces *Deutschlandleute* itself with no perceivable difficulty (e.g., she does not stop and start during its production), it is unlikely that the difficulty in producing *Deutchlandleute* is a mechanical one — that is, the trouble does not lie with Rachel's ability to coordinate her speech organs to produce *Deutschlandleute*. The trouble lies rather with Rachel's access to the lexical item *Deutschlandleute*.

Like other kinds of repair, a search consists of three parts: "(1) The search initiation (2) the search process, and (3) the end or resolution of the search" (Betz, 2008, p. 99). Lengthening (e.g., Rachel's *die*), pauses, and other speech perturbations (e.g., Germanäh, Egbert, 2009; or English uh, Schegloff et al., 1977) are common in search initiations, as is gaze withdrawal (i.e., looking away from the co-interactant; M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). Initiating a search — just like initiating any repair — puts the ongoing activity on hold until the search ends. In a search initiation, or directly prior, a participant projects what kind of item they are searching for (Streeck, 1995). In word searches, the searched-for item can be a lexical item (i.e., a word or proper name) or a larger unit (e.g., a phrase). For example, Rachel's *die*, a definite article, projects that the next item is to be a noun phrase. As German encodes grammatical gender or number along with case in its definite articles, *die* projects a narrower range of noun phrases than, for example, an English *the* would: The projected noun will be a feminine or plural noun in the nominative or accusative case. The preceding *alle* "all" further constrains the next-projected noun: It will be plural. When a participant who is performing a word search signals to their co-interactants that they are unable to find the solution (or if they recruit co-participants to assist in finding a solution to the word search), the co-interactant can use features of context — including grammatical projection — to formulate candidate solutions to the word search (M. H. Goodwin, 1983).

Rachel's search process is relatively unmarked; she does not produce any talk (such as repeating *die*, describing what she is searching for, or metacomments about the cognitive process of searching) after the search initiation and before the end of the search.[85] And, as is the default,

[85] It is, of course, possible that Rachel is marking the search process using multimodal resources such as gaze, gesture, or facial expression (e.g., a 'thinking face, see M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). Because this interaction was only audio (and not video) recorded, it is not possible to know if Rachel was employing multimodal resources during the search process.

Rachel does not mark the end of the search; she produces the searched for lexical item (*Deutschlandleute*) and continues her TCU in progress with the finite verb.

I now widen Excerpt 10 to inspect another kind of search Rachel performs in interaction. At the beginning of Excerpt 11 (taken from the same meal interaction between Rachel and Ina as Excerpt 7), Rachel finishes explaining to Ina that many of her friends (the *Deutschlandleute* "Germany people") from her previous sojourn are still living with her in the same student residence. Rachel closes this explanation with the positive assessment *das war SCHÖN* "that was NICE" in line 03 (see Schegloff, 2007, on sequence/topic closure).

Excerpt 11: RAC_2019.08.13_00:10:36-00:10:56_*weinprobe* "wine tasting"

```
01   RAC:   aber ja.
            but yeah.

02          alle die: (.) DEUTSCHlandleute sind hier,
            all the: (.) GERmany people are here,

03          so (.) das[86] war SCHÖN,
            so (.) that was NICE,

04   INA:   h[hh°
05   RAC:    [(genau)
             [(exactly)

06   RAC:   un:d äh::m (.) S::A:MSta:g.
            an:d uh::m (.) S::A:Turda:y.

07=>        ↑AHja;_am samstag ich war ähm
            ↑AHja;_on saturday i was uhm

08          also (.)
            so (.)

09          mein:: mein job in kanada bei diesem WEINagentur?
            my:: my job in canada at that WINE company?

10   INA:   ja.   mm[hm,        ja.    ]
            yeah. mm[hm,        yeah   ]
11   RAC:          [((schmatzt)) so   ]
                   [((smacks lips)) so]

12   RAC:   °hh sie haben ein:: WEINprobe für misch organisiert,
            °hh they organized a:: WINE tasting for me,

13          °h in bad STÄRKheim,
            °h in ((place name)),

14   INA:   <<:-)> ja.> oh LECKer;
            <<:-)> yeah.> oh deLIcious;
```

[86] It is unclear from the recording to what Rachel's *das* "that" in line 03 is referring. The formulation *das war schön* "that was nice", with its use of the simple past, suggests Rachel is speaking about an event in the past; prior to this point in the recording, however, Rachel makes no reference to a prior event involving her local friends (the *Deutschlandleute* "Germany people").

In line 06, Rachel does three things that indicate she is having trouble producing the next item: She utters *ähm* "uhm", lengthens both *und* "and" and *ähm*, and she inserts a micropause. She is initiating a search. However, unlike *die* in Excerpt 10, *und* in this context places little constraint on what can come next. Syntactically, this TCU-initial *und* occupies the *pre-front field* (Auer, 1996, 1997) of the upcoming TCU (see also Section 5.3). While *und* could project, for example, the next (or last) item in an ongoing list, an *und* in the pre-front field projects as a next a grammatical unit that can occupy the front field. German syntax allows for noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverb phrases, prepositional phrases, as well as subordinating clauses to occupy the front field.[87] This *und* thus places little grammatical constraint on what the search solution could be.

Although German syntax allows for *und* to project a relatively wide selection of next items in the TCU, the local context places constraints on what kinds of turn/TCU would be pragmatically fitting. In line 03, Rachel (possibly) closes the prior topic of her residence friends; in this context, participants can either extend the closed topic or open a new topic (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).[88] That is, Rachel is either adding to the previous topic (about the friends in her residence), or beginning a new topic.

After the micropause in line 06, Rachel produces a lengthened *SAMstag* "SATurday". The lengthening indicates that it is not the day of the week that Rachel is searching for; rather, *SAMstag* is part of the second phase of searches: the search process. Unlike Excerpt 10, which had linguistically unmarked search process, Rachel's time reference *SAMstag* here puts on display the "information processing [...] or other 'backstage' work involved in producing [the] utterance" (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 116). As Rachel has yet to mention a Saturday up until this point in the interaction, she is also opening a new topic (presumably about some planned event on the upcoming Saturday or an event that occurred on the previous Saturday). It is also clear that it is not some lexical item or phrase for which Rachel is searching. While the lengthening on *SAMstag* indicates the search is ongoing, in terms of content, it is also part of the solution, as it

[87] Essentially, any grammatical unit other than a verb phrase, unless the verb is in the imperative mood.

[88] At topic closings, making moves towards closing the conversation is also possible (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Rachel and Ina, however, have yet to receive and consume their ordered meals and closing the interaction before this point would mean aborting a central feature of meal interactions: the meal. Rachel and Ina are, thus, in a "continuing state of incipient talk" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 325) in which a topic closure prior to the end of the main business of the interaction (here, eating a meal) does not commonly lead to conversation closing moves.

carries information related to the new topic: something occurred on the past Saturday or will occur on the following Saturday.

In line 07, Rachel utters a TCU that syntactically fits *und* in line 06 (*am samstag ich war* "on saturday I was").[89] By using the simple past *war* "was", Rachel indicates the item of her search in line 06 was the information regarding an event in her past. Unlike her search for *Deutschlandleute* in Excerpt 10, Rachel marks the end of the search process before beginning to produce its solution: she utters a TCU-initial ↑*AHja;* — with a pitch peak on *AH* (indicated with ↑). With *ähm* in line 07, Rachel puts her telling on hold; she utters an *also* in line 08 and then, in line 09, a try-marked (through rising final intonation) TCU regarding her previous employment at a wine company in Canada (*mein job in kanada bei diesem WEINagentur* "my job in canada at that WINE company"). As Ina produces a *ja* "yes" in line 10, Rachel's TCU in line 09 was apparently a check that some (background) information to the upcoming telling is Rachel and Ina's common ground, which Ina confirms in line 10 (see Mandelbaum, 2013). In lines 12 and 13, Rachel utters the climax of the storytelling: her former employer organized a wine tasting for her in a nearby town (which is famous in Germany for its vineyards). Ina receipts and assesses the wine tasting positively in line 14 with *oh lecker* "oh delicious".

Let us return to the TCU Rachel begins to produce after ↑*AHja;* in line 07. While the climax in lines 12 and 13 does not include the day of the week (Saturday) and has a third-person plural subject (*sie* "they") rather than a first-person singular subject (*ich* "I"), from the point of view of the analyst (but not from the perspective of Rachel's co-interactant Ina), it is conceivable that, in line 07, Rachel was in the middle of announcing (a version of) the information contained in the (later) climax: that she attended a wine tasting on Saturday (e.g., *Am Samstag ich war [auf einer Weinprobe]* "On Saturday I was [at a wine tasting]"). That is, Rachel was beginning to produce the tellable, and it is this tellable for which Rachel was searching. In the search process, with *Samstag* in line 06, Rachel is displaying that she *is in the process of regaining* cognitive access to some event; with the utterance of ↑*AHja.* in line 07, Rachel claims that she *has regained*

[89] In German, the main verb in an independent declarative clause is always in second position, after the item in front field. When the front-field item is occupied by something other than the subject, the verb and subject invert, and the subject moves to the position after the main verb (i.e., front field => main verb => subject). Following this syntax, this TCU in line 07 would be *am Samstag war ich*, lit. "on Saturday was I". Rachel, however, often does not invert the verb and subject; that is, as in line 07 in Excerpt 11, Rachel places her verb after the subject when the front field is occupied by a non-subject phrase (i.e., front field => subject => main verb). This is not always the case (see *das mach ich* "that do I" in line 05 of Excerpt 12); however, an investigation of the systematicity of Rachel's subject-verb inversion (and lack thereof) is beyond the scope of the current work.

access to that event, i.e., she has now remembered it. With the following announcement — even though she does not complete it — Rachel displays this now-remembering.

Before analyzing a similar instance of *achja*, I summarize the contextual features surrounding Rachel's ↑*AHja;* in Excerpt 11: (1) First, after closing a topic, Rachel initiates a search with a lengthened *und ähm* "and uhm" (line 06); (2) she vocally marks the search process with the lengthening of the *Samstag* (line 06); (3) she utters ↑*AHja;*, indexing now-remembering (line 07); (4) she begins to produce the searched-for item, an event in her past (*am samstag war ich* "on saturday i was", line 07); (5) she cuts off the unit in progress and utters *also* (line 08); (6) she initiates a telling by producing background information (line 09); (7) she utters the climax of the storytelling (lines 12 and 13). All instances in the collection of Rachel's use of *achja* in searches share these contextual features, including the following excerpt. While the *achja*s themselves are neither turn-initial nor TCU-initial, their placement after the end of a topic closure, their contribution to the opening of a story telling sequence, and that they are not located in a sequentially responsive TCU[90] make them sequence-*initial achja*s. And in this sequence initial position, Rachel is using *achja* to signal to Ina how to interpret the upcoming talk, namely as a now-remembered past event. That is, Rachel is using *achja* as a discourse marker.

In Excerpt 12, Rachel is telling Ina about her experiences cooking — which Rachel calls a new-found love (not in transcript) — in Germany. At the beginning of the excerpt, Rachel is finishing explaining to Ina that, the next time she (Rachel) makes *penne alla vodka*, she will purée the sauce so that the pieces of onion are not too large; this modification to the recipe is to what Rachel's *das* "that" in her upshot formulation line 01 refers. Ina, in line 02, receipts Rachel's plan to implement the proposed modification with *okay ja* "okay yeah". After possibly uttering *zun ZWIEbeln* "to the Onions", Ina re-receipts in line 03 with *mmHM*; in line 05, Rachel redoes the conclusion from line 01, re-formulating her plan to modify the recipe (*nächstes mal das MACH isch* "next time i('ll) DO that"). In doing so, Rachel creates another opportunity for Ina to receipt, and possibly more strongly endorse, Rachel's planned recipe modification; Ina re-receipts in line 06 with another *mmHM*, albeit with stronger rising intonation than her *mmHM* in line 03 (see Schegloff, 2007).

[90] This last point is of particular importance, because responsive *achja* can constitute its own TCU and stand-alone turn (Betz & Golato, 2008; see also Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, on tokens and turn-initial position).

Excerpt 12: RAC_2019_08.13_00:32:36-00:33:01_*chicken paprikash*

```
01   RAC:   so nächstes mal [das WEIß isch—    ]
            so  next  time  [i KNOW that-      ]
02   INA:                   [okay ja.      (zun] ZWIEbeln,)
                            [okay yeah. (to the] Onions,)

03   INA:   mm[HM,
04   RAC:     [ja.
              [yeah.

05   RAC:   ähm: ja. also (.) nächstes mal das MACH isch;
            uhm: yeah. so (.) next time i('ll) DO that;

06   INA:   mmHM?

07   RAC:   un:d was noch—
            an:d what else-

08=>        ähm ↑`AHja, isch hab AUK gelernt
            uhm ↑`AHja, i ALso learned

09          also ein: (.) anderer freund von mir?=
            so a: (.) other friend of mine?=

10          =also (.)
            =so (.)

11          er hat (.) letztes jahr auf dem ZWEIten gewohnt? °h
            he has (.) last year on the SEcond lived? °h
            he lived on the second (floor) last year?

12   RAC:   a[be:r ] seine freundin (.) wohnt: mit mir auf dem ERsten,
            b[u:t  ] his girlfriend (.) lives with me on the FIRST (floor),
13   INA:    [mmhm,]

14   INA:   mm[hm
15   RAC:     [°h also er ist immer wieder noch dabei,
              [°h so he is always around,

16   RAC:   °h und er kommt aus UNgarn,
            °h and he's from HUNgary,

17   INA:   o[kay]
18   RAC:    [und] er hat mi:r chicken PAprikasch beib\ beigebracht.
             [and] he tau\ taught me (how to make) chicken  PAprikash.

19   INA:   mmhm:[:.]
20   RAC:        [oh] das war SO: lEcker,
                 [oh] that was SO: delIcious,
```

The context of Rachel's ↑`*AHja,* in Excerpt 12 shares many features with Excerpt 11: In line 07, Rachel produces a lengthened *und* "and", initiating a search. Also in line 07, Rachel utters *was noch* "what else", vocalizing the search process, suggesting the search is for an item related to larger topic — Rachel's experiences cooking. In line 08, Rachel utters *ähm*, maintaining the floor for the ongoing the search; this is followed by ↑`*AHja,* — with a pitch peak (indicated by "↑")

and falling intonation contour (indicated with " ` ") on *AH* — and *isch hab AUK gelernt* "i ALso learned". With her use here of the present perfect (with the auxiliary *haben* conjugated in the present tense and the past participle of *lernen* "to learn"), Rachel is making an announcement regarding a (learning) event in the past; with the adverb *auk* "also", Rachel is adding the learned item (which she has not yet uttered) to an ongoing list of items she has learned. As with the talk following ↑`*AHja.* in Excerpt 11, Rachel is producing here in line 08 a solution to her search.

Rachel, however, stops the TCU before she utters a verb complement to *gelernt*; she has not yet said what she learned. In line 09, Rachel utters *also* and refers to non-present friend (*also ein: (.) anderer freund von mir* "so a: (.) other friend of mine"). After another *also* in line 10, she explains to Ina her relationship to this other friend, namely that they lived in the same student residence at the same time (line 11) and that Rachel lives on the same floor as his girlfriend (line 12). Rather than saying what she had learned, Rachel is now giving background information; she is telling a story (Mandelbaum, 2013). In line 16, the background information continues as Rachel states the nationality of her friend (*und er kommt aus UNgarn* "and he's from HUNgary"). In lines 18, Rachel formulates the climax of her telling: her Hungarian friend taught her how to make a traditionally Hungarian dish, chicken paprikash.

As in Excerpt 11, the turn component following Rachel's ↑`*AHja,* in line 08 indicates what it was Rachel was searching: the event of learning how to make chicken paprikash (rather than the background information in lines 09, 11, 12, 15, and 16). Given the climax in line 18, Rachel's *isch hab auk gelernt* "I also learned" in line 08 conceivably projects a verb complement containing similar information as lines 18, such as *wie man chicken paprikasch macht* "how to make chicken paprikash". With *was noch* "what else" in line 07 verbalizing Rachel's search process, she indicates she is in the process of retrieving an item related to the ongoing topic concerning her past, her experiences cooking. With ↑`*AHja,*, Rachel marks the end of the search for that past experience: she has now remembered it.

In Excerpt 11 and Excerpt 12, cutting off the announcement after *achja* before grammatical completion allows Rachel to deliver a tellable event as a telling. In conversation, the turn-taking system typically allots one TCU at a time to participants; once a participant has produced an entire TCU, there a TRP. In storytelling sequences, this feature of the turn-taking system is suspended: participants allot the teller several TCUs in order to tell their story. Story recipients commonly produce continues (e.g., *mmhm, ja* "yeah"), assessments (*e.g., oh wow!, oh lecker* "oh

delicious"), and/or embodied actions (e.g., nodding, see Stivers, 2008) during a telling to indicate their understanding of, continued recipiency of, and (dis)affiliation with the story; such responses contribute to and shape the ongoing storytelling (Mandelbaum, 2013). Other kinds of recipient responses b— in particular "repair-like moves that critique the speaker's talk" (M. H. Goodwin, 1997, p. 79) — endanger a storytelling. They can derail the telling and potentially lead it to a premature end. In order to suspend turn-exchange and tell a story to its end, a teller must signal to their recipients that they (the teller) are launching a storytelling, and this must be recognizable in the opening of the storytelling (Mandelbaum, 2013; Sacks, 1986). References, such as references to persons (Excerpt 12, line 09: *also ein: (.) anderer freund von mir* "so a: (.) other friend of mine"), time (Excerpt 11, line 07: *am samstag* "on saturday"), or other objects (Excerpt 11, line 09: *mein job in kanada bei diesem WEINagentur* "my job in canada at that WINE company"), can effectively signal the launch of a story when their relevance to the ongoing interaction is not yet clear; recipients give the teller the opportunity to make the relevance of the reference explicit. For example, in Excerpt 12, the relevance of Rachel's reference to another friend of hers (line 09) is unclear at the point of its production, as the ongoing topic is Rachel's cooking experiences (and not her friends). And Ina does allow Rachel the floor for a telling, producing only continuers (lines 12, 14, 17, 19).

While the possible completion of Rachel's turn in line 7 of Excerpt 11, "on Saturday I was [at a wine tasting]", may function to launch a storytelling (its relevance to the prior topic, Rachel's roommates in her student residence, remains to be unpacked), the relevance of "I also learned [how to make chicken paprikash]" in Excerpt 12 would be clear in its context: It is an additional dish Rachel has learned to cook as part of her experiences cooking. In stopping these post-*achja* TCUs before they are grammatically complete, Rachel changes her course of action, from simply reporting some event in her past (which would not suspend turn-taking and create a space at which Ina could take the floor) to formulating a telling about the past event. And in producing these events as tellings, Rachel also has the floor to background information that arguably makes the events more 'tellable' without competition for the floor: In Excerpt 11, she refers to her former employer (a wine company) in line 09, Rachel recasts the wine tasting from a 'general' tasting to one organized by wine professionals; in Excerpt 12, she recasts the Hungarian dish chicken paprikash as another recipe she has learned to one a Hungarian taught her. In these *achja* environments, Rachel is not using only her linguistic L2 resources to place her cognitive

processing (i.e., the search process with *Samstag* and *was noch*, now-remembering with *achja*) on display for Ina, she is also using those resources to make these events more tellable.[91]

In these analyses, I described how Rachel takes advantage of the function of the particle combination *achja* to claim now-remembering to address some other interactional issue (Betz & Golato, 2008). She uses the combination (realized as ↑*AHja* with a pitch peak on *AH*) to mark the end of the search and retrieval of a searched-for event from her past. In these environments, Rachel initiates a search with a lengthened *und*, verbalizes the search process prior to ↑*AHja*, and utters a partial solution following ↑*AHja*. She then stops the utterance of the solution and delivers it as a telling. Sequentially, these ↑*AHja*s are sequence-initiating, as in both cases Rachel was engaged in a word search and Ina had not produced talk prior to ↑*AHja*. Similar to *achja*, however, Rachel's ↑*AHja*s are not standalone, but are followed by turn components that display that Rachel has now remembered.

Before I turn to Rachel's other uses of *achja*, I would first like to address the issue of recognizability, that is whether there is evidence in the interaction that Ina also understands Rachel to be marking the end of a search with ↑*AHja* in Excerpt 11 and Excerpt 12. First, because interactants do not always mark the end of successful searches, simply producing the search solution and resuming progressivity signals that the search is over (see, e.g., Excerpt 10). That is, because there is no end marker to a search does not mean the end marking is absent[92] or, in other words, it is unclear whether Ina would have held Rachel accountable had she (Rachel) not marked the end of the search with ↑*AHja*. Second, because of how Rachel designs her turns following the search — cutting off the first TCU after the search (thereby skipping over a TRP) and then beginning a storytelling with background information (and thereby claiming the floor for several TCUs) — there is little opportunity for Ina to take the floor to display her understanding of Rachel's ↑*AHja*s without initiating repair — which would stop the progressivity of Rachel's storytelling (and potentially endanger the telling activity, see M. H. Goodwin, 1997). Ina's understanding of Rachel's ↑*AHja*s is not publicly available, neither to Rachel nor to the

[91] Whether Rachel succeeds in making these events more tellable is variable. In Excerpt 11, after the climax in lines 12 and 13, Ina assesses the wine tasting positively with *oh lecker* "oh delicious" in line 14, affiliating with Rachel (Stivers, 2008), i.e., taking the same stance that the wine tasting was a positive event. In contrast, in Excerpt 12, in response to the climax that Rachel learned how to make chicken paprikash (line 18), Ina produces a continuer *mmhm* in line 19. This may, however, be due to Ina not being familiar with the dish or its anglicized name.

[92] Speaking of the absence of an end-of-word-search marker is itself potentially problematic, as it implies that the ends of word searches regularly have a dedicated marker, which is not the case (see Betz, 2008; M. H. Goodwin, 1983; M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986).

analyst, leaving the question of the recognizability of Rachel's ↑*AHja*s in marking the end of a search an open one.

These ↑*AHja*s represent those in the collection that the most functionally similar to Betz and Golato's (2008) descriptions of *achJA*, in that they embody the act of remembering. In the following two sections, I show how Rachel uses *achja*-claims of now-remembering to connect turns over longer periods of talk, to do backlinking (Section 6.4.2, next) and resumption (Section 6.4.3).

6.4.2 Backlinking

In interaction, by default, interactants interpret each other's turns in relation to what came before (Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, 2007). For example, in conversation openings, interactants do not interpret second greetings the way they do a first greeting, even if they are the same greeting form: a first *hello* from one interactant signals their availability to interact to another and requests another interactant signal their availability in response; a second *hello* from the co-interactant signals their (now mutual) availability to interact and that the interactants can/ought to move onto the business of the interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). A first greeting begets a second, but a second greeting does not beget a third. After the completion of greeting sequence, the interaction is underway, and there is no need (and thus no place) for a further greeting sequence until the next encounter.

Interactants can also connect some current turn or TCU with some other-than-prior utterance. For example, speakers of English use *misplacement markers* (e.g., *by the way*) to introduce new interactional business when the interactants have already completed a pre-closing sequence (i.e., have indicated to each other that they have no more new business to bring up) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Interactants can also pick up conversation topics from earlier in their interactional history; Keevallik (2013) found that, in Estonian interaction, interactants preface initiating actions with *no(h)* to retrieve and continue some activity or topic in their shared interactional history. *No(h)*-prefaces therefore accomplish "a continuing relationship between the current participants" (Keevallik, 2013, p. 282).

Rachel uses *achja* to similarly signal to her co-interactant to search in their shared interactional history to interpret the upcoming TCU. Let us take the following excerpt from Rachel and Ina's shared restaurant meal. The interactants have received and started eating their

meals, Rachel a schnitzel with *Bratkartoffeln* (see note 69) and Ina a *Flammkuchen*. In line 03, Ina asks Rachel how she is finding her schnitzel.

Excerpt 13: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:00-00:41:32_*wollen sie probieren* "do you want to try"

```
01          ((Essgeräusche, 3.0 Sek))
            ((eating sounds, 3.0 secs))

02   RAC:   °h

03   INA:   wie is das SCHNItzel?
            how is the SCHNItzel?

04   RAC:   SEHR gut;
            VEry gut;

05   INA:   [ja?  ]
            [yeah?]
06=> RAC:   [oh  J]A;

07   RAC:   wollen sie proBIEren;
            do you want to TRY;

08   INA:   mmHM.

09   RAC:   [kay ]
10   INA:   [nur ] ein kleines_STÜCK—
            [just] a small PIECE—
```

Ina's question in line 03 is requesting that Rachel assess her schnitzel, which Rachel does — positively — in line 04 (*SEHR gut* "VEry good"). Ina receipts Rachel's assessment in third position with an upward-intonation *ja* "yeah" in line 05; in overlap with Ina's receipt, Rachel utters *oh JA;* (with stress and falling final intonation on *ja*), a combination of the emotional change-of-state token *oh* (see Golato, 2012) and the acknowledgement token *ja* "yeah". Rachel then offers Ina a piece of her schnitzel (line 07: *wollen sie proBIEren* "do you want to TRY"), an offer which Ina accepts in line 06; she then specifies how much she would like to try in line 10 (*nur ein kleines STÜCK* "just a small PIECE").[93]

[93] Ina's request for an assessment is potentially itself eliciting an offer for schnitzel, or preparing the ground for such an offer from Rachel. In her analysis of compliments and compliments responses in German, Golato (2005) found that, in meal interactions, a guest can use a compliment as they are finishing their portion of food to elicit an offer of an additional portion from their host (should an additional portion be readily available). Although there is no research on requests for assessments of food during meal interactions, Ina's question in line 03 similarly takes advantage of the current juncture in the meal (the participants having just received their food) to "maximize the occurrence of an offer" (A. Golato, 2005, p. 105) from Rachel.

Rachel prefaces her offer with a turn-initial *oh ja*[94] in line 06. Interactants commonly use turn-initial position to signal to co-interactants how they (the co-interactants) should interpret the following turn in relation to the local sequential context (Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b). It is, however, difficult to determine based on Excerpt 13 alone what Rachel is signalling to Ina with *oh ja*. An offer of sharing food is fitted after a request-for-assessment sequence of that food; Rachel's offer is thus fitted to the local context.

This is not, however, the first time Rachel's schnitzel was a topic in this interaction. In the following Excerpt 14, taken 39 minutes earlier in the same interaction (when the interactants are deciding what to order), Ina asks Rachel if she, indeed, will order a schnitzel (line 03).

Excerpt 14: RAC_2019.08.13_00:01:59-00:02:16_*und wird's en Schnitzel* "and is it going to be a schnitzel"

```
01          (4.0)

02   RAC:   okay.

03   INA:   und, wird's en SCHNITzel?
            and, is it going to be a SCHNITzel?

04   RAC:   isch denk JA.
            i think YES.

05   INA:   ECHT,
            REALly,

06   RAC:   eH[Ehehe                          ][°h    ja. ]
            eH[Ehehe                          ][°h   yeah.]
07   INA:     [<<all> ehehehe>  <<lachend> j][a   oKAY.>]=
              [<<all> ehehehe> <<laughing> y][eah oKAY.>]=

08   INA:   =dann muss ich das auch proBIEren [glaub ich.]
            =then  i  have  to   TRY  it  too [i  think. ]
09   RAC:                                     [°hh       ]

10   RAC:   [ja   KLAR.     ]
            [yeah of course.]
11   INA:   [     °hh       ] ein stück von ihrm SCHNITzel;
            [     °hh       ] a piece of your SCHNITzel;

12   RAC:   <<pp> hm hm hm> ((=Lachen))
            <<pp> hm hm hm> ((=laughter))

13   INA:   hab ich schon (xxx) voll LANG nich mehr gegessen.
            i haven't had it in a LONG time.

14          (.)

15   RAC:   hm. [ts:;    ]
```

[94] While Rachel's *oh ja* could be interpreted, based on the transcript alone, as an upgrade to her assessment in line 04, in the recording it is not hearable as such. Determining how to capture in the transcript the phonetic differences between upgrading *oh ja* and Rachel's *oh ja* in line 04 is, however, outside the scope of this dissertation.

```
16   INA:       [jetzt  w]EIß ich aber nicht was ich TRINKen soll.
                [now   kn]OW  i   but  not   what i  DRINK should.
                [ but now] I don't know what I should have to drink.
```

In line 04, Rachel answers Ina's question affirmatively with *isch denk JA.* "i think YES". After Ina's newsmark *ECHT* "REALly" in line 05 (see Gubina & Betz, 2021; Jefferson, 1981) and overlapping laughter (with a confirming *ja* "yeah" from Rachel) in lines 06 and 07, Ina states that she will have to try the schnitzel, unpacking/specifying *das* "it" in line 11 as Rachel's schnitzel. Ina is making a deferred request of Rachel, stating a desire to try Rachel's (future) schnitzel; and Rachel projects a granting of the request in line 10. As Rachel does not yet have the schnitzel, she cannot yet fulfill the request. Ina is thus creating an opportunity (see Kendrick & Drew, 2016) for Rachel to offer her some of her schnitzel to try once it arrives (39 minutes later).

Let's return to Excerpt 13. Ina's question in line 03 re-topicalizes Rachel's schnitzel and creates an opportunity for Rachel to make an offer. By prefacing the offer with *oh JA;*, a change-of-state and acknowledgment token combination — a recurrent combination for claims of now-remembering in German and across languages (see Section 6.2, this chapter) —, Rachel claims now-remembering (prompted by Ina's question in in Excerpt 13, line 03) of Ina's earlier request (Excerpt 14, lines 08 and 11) and Rachel's promise to grant it (Excerpt 14, line 10). Or, in other words, Rachel claims temporary forgetfulness to account for only now offering Ina a piece of the schnitzel — at the second opportunity Ina creates with *wie is das SCHNItzel?* "how is the SCHNItzel?" (Excerpt 13, line 03) — rather than at an earlier opportunity (i.e., any time after the schnitzel's arrival at the table). With *oh JA*, Rachel is *linking* her upcoming turn *back* to the earlier request sequence concerning the schnitzel.

In accepting Rachel's offer in line 08 (Excerpt 13), Ina demonstrates that she has recognized the main business of Rachel's turn: to make an offer. But, while Rachel using *oh ja* (line 06) to link back to the earlier topic and Ina's expressed desire to try the schnitzel (and thereby orienting her shared interactional history with Ina), Ina does not orient to the earlier schnitzel topic (e.g., by treating Rachel's offer as pending). Whereas offering was the turn's main job, backlinking (with *oh ja*) is some less official, off-the-record Rachel does in her turn and, as such, is not some business that Ina's response need address (see Levinson, 2013). A display of recognition from Ina of the backlinking Rachel's *oh ja* accomplishes is thus not required to maintain the progressivity of the interaction; such a display could even be potentially problematic, as it would

make Rachel's language use (and not the offer) the conversation business in the here-and-now (Levinson, 2013).

Unlike other kinds of methods for connecting some upcoming talk to some other-than-prior, such as skip-connecting (Sacks, 1992, p. 349) or resumption (Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001), Rachel's backlinking *achja*s do *not* link back to and pick up on some *not-yet-complete* sequence, project, topic, or activity. Rather, with backlinking *achja*, Rachel connects the upcoming TCU with some earlier closed or pending activity. This is also the case in Excerpt 15. In this excerpt (which begins ten seconds after the end of Excerpt 13), Rachel and Ina have successfully transferred a piece of Rachel's schnitzel to Ina's plate; at the beginning of this excerpt, the interactants are eating their meals.

Excerpt 15: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:42-00:41:58_*ich kann die auch gut machen* "I can make them well too"

```
01          ((Essgeräusche, 2.0 Sek))
            ((eating noises, 2.0 secs))

02   INA:   ((beißt in den Flammkuchen))
            ((bites into the Flammkuchen))

03   RAC:   muss ich sagen,
            i have to say

04          diese sind eigentlich nicht BRATkartoffeln?
            these aren't actually BRATkartoffeln?

05          aber °h
            but °h

06=>        ÅHja. ich kann die AUK gut machen.=
            ÅHja.  i can make them well TOO.=

07   INA:   =stimmt. °hh
            =(that's) right. °hh

08   RAC:   ich hab viele gute reZEPte gefunden?
            i found a lot of good REcipes?

09   INA:   für [ge\=BRATkartoffeln?
            for [fri\=BRATtkartoffeln?
10   RAC:       [°hh

11   RAC:   mm?mm[:.
12   INA:        [ja.
                 [yeah.

((Rachel continues to explain that seasoning is what differentiates
Bratkartoffeln from other potato dishes))
```

After a lapse in talk due to eating (lines 01 and 02), Rachel notices and announces that the *Bratkartoffeln* that came with her schnitzel do not fulfill the criteria of *Bratkartoffeln*, thus

negatively assessing the *Bratkartoffeln* on her plate. In line 06, Rachel announces that she can make *Bratkartoffeln* well, too, prefacing the announcement with *ÅHja*. (with prosodic prominence on *ÅH* and falling final intonation). Given that Rachel just negatively assessed the *Bratkartoffeln* on her plate, it is unlikely that, with *auk* "too" in line 06, Rachel is announcing that she — like the person who prepared her meal — can also make *Bratkartoffeln* well. Instead, with *auk* "too", she is marking *Bratkartoffeln* as a next item to a list of dishes she can cook well. In the current sequence, however, there is no such ongoing list to which Rachel can add. However, earlier in the same interaction (before they received their meals), Rachel shared with Ina her newfound *Liebe fürs Kochen* "love of cooking" by listing (through series of tellings) her experiences trying and learning different recipes, including: penne alla vodka, chicken paprikash (see Excerpt 12), and butter chicken. In Excerpt 16, Rachel talks about cooking paprika schnitzel — an unbreaded schnitzel in a paprika sauce.

Excerpt 16: RAC_2019_08_13_00:34:39-00:35:25_*Paprikaschnitzel* "paprika schnitzel"

```
01   RAC:   äh:m: (.) und °h ich hab es N:OCH nicht gemacht?
            uh:m: (.) and °h i haven't made it Y:ET?

02          aber diese:: paprika::SCHNItzel?
            but tha::t paprika:: SCHNITzel?

03   INA:   (.) ((kaut)) ja. ((kaut weiter))
            (.) ((chews)) yeah. ((continues chewing))

04   RAC:   ähm (0.3) also Ungarische (0.3) [SCHNI]tzel oder so,
            uhm (0.3) like hungArian (0.3)  [SCHNI]tzel or whatever,
05   INA:                                   [pap\ ]

06   INA:   ja,
            yeah,

07   RAC:   ähm ich hab ein: [super    ]
            uhm i have a:    [super    ]
08   INA:                   [   ne,_al]so nich paNIE:RT.=sondern
                            [right,_li]ke not BREAded.=but

09   RAC:   geNAU.
            eXACtly.

10   RAC:   [ja.  ]
            [yeah.]
11   INA:   [  ja.] wie so JÄgerschnitzel im prinzip—=ja,
            [yeah.] like JÄgerschnitzel[95] basically-=yeah,

12   RAC:   ja.
            yeah.

13          °h ((schmatzt))    [so i]ch hab ein reZEPT gefunden?=
            °h ((smacks lips)) [so i] found a REcipe?=
```

[95] *Jägerschnitzel* is a kind of unbreaded schnitzel served with a creamy mushroom sauce.

14 INA: [mmHM]

15 RAC: <<all> ich hab es> NOCH nich gemacht?=
<<all> i have it> YET not made?=
I haven't made it yet?=

16 =weil es ist AUCH viel auswand[96]?
=because it's ALso a lot of work?

17 °hh [äh:m]
18 INA: [mmhm]

19 RAC: aber isch denke isch w\ werde <<dim> das NOCH mal machen;>=
but i think i w\ will <<all> make it again;>=

20 RAC: =<<all> ich habe schon in kanada> verSUCHT?
=<<all> i have already in canada> TRIED?
I already tried in Canada?

21 °h ich hab ein re[zept] gefunden,=
°h i have a re[cipe] found,=
I found a recipe,
22 INA: [(mm)hm?]

23 RAC: =es war oKA:Y,
=it was oKA:Y,

24 °h aber isch denke dieses: rezept is\
°h but i think this: recipe is

25 es is geNAU was isch will.
it's eXACtly what i want.

26 INA: mmHM,=

27 RAC: =so (.) ja.
=so (.) yeah.

28 INA: mmHM,

29 RAC: ja. (.) isch bin gespannt;
yeah. (.) i'm excited;

30 (0.3)

31 RAC: so (.) [ja.]
[*yeah.*]
32 INA: [als]o ihre küche im wohnheim is ä:h
[*s]o your kitchen in the residence is u:h*

32a[97] durchaus (0.4) gut (0.3) beSTÜCKT,

---

[96] There is no word *Auswand* in standard German (see Dudenredaktion, n.d.-b). Here I assume Rachel intends to say *Aufwand* "effort", based on the context (i.e., describing a task), syntactic placement (i.e., after *viel* "a lot") as well as the similar word formation (i.e., preposition *aus/auf* + *Wand*) and phonology (*Auswand* [ˈaʊ̯svant], *Aufwand* [ˈaʊ̯fvant]) of the two items. Ina's continuer *mmhm* in line 18 also indicates she has no trouble understanding Rachel's *Auswand* (see Schegloff, 1982, on continuers). I therefore treat this item in my translation and analysis as *Aufwand*.

[97] GAT-2 conventions for a basic transcript require that each line of transcript contain an intonation phrase, i.e., a phrase with a single focus accent and final intonation (Selting et al., 2009, 2011). When an intonation phrase is too long to appear on one line of transcript due to formatting, I break the intonation phrase into several lines but label

```
            quite (0.4) well (0.3) eQUIPPED,

33   RAC:   j:a. mmHM_h°
            y:eah. mmHM_h°

34          äh:m  ja  es is[: ]
            uh:m yeah it is[: ]
35   INA:                  [ma]n kann da (alloch) alles KOchen?
                           [on]e can cook everything (in) there?

36   RAC:   ((schmatzt)) °h ja: es es: GEHT;=
            ((smacks lips)) °h ye:ah it's it's oKAY;=

37          =also (.) es gibt gemeinsame: beSTECKT und geSCHIRR,
            =so (.) there's shared CUTlery and DISHes,

38   INA:   [mmHM,]
39   RAC:   [°hh  ]

((Rachel shifts to complaining about her roommates not cleaning up
after themselves in the kitchen.))
```

In lines 01 and 02, Rachel presents paprika schnitzel as a dish she would like to try making, and in line 04 she reformulates *Paprikaschnitzel* as *ungarische Schnitzel* "Hungarian schnitzel". In line 08 to 11, Ina checks her understanding of the kind of schnitzel Rachel is referring to. In line 13 to 19, Rachel continues to announce her future plans to try a new recipe for paprika schnitzel she has found, and in lines 20 to 23 tells Ina of her less-than-ideal previous attempt in Canada at making it (line 23: *es war oKA:Y* "it was oKA:Y"). In lines 27 to 31, the activity of listing dishes winds down, with Rachel signalling closure and readiness to move to a new topic with *so ja* in lines 27 and 31.

In line 32/32a, Ina changes the topic, using a declarative question to ask Rachel about the cooking facilities in her residence. Rachel answers affirmatively in line 33 (*ja* "yeah") and projects more talk on the topic in 34 with *ja es is* "yeah it is". That Rachel is preparing to produce more talk here indicates she is aligning with Ina's topic change; they are not expanding the activity of listing Rachel's cooking experiences. It is to this list that Rachel indexes and adds *Bratkartoffeln* to with *auk* "also" in Excerpt 15, line 06. What is still unclear, however, is whether Ina recognizes that Rachel is adding *Bratkartoffeln* to previously closed list of dishes she (Rachel) can cook well, rather than interpreting Rachel's turn as an out-of-the-blue announcement.

---

the subsequent line with the original line number + "a" in order to maintain the line-numbering conventions for a GAT-2 basic transcript.

In order to address the question of recognizability, I return to talk following Rachel's *ÅHja*-prefaced announcement in Excerpt 15; for ease of reading, I reprint those lines here as Excerpt 17.

Excerpt 17: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:42-00:41:58_*ich kann die auch gut machen* "I can make them well too"

```
06=> RAC:   ÅHja. ich kann die AUK gut machen.=
            ÅHja.  i can make them well TOO.=

07   INA:   =stimmt. °hh
            =(that's) right. °hh

08   RAC:   ich hab viele gute reZEPte gefunden?
            i found a lot of good REcipes?

09   INA:   für [ge\=BRATkartoffeln?
            for [fri\=BRATtkartoffeln?
10   RAC:       [°hh

11   RAC:   mm?mm[:.
12   INA:        [ja.
                 [yeah.

((Rachel continues to explain that seasoning is what differentiates
Bratkartoffeln from other potato dishes.))
```

With her announcement in line 06, Rachel is opening a new topic: her cooking of *Bratkartoffeln*. In line 08, Rachel produces a second turn on this topic, reporting she has found recipes for *Bratkartoffeln.* Ina, however, has trouble immediately aligning with the shift back to the listing activity:[98] in line 09, she initiates repair, checking her understanding that Rachel is referring to *Bratkartoffeln* recipes in line 08. While Ina's repair does not target Rachel's *ÅHja* backlinking in line 09, it does demonstrate Ina has some trouble with reference recognition in Rachel's activity shift (to which the backlinking with *ÅHja* contributes).

Similarly to her *oh JA* in Excerpt 13, Rachel uses a claim of now-remembering — done with *ÅHja* — in Excerpt 15 to link the upcoming TCU back to some earlier activity: An offer to an earlier pending request (Excerpt 13) and subsequent list item to an already closed list (Excerpt 15). Like with searches (section 6.4.1, this chapter), Rachel is taking advantage of *achja*'s core

[98] While the translation of *stimmt* as "(that's) right" in line 07 makes Nina's response potentially hearable (or, rather, readable) as a claim of now-remembering in response to Rachel's announcement in line 06, Ina's *stimmt* is likely not responding to Rachel's announcement. German *stimmt* is used to agree with or confirm an assessment or informing from a prior speaker by claiming independent access (Betz, 2015). As Ina has never had Rachel's *Bratkartoffeln* (and as it appears to be the first time Rachel is sharing with Ina that she can make *Bratkartoffeln*), a claim of independent access as to Rachel's cooking abilities is unlikely. A more feasible analysis is that Ina's *stimmt* in line 07 agrees with Rachel's earlier negative assessment of the *Bratkartoffeln* (Excerpt 15, line 04), as Ina would have independent visual access to the *Bratkartoffeln* on Rachel's plate.

function of indexing now-remembering in a different interactional context. In the next and final analysis section of this chapter, I analyze how Rachel uses this connecting and the now-remembering function of *achja* in combination with the discourse marker *also* to link an upcoming turn to prior talk and specifically do *resumption* of a suspended storytelling or activity (Jefferson, 1972).

6.4.3 Resumption

In the course of interaction, there are often sequences that put an on-going activity on hold before a possible completion. Participants initiate such *side* sequences (Jefferson, 1972) to address some other issue, for example to initiate repair and address some trouble in speaking, hearing, understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977; see also Section 6.4.1). In Excerpt 18, which is a version of Excerpt 15 with an additional line of transcript and annotation, Ina initiates repair in line 09.

Excerpt 18: RAC_2019.08.13_00:41:51-00:42:01_*ich kann die auch gut machen* "I can make them well too"

04		diese sind eigentlich nicht BRATkartoffeln? *these aren't actually BRATkartoffeln?*	O
05		aber °h *but °h*	
06		ÅHja. ich kann die AUK gut machen.= ÅHja. *i can make them well TOO.=*	
07	INA:	=stimmt. °hh *=(that's) right. °hh*	
08	RAC:	ich hab viele gute reZEPte gefunden? *I found a lot of good REcipes?*	
09	INA:	für [ge\=BRATkartoffeln? *for [fri\=BRATtkartoffeln?*	S
10	RAC:	[°hh	
11	RAC:	mm?mm[:.	
12	INA:	[ja. [*yeah.*	
13	RAC:	und isch glaube der unterschied is:t ähm die geWURze; *and i think the difference is: uhm the SPICes;*	R

In line 04, Rachel negatively assesses the *Bratkartoffeln* that came with her schnitzel, and in line 06, she announces that she can make *Bratkartoffeln* well.[99] In line 08, Rachel informs Ina that she (Rachel) has found good recipes. Lines 04 to 08 are the ongoing activity (marked "O" in the transcript) of Rachel informing Ina of her experience making *Bratkartoffeln*. In line 09, Ina initiates repair, putting the ongoing activity on hold: she utters *für ge\=BRATkartoffeln* "for fri\=BRATkartoffeln", with rising intonation (or "try-marking", see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), thus offering a candidate understanding of the kinds of recipes Rachel is referring to in line 08. Rachel confirms Ina's understanding with *mm?mm*, which Ina receipts and accepts in line 12 with *ja* "yeah", potentially closing the repair sequence/side sequence (marked with "S" in the transcript). In line 13, Rachel returns to the ongoing topic of *Bratkartoffeln* recipes (marked with "R" in the transcript). The (O)ngoing activity — (S)ide sequence — (R)eturn to ongoing sequence triplet describes the sequential organization of side sequences (Jefferson, 1972, p. 316). The repair sequence (S) in Excerpt 18 is a minimal sequence. It consists of an adjacency pair (FPP: understanding check in line 09, SPP: confirmation in line 11) with a minimally expanding sequence-closing third (*ja* in line 12). And Rachel's return to the ongoing activity in line 13 is also unmarked: She syntactically continues her utterance in line 08 with a turn-initial *und* "and" in line 13. That is, *ich habe viele gute Rezepte gefunden und ich glaube der Unterschied ist der Gewurze* "I found a lot of good recipes and I think the difference is the spices" is a grammatically congruous and possibly complete unit. Returning to the ongoing sequence in line 13 is thus unproblematic (Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001) and done as *continuation*.

In Excerpt 19, we see another (O) — (S) — (R) structure. At this point in their meal interaction, Rachel and Ina have finished eating and are discussing the master's program at Rachel and Ina's university for which Rachel is considering applying (not in transcript). Specifically, Ina is telling Rachel about the timeline for the program: It is a program administered by their Canadian university and a partner university in Germany and would have Rachel spend time at both institutions. In line 04, Rachel claims that Ina's explanation of the program's timeline matches her previous understanding. In line 07, Rachel opens a storytelling with a reference to her mother (*åch meine mutter* "oh my mother") (Mandelbaum, 2013; Sacks, 1986). The focus of analysis is line 44.

[99] See Section 6.4.2 for a more complete analysis of these lines.

Excerpt 19: RAC_2019.08.13_01:06:33-01:07:54_*wann bist du in Kanada* "when are you in Canada"

01	INA:	[mmhm,]	
02	RAC:	[okay.]	
03	RAC:	ja. *yeah.*	
04		ja ich DACHte so; *yeah i THOUGHT so;*	
05	INA:	ja. *yeah.*	
06	RAC:	<<p> kay>	
07	RAC:	ja. (wei UN) åch meine mutter,=so *yeah. (bec AN) oh my mother,=like*	
08		((schmatzt)) °h wie sie es sie ha\ sie war hier\ *((smacks lips)) °h how she it she ha\ she was here*	
09		also meine eltern waren hier zum beSUCH?= *so my parents were here for a VIsit?=*	
10	INA:	=ja *=yeah*	
11		(.)	
12	RAC:	((schmatzt)) und ich hab gesagt JA;= *((smacks lips)) and i said YEAH;=*	
13		=also isch denke isch werde (.) *=so i think i will (.)*	O
13a		direkt emm dschie ess ((=MGS)) machen—= *do emm gee ess ((=MGS, master's program)) right away—=*	
14		=sie meinte ja das ist AUCH eine gute idee; *=she said yeah that's ALso a good idea;*	
15		mach das SCHON, *do that,*	
16	INA:	[ja—] [*yeah-*]	
17	RAC:	[°hh] un:d ähm: [°*hh*] *an:d uhm:*	

((30-sec interaction with server omitted; RAC and INA order a beverage, a "radler", to share[100]))

18 RAC: [ähm]
[*uhm*]
19 INA: [es] sah so AUS;=
[*it*] *looked like;=*

20 =als ob sie °hh etwas SEH:Nsüchtig
=as if you °hh a little LO:NGingly
as though you were longingly

20a [das radler ange\ ]
[*the radler stare*]
(star(ing)) at the radler
21 RAC: [<<decresc> e:hehehehe]

22 INA: [das lEE:re RA:Dler angeschaut hab(en)—]
[*the E:mpty RA:Dler stared at have-*]
staring at the empty radler
23 RAC: [((lacht stimmlos)) ↑hehe °h]
[*((laughs breathlessly)) ↑hehe °h*]

24 RAC: <<lachend> das is so SCHAde find>
<<laughing>> it's such a PIty (i) think>

25 hehe [°h (nee,) hehehe]
hehe [*°h (no,) hehehe*]
26 INA: [<<lachend> j:a> hehe o:h]
[*<<laughing> y:eah> hehe o:h*]

27 RAC: °h he[he] °h [a]_hahm
28 INA: [°h] [ja.]
[*°h*] [*yeah.*]

29 INA: das kriegen wir (vielei\ also) beSTIMMT noch hIn;=
we can (mayb\ PTCL) DEfinitely manage that;=

((.. 12 lines omitted; RAC and INA discuss the distance from restaurant to the train station))

42 INA: =mmHM,=
43 RAC: =ähm:: (.)
=uhm:: (.)

S

[100] Due to research ethics, none of the interactions with the server were transcribed for research; I thus do not assign any lines to these portions of the recording.

```
44=>        ↑ahja.=↑also:; (.)

45          isch hab gesagt JA—=
            i said YEAH-=

46          =ich geh direkt ins MASter:s—=
            =i'm gonna do the MASter:'s right away-=

47          =un:d (.) SOfort (.) wie isch kann,=
            =an:d (.) imMEdiately (.) as i can,=

48          =und sie sagt Okay.
            =and she says Okay.

49          JA:;
            YE:AH;

50          SCHON eine gute idee.
            PTCL a good idea.
            (that's) a good idea .

51          °h aber WIE geht das dann,
            °h but HOW does that work then,

52          °h wenn:\ WANN bist du in: kanada?=
            °h if:\ WHEN are you in: canada?=

53          =<<all> und wann bist du in DEUTSCHland.>=
            =<<all> and when are you in GERmany.>=

54          [       =bis]t du am ende deiner zeit in KAnada?
            [       =are] you in CAnada at the end of your time?
55  INA:    [<<pp> heh.>]
```

RO

R

Rachel's storytelling in lines 07 and 17 is the (O) at this point in the interaction. After stopping and starting in line 08, Rachel refers to her parents' visit in line 09. After Ina gives a go-ahead *ja* "yeah" in line 10, Rachel formulates a quotative (*und ich hab gesagt* "and i said") in line 12 in the past tense; in German, quotatives (particularly those that preface reported past decisions) are commonly in the conversational past tense, here the present perfect (A. Golato, 2002b). Rachel begins the quote with *ja* "yeah" in line 12; in line 13/13a, she quotes (in the present tense) her own past talk to her parents, in which she informs her parents of her decision to begin her master's degree directly upon completion of her (currently underway) bachelor's degree (*also isch denke ich werde (.) direkt MGS machen* "so i think i will (.) do MGS right away"). In line 14, Rachel produces another quotative using a past tense (*sie meinte* "she said"), introducing a quote from her mother (the only other female person in the storytelling thus far) in which the mother endorses Rachel's decision (lines 14 to 15). In line 17, Rachel projects more telling with *und ähm*; the server, however, returns to the table, which interrupts Rachel's telling.

What ensues, starting with the server's appearance, is a (relatively) lengthy series of (S)'s: After Rachel and Ina's interaction with the server, Ina comments on Rachel's (apparently visible) desire to have another radler (lines 18 to 28), and Rachel and Ina discuss the feasibility of finishing the newly ordered radler and making it to the train station on time (lines 29 to 41). In line 43, Rachel utters a lengthened *ähm* "uhm", potentially initiating a search (see Section 6.4.1). She then produces *↑ahja.=↑also:;* (*ahja* realized with a pitch peak on *ah* and falling intonation, *also* latched with *also*, which carries a pitch peak on *al* and falling-to-mid intonation) in line 44 and the quotative *ich hab gesagt* "i said" in line 45. In the following lines (marked "R_O"), Rachel recycles her turns in lines 13 to 15: she quotes her decision to proceed directly to the master's (lines 45 to 46); and she re-quotes her mother's endorsement of that decision (lines 48 to 50). In line 51, Rachel continues quoting her mother, now adding a new element to the telling: Her mother asked when (during the duration of the degree) Rachel will be in Canada and when she will be in Germany (lines 51 to 54).

Rachel does more work to return to the ongoing sequence in Excerpt 19 than she does in Excerpt 18. In Excerpt 18, Rachel returns to the ongoing sequence by grammatically continuing where she left the ongoing sequence; she does not recycle any of the material from (O). In Excerpt 19, Rachel first offers modified repeats in (R_O) of material in (O) before continuing the telling. That is, in Excerpt 18, Rachel does *continuation* of (O), whereas in Excerpt 19 she does *resumption* (Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001).

By default, interactants interpret each other's turns in light of and in relation to what was directly before, i.e., the prior turn (Jefferson, 1978). In the context of a closed topic, a subsequent turn (unless otherwise marked) could either expand the closed topic or open a new topic (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Interactants signal to co-interactants when a turn is to be interpreted *not* against some direct prior but against some other-than-prior turn. In continuation, the return to (O) (an other-than-prior turn) is unmarked; interactants pick up the ongoing sequence from where it was put on hold without any additional work (Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001). Continuation is possible when (S) is a minimal (i.e., an unexpanded, see Schegloff, 2007) side sequence; in Excerpt 18, (S) consists of an adjacency pair (lines 09, 11) and a sequence-closing third (line 12). When (S), however, is expanded (as it is in Excerpt 19), interactants must do more work in (R) to signal the return to (O); they do resumption.

Interactants commonly use discourse markers (e.g., German naja, Golato, 2018; or Dutch maar “but”, Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001; see also Bolden, 2009) and recycle of elements of (O) (e.g., (R_O) in lines 46-50 of Excerpt 19) when doing resumption. In comparison with continuation, the additional work interactants do in resumption indicates that resumption is not an unproblematic return to (O) (A. Golato, 2018; Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001). In Excerpt 19, in addition to the recycled material in in lines 45-50, Rachel prefaces and marks her resumption in line 44 by using *ahja* in combination with the discourse marker *also*.

In Excerpt 20, Rachel also uses the combination of *ahja also* to do resumption. Erik (ERK) is driving Rachel home from their shared workplace. Here, Erik is recounting to Rachel what he did on the weekend when his sister was visiting him: They went to a lake (line 02).

Excerpt 20: 2019.07.09_RAC_01:54-02:43_*du warst am see?* "you were at the lake?"

01	ERK:	<<p, creaky> u::nd> (0.7) *<<p, creaky> a::nd> (0.7)*	⌈
02		j:a.=dann sind wir nachmittags noch zum SEE, *y:eah.=then we went to the LAKE in the afternoon,*	O
03	RAC:	hm_hm,	
04	ERK:	((schmatzt)) ((unverständlich)) upsa- *((lip smack)) ((unintelligible)) whoopsie-*	⌋
05		(1.5)	

```
06   RAC:   wie HEISST die eigentlisch.
            what's her name by the way.

07   ERK:   ä[:hm,
            u[:hm,
08   RAC:    [sophia?=oder—
             [sophia?=right-

09          (0.7)

10   ERK:   ja sie hat sich <<all> äh>
            yeah she had her <<all> uh>

11          sie hat sich UMnennen lassen. (.)
            she had her name CHANGED. (.)

((...15 lines omitted))

27   ERK:   aber sie:(_äh) (.) HEISST lieber sophia.                S
            but she:(_uh) (.) preFERS sophia.

28   RAC:   okay.

29          das   hab ich geda[cht-]
            that's what I thou[ght ]
30   ERK:                     [  wa]s okay is.=
                              [  wh]ich is okay.=

31   ERK:   =wei:l meine eltern hatten EH überlegt
            =because my parents were thinking of

31a         sie sophia zu nennen.
            naming her sophia Anyways.

32          (1.0)

33   ERK:   also (.) von daher;
            so (.) based on that;

34          (2.0)

35=> RAC:   okay. ↑ahja.=↑also. (.) du warst am SEE?                 R_O
            okay. ahja. also. (.) you were at the LAKE?

36          und  da[nn:
            and the[n:
37   ERK:          [(ja/ah)ja; genau.
                   [(yeah/oh) yeah; exactly.

38   RAC:   ja.                                                     R
            yeah.

39   ERK:   u::nd (.) dann (0.7) war ich noch EINkaufen?=
            a::nd (.) then (0.7) i went grocery shopping?=
```

After Erik utters *upsa* "whoopsie" (likely in response to something happening on the road) in line 04, Rachel asks Erik his sister's name in line 06. While related to the topic of Erik's weekend, this question targeting person reference is a diversion (=S) from Erik's telling about his weekend (=O). As a request for information Rachel's turn in line 06 is an FPP in an adjacency pair; at its

most minimal, the adjacency pair could consist of two turns (here, a question and an answer), with the potential for a sequence closing third (Schegloff, 2007). The sequence here, however, is not minimal, with Erik's *ähm* "uhm" in line 07 already signally a difficulty in answering; in line 11, Erik accounts for the difficulty in answering: his sister changed her name. After several turns in which Erik explains that Sophia (the name she goes by) is her middle name and not her given name at birth (not in transcript), he addresses a potential issue by telling of his parents' thought process in naming Sophia (lines 30-31). Rachel does not hearably receipt Erik's turn from lines 30 and 31, and Erik closes the topic with the postmortem *also von daher* "so based on that" (see Schegloff, 2007).

After a 2-second pause in line 34, Rachel utters *okay* in line 35, both receipting Erik's turn in line 33 and pivoting to a next topic or matter (Beach, 1993). She then utters *↑ahja.=↑also.* (similarly to the *↑ahja.=↑also:;* in Excerpt 19, with a pitch peak on the first syllables as well as falling intonation on both *ahja* and *also*) before recycling Erik's last TCU of (O) as a candidate understanding (*du warst am SEE?* "you were at the LAKE"); she is thus doing a return to (O) with resumption. In line 36, Rachel more explicitly prompts Erik to produce a next element about his weekend with the designedly incomplete *und dann* "and then" (see Lerner, 2004). Erik confirms Rachel's candidate understanding in line 37, and moves onto the next activity of his weekend (grocery shopping) in line 39.

As in Excerpt 19, after (S), Rachel does resumption of (O) with the combination *ahja also* in Excerpt 14. Here, she resumes her co-interactant's telling (not her own); for Dutch *maar* "but", Mazeland and Huiskes (2001) observe a similar pattern, i.e., that speakers use the conjunction to resume either their own or another's ongoing sequence that had been put on hold (see also A. Golato, 2018). Rachel's use of a combination of *ahja* (itself a particle combination) and *also* for resumption suggests that each of these 'little words' serves a different function in Rachel's resumptions.

To better understand the function of Rachel's *ahja* in the combination *ahja also*, let us reconsider her use of the combination in backlinking (see Section 6.4.2). In these contexts, Rachel is also linking her upcoming turn to some earlier activity (Excerpt 13, Excerpt 15) with an *achja* claim of now-remembering. The earlier talk in the cases of backlinking *achja*, however, were not some ongoing activities put on hold before their possible sequential completion. In Excerpt 14, it was not possible for Rachel to offer Ina schnitzel when Ina made her request;

Rachel did not yet have the schnitzel. And in Excerpt 15 and Excerpt 16, the activity of listing Rachel's cooking experiences was closed; further talk on the topic would constitute *expansion* (see Schegloff, 2007). In backlinking, Rachel's *achja* is doing the work of linking the upcoming TCU to not-directly-prior talk by indexing now-remembering of that talk, which prepares the ground for, e.g., expanding this prior talk. In resumptions, by contrast, the ongoing activity had neither reached a possible completion point nor was there some element essential to its completion that was unavailable (e.g., a requested schnitzel). Thus, in resumption, the resuming interactant can both backlink the upcoming talk to some other-than-prior *and* signal a return to an *ongoing* activity.

It is then with *also* that Rachel is signalling that the upcoming turn will return to some ongoing activity.[101] Previous research describes *also* as a sentence adverb (Auer, 1996), a connector (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013), and a discourse marker (Alm, 2007). The body of research on the specific interactional functions of *also* is currently small (cf. Alm, 2007; Deppermann & Helmer, 2013; Dittmar, 2011; Fernández-Villanueva, 2007), but *also* seems to have a broad set of positionally sensitive functions in German (see Alm, 2007). Broadly speaking, *also* serves a discourse organizational function: interactants employ *also* to show the specific relationships between units in discourse (TCUs, turns, sequences) (Auer, 1996). For example, speakers use turn-initial *also* in response to informative turns to signal that the current turn will make explicit something implicit in the previous turn (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). In turn-medial TCU-initial position, *also* can also signal the return to a previous topic (Alm, 2004, pp. 6–7), although it remains unclear what kind of return *also* specifically marks (e.g., continuation or resumption). In the context of resumptions, Rachel employs the combination *achja also* to, one the one hand, tie the upcoming turn to some other-than-prior talk (with an *achja* claim of now-remembering), and, on the other hand, signal that the upcoming talk will return (via resumption) to a prior ongoing sequence (with *also*).

Unlike in searches and backlinking, there is evidence that Rachel's co-interactants understand Rachel as doing resumption with *achja also*. The evidence in Excerpt 19 and Excerpt 20 is varied, however. In Excerpt 20, after Rachel's resumption in lines 35 and 36, Erik does produce the next event in his telling of his weekend activities (line 39). However, Rachel's resumption in Excerpt 20 also includes a recycling of the last element of Erik's telling (line 02) from (O), in the

[101] For a more detailed review of the research on *also*, see Section 7.2.

form of a yes-no question; the question makes a response from Erik relevant (Raymond, 2003), meaning the question (rather than, or in addition to, the *achja also*) prompts Erik's return to his storytelling.

In Excerpt 19, Rachel's *achja also* must do more of the 'heavy lifting', as Rachel is resuming her own storytelling. In the opening of her storytelling, Rachel produces several signals that a storytelling is upcoming and that Ina ought to give Rachel the floor for more than a single TCU (see Mandelbaum, 2013): She refers to her mother (line 07), whose connection to the prior topic of Rachel's master's program is not obvious; she mentions her parents' visit as background information (line 09); and she uses the past tense (*waren* "were"), signalling she is now talking about an event in the past (line 09). In resuming a storytelling, an interactant returns not to the beginning of their telling but to some element prior to the initiation of the side sequence; that is, they must signal to their co-interactant that they are returning to a storytelling put on hold, both instructing the co-interactant to search for an unfinished telling in their recent interactional history *and* signalling that they require the floor for more than the default one TCU. Rachel successfully does this in Excerpt 19: After her *achja also* in line 44, she produces several TCUs for her story (lines 45-54) until Ina produces a laugh particle (that affiliates with Rachel's telling of her mother's concern as to when Rachel will be in Canada) in line 55. Ina does not indicate any trouble in locating the storytelling that was put on hold, nor does she have trouble aligning with the resumption of Rachel's storytelling activity following the *achja also* in line 44. Ina thus seems to *recognize* that Rachel is projecting resumption of her own storytelling with *achja also*.

In these analyses, I have shown how Rachel uses sequence-initiating *achja* to index now-remembering after a search (6.4.1), do backlinking (6.4.2), and (in combination with *also*) accomplish resumption (6.4.3). In each of these functions, I argued that Rachel takes advantage of the core meaning of the particle combination — a claim of now-remembering (Betz & Golato, 2008) — to either mark the end of some retrieval process (i.e., searching) or link the upcoming turn to some other-than-prior talk from the same encounter. Rachel is being innovative with the particle combination, taking advantage of its function as an index of now-remembering to accomplish a variety of interactional tasks. The question remains, however, where Rachel's uses of *achja* come from: do the L1 speakers with whom she interacts similarly take advantage of the particle combination's function as an index of now-remembering? i.e., does Rachel hear and attend to similar uses of *achja* in her *participation* in interaction with L1 speakers of German? Or

is she *transferring* some interactional use of or some strategy involving an index of now-remembering into German from her L1 (English)? In the next section, I address these questions.

6.5 Influences on sequentially-first *achja*

Investigating the influence of input (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013; Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011; Taguchi, 2008) and transfer from the L1 into the L2 (see Diskin, 2017; Kasper, 1992; Morkus, 2018) is common in research on second-language acquisition (SLA) that seeks to explain the development of L2 pragmatics. The influence of L1 input is commonly investigated using task[102] and survey data. I investigate potential influences on Rachel's uses of sequence-initiating *achja* by relying on analyses of interaction data, i.e., I refer to conversation analytic research on German and English interaction, as well as corpus data from German interaction, to approximate Rachel's experiences interacting in German and in English. I focus on the one environment in which Rachel employs *achja* and for which there exist conversation analytic findings for both German- and English-language interactions: resumption (Bolden, 2009b; A. Golato, 2018; Heritage, 1984a, pp. 299–300; Jefferson, 1972). I test two hypotheses: First, that Rachel, in her interactions with L1 speakers of German, attends and orients to L1 speakers of German doing resumption with *achja also* (the Participation Hypothesis); second, that Rachel is achieving resumption in German with means similarly to those she uses in her L1 (English), albeit with German lexical resources (the Transfer Hypothesis).

6.5.1 Participation hypothesis

In foreign-language education it is a common belief that residence in an area in which the L2 (e.g., study abroad) is widely spoken is an effective way for students to develop their L2, due in large part to the "opportunities to observe local norms of interaction" (Taguchi, 2018, p. 127) that study abroad offers L2 speakers. Indeed, previous research on second-language acquisition in study abroad finds that the amount of contact students report having with the L2 during the sojourn is strongly correlated with the development of L2 pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011; Taguchi, 2008, see also 2018). However, research on L2 development during study abroad

[102] Such as L2 speakers' performance on pragmatic listening tasks (e.g., Taguchi, 2008a, 2008b), aural recognition tasks (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011), and oral production tasks (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011).

often does not describe the specific "local norms of interaction" (Taguchi, 2018, p. 127) that L2 speakers (have the opportunity to) observe and participate in during their sojourn, comparing instead L2 speakers' performance on experimental language tasks to that of L1 speakers of the same language (Bardovi-Harlig & Bastos, 2011; Diskin, 2017; Morkus, 2018).

While conversation analytic research may avoid the geographic specification of the "local" and the prescriptive quality of "norms" in "local norms of interaction" (Taguchi, 2018, p. 127), as part of its study of human social life, CA does seek to describe *members' methods* for interaction, that is, the routine ways in which interactants' deploy interactional (e.g. linguistic, gestural) resources to recognizably accomplish actions (Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002). From a conversation analytic perspective, however, in interacting with other speakers of their L2, study abroad participants do not only "observe" their co-interactants' methods for interacting. In their interactions, L2 speakers are not passive beings simply having another speaker's language use wash over them. L2 speakers are active participants: They must orient to, analyze, and produce their own contributions in response to the co-interactants' conduct in order for their interactions to progress. By taking a conversation analytic approach to describing the methods of sojourners' co-interactants, we cannot only describe the input that sojourning L2 speakers receive, but also what L2 speakers 'deal' with in particular moments of interactional and relational consequence. L2 speakers do not only 'observe' methods, they participate in them.

As the data corpus documentation for the current study reflects (see Chapter 4), Rachel regularly participates in everyday interactions with L1 speakers of German during her sojourn. Here, I 'test' whether her participation in interactions with L1 speakers of German can account for Rachel's systematic uses of sequence-initiating *achja*. In my analyses, I showed how Rachel uses *achja* to index now-remembering, a change of state that L1 speakers also index with the particle combination (Betz & Golato, 2008); it is possible (maybe even likely) that Rachel's interactions with L1 speakers of German shapes her own use of the combination to index now-remembering. What is of concern here, however, is whether Rachel's participation in interactions with L1 speakers of German can account for her use of sequence-initiating *achja*. To test this 'Participation Hypothesis', I compare Rachel's use of sequence-iniating *achja* in the only one of the three environments for which there exists CA research on L1 German and, specifically, on using discourse markers: resumption with *naja* (A. Golato, 2018). I then also do several corpus searches in the FOLK (*Forshungs- und Lehrkorpus*, or "Research and teaching corpus"), a large

corpus of transcribed video and audio recordings of German interaction; the corpus searches are to demonstrate the frequency with which L1 speakers of German combine *achja* with *also* and thereby give an indication of how often Rachel would encounter *achja also* in her interactions.

To do resumption of a sequence (O) that was put on hold by a more than minimal side sequence (S), Rachel employs the combination *achja also*. In this combination, Rachel uses the now-remembering function of *achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008) to link the current turn to some other-than-prior talk and the projective quality of the discourse marker *also* to signal that the upcoming turn will be resuming this prior (O). In her analysis of L1 German *naja*, Golato (2018) found that interactants do not rely on a claim of change of state to accomplish resumption. The interactants instead rely on *naja* (a combination of the particles *na* and *ja*, neither of which claim a change of state), which, in sequentially first, second, and third position marks a break with some previous talk. In the following Excerpt 21, which I take from Golato (2018, pp. 426–427), there is an instance of a sequentially first (i.e., resumption) *naja*. Here, Thomas (T) is telling Markus (M) over the phone about his honeymoon with his wife Karen (K). In line 05, Karen (who is not on the phone) calls for Thomas. My focus is the *naja* in line 14.

Excerpt 21: Oregon_2B_38.35_*Hochzeitsreise* "Honeymoon" (from Golato, 2018, pp. 426-427)[103]

01	T:	dies da gibt also: faultiere und *that there are like sloths and*	⌈
02	T:	.hhhh affen: und alles mögliche kann man *.hhhh monkeys: and a lot of other things you can*	O
03	T:	da sehn, *see there,*	⌋

[103] The visual marking of (O), (S), and (R) (see Jefferson, 1972) in the transcript are my own additions.

```
04   M:   m[hm:::.]
05   T:    [und di]e Karen ruft grad.=
           [and th]e Karen calls now.=
           [and    K] aren is calling (me) now.=

06   T:   augenblick ma. .hhhh was denn? ((to off))
          just a second. .hhhh what's up?

07        (4.8)

08   T:   gibt's irgendwas. ((to off))
          is there something

09        (0.5)

10   K:   °ja: (    )°  ((in background))
          °ye:ah (    )°

11   T:   ä:h wir wollen jetzt gleich essen.he[hehe
          uh:m we want to eat now.          he[hehe
12   M:                                       [hehe

13   T:   .hh ä:m ja:,
          .hh u:hm ye:ah,

14=> M:   naja. hauptsache ihr habt ne
          PRT   main thing you.PL have a
          naja. most importantly you had a

15   M:   schöne hochzeitsreise gehab[t.
          nice    honeymoon        ha[d.
          nice honeymoon              [
                                      [((smile voice))
16   T:                               [hhhe genau.
                                      [hhhe exactly.

17   M:   hehe[:
18   T:        [.hh ja die war echt klasse
               [.hh yes it was really great

19   T:   .h der letzte tag war
          .h the last day was

20   T:   nich ganz so schön...
          not quite so nice...
```

S

R

In lines 01 to 03, Thomas (who visited a national park during the honeymoon) tells Markus about the animals he and Karen saw. Thomas' continuing intonation on *sehn* "saw" in line 03 and Markus' continuer *mhm* (see Schegloff, 1982) in line 04 indicate that both interactants are preparing for Thomas to continue talking about the honeymoon. In line 05, however, Thomas announces that his wife Karen is calling him. After a mostly off-phone exchange between Thomas and Karen (lines 06 to 10), Thomas announces that they (he and Karen) would like to

eat soon.[104] In line 13, Thomas produces a lengthened *äm ja* "uhm yeah", indicating he is having difficulty continuing the interaction with Markus. In lines 14 and 15, after a prefacing *naja*, Markus returns to the topic of Thomas' honeymoon, formulating an upshot (*hauptsache ihr habt ne schöne hochzeitsreise gehabt* "most importantly you had a nice honeymoon"). In formulating an upshot, Markus (likely as a result of Thomas' announcing he will soon be eating with his wife), also moves toward closing the honeymoon topic. The move to close indicates this is not an unproblematic return (R) to (O), as Markus orients to the (S) as interfering with the progressivity of the ongoing sequence. With the *naja* preface, Markus is resuming (not continuing) (O). Thomas confirms with Markus' assessment of the honeymoon, first with the response token *genau* "exactly" (see Oloff, 2017) and then with an upgraded second assessment (*die war echt klasse* "it was really great") (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005). In lines 19 and 20, Thomas projects more talk about (rather than closure of) the honeymoon topic, namely a telling about events on the final day.

In her collection, Golato (2018) found that interactants regularly use *naja* prefaces to do resumptions after a more than minimal (S), whether the (S) is a sequence initiated by an interactant, is due to an interruption by a third party (e.g., Excerpt 21), or contains a parenthetical from the interactant producing (O). Rachel employs *achja also* in similar contexts: after an expanded adjacency pair sequence initiated by Rachel (Excerpt 20), and after interruption from a third-party (Excerpt 19). Also like Rachel's *achja also*s, interactants use *naja* to resume their own pending talk (as Markus does in Excerpt 21) or a co-interactant's. And finally, as Rachel does with her *ahja also* prefacing, interactants also regularly recycle elements from (O) in their resumptions following their *naja* preface (A. Golato, 2018). Rachel's accomplishment of resumption does not seem to match that of L1 speakers of German; thus, Rachel's participation in interaction with L1 interactants cannot account for her use of *achja also*. But how does *naja* signal resumption, and how does that signal differ from Rachel's use of *achja also*?

Beyond the choice of token(s) (*achja also* vs. *naja*), Rachel differs from L1 speakers in what she is signalling in her resumptions. In her analyses of *naja* in sequentially first, second, and third position, Golato (2018) found that *naja*'s core meaning is to signal a break from something

[104] Golato (2018) interprets the laughter in Thomas' turn at the end of line 11 as a result of the choice of pronoun of the first-person plural pronoun *wir* "we". From context, it appears that the decision to eat soon is Karen's (not Karen and Thomas'). However, using *wir* formulates it as a joint decision between Karen and Thomas, and Thomas' laughter suggests that, despite this *wir* formulation, this is not the case.

previous. When prefacing a second-pair part (i.e., in sequentially second position), an interactant's turn-initial *naja* signals that the upcoming turn will break affiliation (e.g., disagree) with the co-interactant's first-pair part (A. Golato, 2018). And in sequentially third position, a *naja* signals that the interactant (in light of their co-interactant's turn in second position) will break with a stance they held in first position (A. Golato, 2018). In sequentially first position — i.e., when prefacing a resumption — *naja* marks that the upcoming sequence (R) will break with the prior sequence (S) (A. Golato, 2018). Rachel's strategy for doing resumption thus differs on one level from L1 speakers' resumptions: She relies on a change of state to connect the current turn to the activity put on hold.

It is possible, however, that there exist several practices for doing resumption in German, and that *naja* and *achja also* are among them. While a conversation analytic study of L1 speaker's resumptions is outside the scope of this dissertation, I search through a large corpus of spoken German interaction for instances *achja also* could give an indication of whether the combination is a practice L1 speakers regularly use, for resumptions or for another kind of work. I chose the FOLK, a large corpus of German spoken interaction hosted at the Leibniz-Institute for the German Language in Mannheim, German (Leibniz-Institut für deutsche Sprache, n.d.-a).[105] The FOLK contains 374 recorded interactions from a variety of areas in which German is spoken; the recordings range from everyday interactions (e.g., a family sharing a meal, friends talking on the phone), to institutional interactions (e.g., ergotherapy sessions, classroom instruction, televised public debates), to interactions for research (e.g., biographical interviews on language experience). The FOLK contains 314 hours of audio-recorded and transcribed interactions, approximately 197 hours of which were also video recorded. All recordings were transcribed using the transcription editor FOLKER according to the GAT-2 conventions for a minimal transcript. There are 2'990'421 tokens in the FOLK.

The FOLK is accessible via the *Datenbank für gesprochenes Deutsch* ("Databank for spoken German" or 'DGD') (Leibniz-Institut für deutsche Sprache, n.d.), which offers several tools for browsing and searching through its individual corpora. For current purposes, I used the token search tool, which allows the user to search entire corpora for all instances of a particular token; after searching for a token, the search engine shows the results as a *Key word in context* (or

[105] The following description is of the FOLK version 2.16, updated on May 17th, 2021. This is the most current version at time of writing.

'KWIC') index, which lists the instances of the searched-for token in their transcripts with some tokens to its left and right; the search engine also gives the total number of instances of a token in the selected corpora.[106]

Users can search for the transcribed, normalized, or lemmatized (i.e., dictionary) form; searching for transcribed or normalized functions is useful when searching for a specific morphological variant of a root token or for searching for specific alternative pronunciations of a token. For the following searches, I used the lemmatized search field, because the combination *achja also* consists of particles (*ach* + *ja*) and an adverb (*also*), none of which receive morphological markings in German, but whose pronunciation (and, thus, transcription) can vary from variety to variety. I only searched for the lemmatized forms.

The token search function in the DGD allows for users to search for single tokens at a time. If searching for instances of a token *combination* (as I am doing), the user must filter a "context" search function can be applied to initial search results. The context search function allows the user to filter the KWIC index for the appearance of another token to the left and/or right (i.e., before or after) the originally searched-for token. As with the token search function, the user can search for the transcribed, normalized, or lemmatized form of the token. The user must give in the size of the context (measured in number of tokens from the original) in which the additional token must appear (e.g., within 5 tokens to the right, within 20 tokens to the left), as well as the scope (i.e., whether the additional token appears in the same *Beitrag* "contribution" or before the next speaker change).[107] After the user clicks on *Kontext filtern* "filter context", then those search results in the KWIC index with the additional token within the entered scope are selected and the other results unselected. The user can then delete the unselected search results, thereby generating a new KWIC index, which the user can again filter using the context search function.

When searching for tokens and token combinations in the DGD, the user must be cognizant of how those tokens and token combinations have been transcribed and coded. While I write (as

[106] It is possible to input further parameters for a token search, including for position (e.g., distance from start/end of utterance, speaker change, or overlap) and for features of the metadata tied to a recording (e.g., date of recording, date added to databank, place of recording). As my goal with the corpus search was to get an overview of the frequency with which L1 speakers of German combing *achja* with *also*, I did not input any additional parameters.

[107] As the transcripts in the FOLK are GAT-2 minimal transcripts prepared with FOLKER, which assigns a single line number to each turn at talk (regardless of the length of the turn). However, if the transcriber uses FOLKER to measure the length of the silence, the silence receives its own line number, regardless of where in a turn's production the silence is. In FOLK, measured silences can thus break up single turns at talk into several lines. Thus, when searching for context, choosing a scope of contribution searches within a line of transcript, whereas choosing a scope of *Sprecher* "speaker" searches the entire talk until there is a speaker change.

do Betz & Golato, 2008) *achja* and most of its variants without a space between *ach* and *ja*, the convention in FOLK is to include spaces between tokens in particle combinations, e.g., *ach ja*. To search FOLK for instances of *achja*, I must first do a token search for *ach* and then filter for context.

In order to identify the frequency with which L1 speakers combine *also* with variants of *achja* (i.e., *achja, ahja,* and *oh ja*) appears in the FOLK, I undertook three separate sets of searches, each with three steps. First, I performed a token search for the change-of-state token (*ach, ah, oh*). I then filtered the KWIC indexes for instances in which *ja* appears as the next token (i.e., one token to the right) within the same line of transcript. I was left with all instances of *achja*/*ahja*/*oh ja* in the FOLK. I then filtered the context again, for instances in which *also* appears as a next token after *ja* (i.e., two tokens to the right of *ach*/*ah*/*oh*) before the next speaker change. The decision to search for *also* before the next speaker change was motivated by the infrequency with which *also* follows a variant of *achja* in the FOLK. That is, choosing a scope of contribution would eliminate those instances of *also* that follow any measured pause, regardless of the pause's length (see note 107). A scope of speaker includes such *also*s in the results. In Table 7 I summarize the results of my corpus search for *achja also* and its variants in the FOLK, giving the number hits at each step in the corpus search.

	Token search for first token	**Context filtering for *ja*** **Context:** one token to the right **Scope:** contribution	**Context filtering for *also*** **Context:** two tokens to the right **Scope:** Speaker
ach+ja+also	5471 instances of *ach*	286 instances of *ach+ja*	4 instances of *ach+ja+also*
ah+ja+also	6005 instances of *ah*	1482 instances of *ah+ja*	6 instances of *ah+ja+also*
oh+ja+also	4618 instances of *oh*	307 instances of *oh+ja*	1 instance of *oh+ja+also*
Totals	**16,095 instances**	**2,075 instances**	**11 instances**

Table 7: Corpus search in FOLK for number of instances of *achja also* and its variants

The corpus search reveals that L1 speakers readily utter a *ja* following a change-of-state token (in particular following ah, see also Imo, 2009, p. 76), they rarely follow up with an *also*. Without analyzing these instances (which may not constitute particle combinations, because, e.g., there is a noticeable silence between the individual tokens), the corpus search indicates that

it is unlikely that there is an established practice (including the signalling of upcoming resumption) among L1 speakers of German that involves the combination *ach+ja+also*. It thus seems that Rachel likely did not participate in interactions with L1 speakers in which she had to attend to the use of *achja also* in doing resumptions.

The corpus search, however, only serves as an approximation of Rachel's interactions with L1 speakers. An investigation of Rachel's German interactions for both how her co-interactants achieve resumption and whether (and how) her co-interactants use the combination of *achja also* would provide a more accurate picture of the way her co-interactants are using German linguistic resources in their interactions with Rachel. Doing so is particularly important when an L2 speaker interacts with speakers with various linguistic backgrounds, for example with L1 speakers who speak a variety that is not well documented in published research or available corpora, or with L2 speakers in a context where German is the *lingua franca.* Such an additional investigation is outside the scope of the current dissertation.

Rachel's use of *achja also* to do resumption does not only differ from L1 speakers of German in terms of the specific linguistic resource (*achja also* vs. *naja*) she deploys for resumption, but also in terms of the interactional work that goes into the resumption (claiming a change of state vs. signalling a break). Additionally, my corpus search of the FOLK revealed L1 speakers rarely combine *ahja, oh ja,* or *achja* with *also.* The Participation Hypothesis therefore does not seem to sufficiently explain how Rachel manages resumption.

6.5.2 Transfer hypothesis

In achieving resumption in her German interactions, Rachel claims now-remembering (with *achja*) to link to some pending other-than-prior talk and project with *also* a return to this talk. Neither of these particles have a phonetic equivalent in English: there is no particle combination [axjaː] (*achja*[108]*)* or discourse marker [ˈalzo] (*also*[109]*)* in spoken (Canadian) English. It is thus unlikely that Rachel is here deploying *linguistic* (specifically, *lexical*) resources from her L1 in her L2 interactions. It is possible, however, that, in English, interactants achieve resumption by

[108] Or, as Rachel realizes it, [ajaː].

[109] There is, of course, the English conjunctive adverb *also* (realized as [ˈɑlsoʊ] in Canadian English) that can also appear in turn-initial positions in spoken interaction. English *also* and German *also*, however, are not equivalent, as German *also* does not in any of its uses (including the conjunctive uses) carry the meaning "in addition to" that English *also* does.

employing a similar strategy as Rachel does in German. Here I review findings on two ways L1 speakers of English do this: with the discourse marker *so* (Bolden, 2005, 2009b) and with the combination *oh anyway* (Heritage, 1984a, pp. 299–300, 2005)

In her research on the English discourse marker *so*, Bolden (2005, 2009b) found that interactants use turn-initial *so* to preface resumption (i.e., with recycled material) and continuation in storytelling activities. Specifically, interactants utter *so* to resume or continue the main storyline after giving some background information that does not forward the story line (Bolden, 2005). In these environments, however, there is no interruption of the storytelling activity (e.g., in the form of a side sequence) but rather a shift from giving background information back to the plot of the story.[110]

The environments that Bolden (2005) describes for *so* in the resumption/continuation of storytellings are not the same as those in which Rachel uses *achja also*. While some aspects are similar (e.g., the recycling of material in resumptions), Rachel uses *achja also* to do resumption after an extended side sequence, in which the ongoing activity (rather than just one part of the activity, e.g., the main storyline) is put on hold to address some other matter (ordering a drink in Excerpt 19, clarify a sibling's name in Excerpt 20); this other matter also does not contribute to the ongoing (and now-on-hold) activity (as background information does to a storytelling). The findings on English *so* thus suggest that it is not a good candidate of functional transfer for Rachel's *achja also* the case of resumption (see also Bolden, 2005).

There is, however, another candidate for functional transfer. As part of his work on the English change-of-state token *oh*, Heritage (Heritage, 1984a, also 2005) describes a case of resumption of a storytelling. In Excerpt 22, A begins a telling a story (lines 1-3) when the departure of several interactants puts the telling on hold (lines 4-6).[111]

Excerpt 22: Goodwin: G91:250 (from Heritage, 1984, pp. 299-300, 2005, p. 188)

```
1   A:   Yeah I useta- This girlfr- er Jeff's gi:rlfriend,
2        the one he's gettin' married to, (0.9) s brother.=
3        =he use'to uh,
4        .... ((13 lines of data omitted. Some potential story
```

[110] Bolden (2005) also only analyzes instances in which interactants resume/continue their own (and not others') storytellings.

[111] Heritage (1984a, 2005) only provides minimal context for this transcript and does not include any more of the storytelling after line 8.

```
5          .... recipients leave the room))
6          ....
7    A:    What was I gonna say.=
8=>  A:    =Oh:: anyway. She use'ta, (0.4) come over
```

In line 7 (after the departure of other interactants is complete), A puts on display that he is searching for some talk he previously planned to produce (*What was I gonna say*). In line 8, he returns to the storytelling at the point at which it was put on hold by recycling *used to*[112] from line 3 (Jefferson, 1972). His search in line 7 was thus for this point in the storytelling. He prefaces the resumption with the two-part combination *oh anyway*.

With *oh*, a common change-of-state token in English that has several positionally specific functions (Barth-Weingarten et al., 2020; Bolden, 2006; Couper-Kuhlen, 2021; Heritage, 1984a, 1998, 2002, 2018), A indicates that the search process in line 7 was successful (Heritage, 1984a, 2005). With *anyway* — a discourse marker that appears frequently in storytellings in English interaction — A is connecting the upcoming return to the storytelling that was put on hold in line 3 (Ferrara, 1997; Sacks, 1992, p. 254).[113] That is, in line 8, A both indexes now-remembering of the storytelling (with *oh*) and projects a resumption of the storytelling (with *anyway*).

A's use of *oh anyway* in Excerpt 22 to do resumption provides some evidence that L1 transfer may account for how Rachel does resumption in her German interactions, at least in some contexts. Although she deploys a combination of a German particle combination (*achja*) and a German discourse marker (*also*), the composition and interactional work of her resumptions in German (potentially[114]) mirror resumptions in her L1 (English), namely: a change-of-state token

[112] Heritage (2005), despite the recycling verb phrase *used to*, does not account for the pronoun change between line 3 (*he*) and line 8 (*she*). A's person reference with *he* in line 3 is, however, likely a misselection (i.e., in this turn, we would expect A to refer back to Jeff's girlfriend in line 1), in which case he would be correcting *en passant* in the resumption in line 8.

[113] In her discourse analytic study, Ferrara (1997) found that, in producing storytellings (or 'narratives') in interaction, (story)tellers use sentence-initial *anyway* to mark the return to the "principal thread of [the teller's] discourse] (p. 359) after some digression from the principal activity of the telling; the digressions were either teller triggered or listener triggered. In her data and analyses, there is no indication that *anyway* indexes any change of state (e.g., remembering) or, in other words, that the teller 'forgot their place' in their storytelling during the digression (Ferrara, 1997). It is important to note, however, that Ferrara (1997) only described interactants using *anyway* to resume their own storytellings, not the storytellings of their co-interactants. Ferrara's (1997) are similar to Sacks' (1992) description of *anyway* in the management of topic; *anyway* signals that the upcoming utterance will move away from the topic of the prior talk and resume "the topic talked about before that" (Sacks, 1992, p. 254).

[114] I hedge here, because Heritage (1984a, 2005) only describes one instance of *oh anyway* in doing resumption, the instance in Excerpt 22. While the findings on English *oh* (Heritage, 1984a) and *anyway* (Ferrara, 1997) make my analysis of the combination's function plausible, without research on the combination *oh anyway* in spoken

to index now-remembering of the telling that was put on hold (*oh, achja*) and a discourse marker to project the resumption of the telling (*anyway, also*).

English *oh* and German *achja* are not, however, formally or functionally equivalent. Whereas English *oh* is single particle, *achja* is a particle *combination* of the change-of-state token *ach* and the acknowledgement token *ja* (see section 6.2.1, this chapter). In responsive positions, English *oh that's right* is formally and functionally closer to German *achja* than a single *oh* (see Betz & Golato, 2008; Küttner, 2018).[115] Whereas English *oh* indexes a variety of changes of state, including now-understanding (Heritage, 1984a), disappointment (Couper-Kuhlen, 2009), and other "changes in [a] locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 299), *achja* (as a combination) indexes specifically now-remembering (Betz & Golato, 2008). That is, while the format of Rachel's resumptions in German seem to match that of similar resumptions in English (i.e., change-of-state token + discourse marker), Rachel chooses a particle (combination) in German that specifically indexes now-remembering where in English a more functionally more diverse token may be used.

In the case of resumption, the Transfer Hypothesis holds — to a certain extent. Rachel's approach to achieving resumption — indexing now-remembering to connect to some other-than-prior talk (that was put on hold) and projecting a resumption of that talk — in German with *achja also* is similar to observations of English *oh anyway*. Her L1 may thus be shaping how she deploys L2 lexical resources to do resumption in German.

6.6 Discussion and conclusion

Before raising discussing the findings in this chapter within the context of IC, I want to return to the research questions I formulated in the introduction to this chapter.

1. How does Rachel use *achja* in sequentially first position? Do Rachel's participants orient to the action Rachel is performing (or seeking to perform) with *achja* in this position? That is, is it *recognizable* to the co-interactants what Rachel is doing with *achja*?
2. What factors are shaping Rachel's uses of *achja* in L2 German?

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interaction, I cannot claim that *oh-anyway*-prefacing is a common practice to do resumption in everyday English interaction.

[115] At least in sequentially third position (Betz & Golato, 2008; Küttner, 2018).

In my analyses (Section 6.4), I answered the first research question: I demonstrated how Rachel deploys the particle combination *achja* to index now-remembering after a search (Section 6.4.1), do backlinking (Section 6.4.2), and contribute to marking resumption (Section 6.4.3). As a combination of a change-of-state token (*ach*) and an acknowledgement/confirmation token (*ja*), *achja* can be said to have a core meaning of 'indexing now-remembering'; across languages (Danish, English, Finnish, German), combinations of a claim of a change of state with an acknowledgement/confirmation recurrently function as claims of now-remembering in responsive positions (Section 6.2). In using *achja* in sequence-initiating positions, Rachel is taking advantage of the particle combination's core meaning to do other interactional work: to mark the end of a search for an event from her past or (both in backlinking and doing resumption) connecting an upcoming turn to some other-than-prior talk.

I also addressed the recognizability of Rachel's deployment of sequence-initiating *achja*. In the case of searches and backlinking, a display of recognizability as to the work *achja* does would be potentially problematic, as it would potentially make language use the conversational business above the interactants' actual conversational business. Rachel's resumptions, however, can be shown to be recognizable to her co-interactants, both when resuming her own storytelling (Excerpt 19) and when resuming a co-interactant's talk (Excerpt 20).

Following my analyses, I addressed my second research question, focussing specifically on Rachel's use of *achja also* in doing resumption (Section 6.5). I reviewed research on German and English to test two hypotheses (the Participation Hypothesis and the Transfer Hypothesis) in order to investigate how her participation in interactions in her L2 as well as her L1 could be influencing her achievement of resumption in her German interactions. The Participation Hypothesis (Section 6.5.1) seems less suitable in trying to account for Rachel's *achja also* resumptions, as to do similar kinds of resumption L1 speakers of German appear to *naja* to signal a break with the side sequence rather than index a change of state (A. Golato, 2018). Additionally, a corpus search suggests L1 speakers do not in fact combine *also* with *achja* in their spoken interactions. The Transfer Hypothesis (Section 6.5.2), on the other hand, may help explain Rachel's use of *achja also* to do resumption in German. In Rachel's L1 (English), interactants can signal resumption by first indexing now-remembering of other-than-prior talk (with *oh*) and then project a resumption of talk that was put on hold (with *anyway*). Rachel achieves resumption in German using the functionally similar change-of-state token

(combination) *achja* (to index now-remembering) and *also* (to project a resumption). That is, Rachel's *strategy* for doing resumption may be patterned after the resources she has available in her L1, but she achieves resumption by using L2 lexical resources.

By investigating interactional competence through taking as the starting point a linguistic resource with an indexical function — such as a particle combination *achja* — I have described how an L2 speaker can take advantage of such a resource's core meaning to do other interactional work. In Rachel's case, that means using *achja* to index now-remembering in contexts where she is not receipting some information. In the case of backlinking and resumption, Rachel uses sequence-initiating TCU-initial *achja* as a discourse marker: she signals to her co-interactant how they should (not) interpret the following turn in relation to prior talk. And, in the case of resumption, I showed that an L2 speaker can recognizably — and therefore competently — perform an action in interaction by approaching the interactional issue as they would in their L1.

Chapter 7 Contributing to the organization of L2 interaction: The developing use of the discourse marker *also* in L2 German

7.1 Introduction to and outline of chapter

In this chapter, I address this possible gap in IC research and explore what an analytical focus on the development of a linguistic resource can reveal about the development of L2 IC. I investigate the changing discourse marker use of one L2 speaker of German — Nina — over the course of a 12-month sojourn to Germany. By investigating the development of L2 IC through discourse markers, I seek to separate our understanding of the development of L2 IC — the increased capacity for context-sensitive and recognizable conduct (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Wagner et al., 2018) — from the different trajectories that the development can take, specifically *diversification* (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; Skogmyr Marian, 2020) and *streamlining* (Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021). I focus on Nina's use of *also*, a common discourse marker in German that has been associated with the organization of repair (Alm, 2007; Fernández-Villanueva, 2007), topic development (Alm, 2007), and the management of intersubjectivity (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013) in interaction. I compare Nina's changing use of *also* to diversification and streamlining, proposing an additional developmental trajectory — one I capture with the term *pruning* — to describe what we observe in Nina's interaction over time and thus to capture her developing IC.

I begin by reviewing research on German *also* in L1 interaction (Section 7.2). I then present the data corpus that forms the basis of my analysis (Section 7.3) before analyzing Nina's use of German *also* over time (Section 7.4). In the discussion (Section 7.5), I present the developmental trajectory of *pruning* (Section 7.5.1) and discuss the limits of recognizability in the study of IC (Section 7.5.2).

7.2 German *also*: Connective conjunction to discourse marker

In German, *also* is a frequently used lexical item with several functions; however, despite *also*'s prevalence in German interaction and the various linguistic studies that focus on it (Dittmar, 2002, 2010; Fernández-Villanueva, 2007; Konerding, 2004), there is little CA work on German

also (but see Alm, 2004, 2007; Auer, 1996, pp. 317–318; Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). Like other discourse markers, *also* also appears as other parts of speech in German (see Section 5.1). *Also*'s original function is as a connecting adverb that can mark outcomes and conclusions (similar to English *therefore* and *so*) and preface summaries or expansions (Dudenredaktion, n.d.-a). Adverbial *also* can exercise these connecting functions from the front- or mid-field (see Auer, 1996, and Section 5.3). Linguistic studies on interactional and textual uses of *also* have confirmed these functions (Dittmar, 2002, 2010; Fernández-Villanueva, 2007; Konerding, 2004), and have additionally identified *also* in repair contexts (e.g., word searches, Alm, 2007), in reformulation marking (Fernández-Villanueva, 2007), and topic shifts (Alm, 2007). In these discursive organization uses, *also* appears in the pre-front field, rather than the front field (see Section 5.3); a move to the pre-front field points to *pragmaticization*, through which *also*'s semantic adverbial meaning is bleached and it develops a discourse marker use (Auer, 1996; Auer & Günthner, 2005; Blühdorn, Foolen, et al., 2017).[116]

Deppermann and Helmer's (2013) CA study compares *also* to another adverb — *dann* "then" — in turn-initial position, specifically in turns that in the formulation of inferences of a co-interactant's prior talk (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). In this context, *also* (appearing almost exclusively in the pre-front field and is thus being used as a discourse marker, see Auer 1996; and also Section 5.3) maintains an aspect of its summative function as an adverb: inferences formulated with *also* are produced as reformulations of a co-interactant's prior talk and contain an understanding that the *also*-speaker treats as being in the common ground. Interactants regularly offer such *also*-inferences of their co-interactant's talk for confirmation by the co-interactant. The inferences drawn with the temporal adverb *dann* "then", by contrast, are unilateral, that is, marked as only from the perspective of the *dann*-speaker (Deppermann & Helmer, 2013). Thus, while both turn-initial *also* and *dann* connect the following talk to the co-interactant's prior turn, *also* reformulates that talk as an upshot (see Heritage & Watson, 1979, 1980) and *dann* frames it as a consequence.

Important to note here is *also*'s versatility, that is, the range of discursive organizational functions it can perform. As with other discourse markers, *also* is Janus-faced in that it works on

[116] Heinemann and Steensig (2018) note similar functions for turn-initial Danish *altså*, loaned from German *also*. They, however, found no instances of *altså* prefacing summaries or conclusions in their corpus of contemporary spoken Danish interaction. Heinemann and Steensig (2018) describe turn-initial *altså*'s function as marking a warranted departure from progressivity for the purpose of "explaining, elaboration, or specifying some aspect of prior talk before proceeding to a next relevant action" (p. 447).

the prior and the following talk to signal how a current utterance is to be interpreted in the local context (see Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b, and Section 5.2). However, depending on the use, *also* may be more forward looking (i.e., projects aspects of the upcoming talk, e.g., in word searches; see Alm, 2007), backward looking (i.e., does work on earlier talk, e.g., as a reformulation marker; see Fernández-Villanueva, 2007), or be equally forward and backward looking (e.g., in the context of topic shifts; see Alm, 2007). While Nina uses forward-looking, backward-looking, and equally Janus-faced *also*s, it is her backward-looking *also*s that I analyze and track in this chapter, for two primary reasons. First, the backward-looking *also*s are the only ones that Nina uses in the data at the beginning and end of her sojourn (the months 1-4 and month 12; more on the data in the following Section 7.3 and the frequency of use across the sojourn in Section 7.4.6). This consistent use allows for a more fruitful longitudinal comparison, as I can track how Nina's *also* use changes over the sojourn (i.e., the interactional functions in performs) rather than simply describe the new functions that Nina develops and those that no longer appear at the end of her sojourn. Second, the backward-looking *also*s do (broadly speaking) similar work on prior talk: they make its meaning suitable for the local context. That is, Nina uses *also*s in contexts where she is explicating (e.g., explicitly stating a now-relevant aspect of some earlier lexical item or phrase), modifying (e.g., reformulating earlier talk to make it understandable), or correcting (e.g., correcting an incorrect candidate understanding) or otherwise doing what I gloss as *negotiating* the meaning of some prior talk. In all these uses, Nina is doing work to maintain or restore intersubjectivity between her and her co-interactants. Tracking the change in Nina's use of backward-looking *also* can thus also provide insight into changes in her management of intersubjectivity. Before moving to my analyses of Nina's uses of backwards-looking *also* (Section 7.4), I briefly present the data on which I base my analyses in the next section.

7.3 Data

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on recordings made of one research participant's everyday interactions during a 12-month sojourn to a university in a mid-sized city in Germany, which is here anonymized to *Würzburg*. The participant, Nina, is an L2 university student who is pursuing a double major degree, with one major being German. At time or recording, she had completed coursework up to approximately CEFR B1-level German (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018) before her sojourn. During her sojourn in Würzburg, Nina took German language courses

as well as cultural and social studies courses taught in German. She lived in a student residence with other international students as well as students from Germany. The recorded interactions are between Nina and one to four additional university students (i.e., 2 to 5 total participants), with a mixture of L1 and L2 speakers of German. To increase the flexibility of recording and, therefore, the amount of recorded interaction data, Nina recorded her interactions herself. While Nina had access to video cameras as well as an audio recorder, I instructed Nina to prioritize the frequency of recordings over the completeness of the recorded data; she therefore only audio recorded most of her face-to-face interactions (see also Section 4.1). Most interactions take place in Nina's student residence; other recording locales include the university's student cafeteria, a café, and a regional train. Three recordings are of meal interactions. In most recorded interactions, there are two or three total interactants (including Nina); in only two recorded interactions are there more than three interactants (five in one recording and four in the other).

Because of limited transcription resources, only a portion of the entire collection of recordings were selected, transcribed, and prepared for analysis. To increase the likelihood of identifying changes in Nina's use of *also*, recordings from the beginning and end of Nina's sojourn (that is, the first four months and the eleventh month) were chosen for transcription.[117] Furthermore, in order to facilitate comparability, transcription resources were organized such that 10-minute portions of several recordings were transcribed. I base the analyses in this chapter off 70 minutes of transcribed data: 50 minutes from 5 recordings during the first four months of Nina's sojourn and 20 minutes from two recordings from the penultimate month. Despite their different sizes, these two sets of transcribed data are comparable in terms of the participants (both in terms of the number of participants and Nina's relationship with them) and the interactional context (everyday conversation in public and private settings). As such, while I identify fundamental changes in Nina's use of *also* in her everyday interactions, more transcription and analysis will be required to more adequately capture the trajectory of development and change in Nina's accomplishment of social interaction in German.

I base my analysis on a collection of 32 instances of *also* in months 1 to 4 of Nina's sojourn and a collection of 27 instances in month 11. As I outline in the previous section, I focus on Nina's backward-looking *also*s, which all do work to *negotiate the meaning* of some prior talk.

[117] Because the COVID-19 pandemic began during the second half of Nina's sojourn to Germany, there are three months prior to the end where Nina was less able to meet with friends and acquaintances and, thus, unable to record.

Nina's uses backward-looking *also*s 13 times in the beginning collection and 17 times at the end. From the five operations I list above, it is in reformulations, summations, and unpackings, as well as in corrections of co-interactants' incorrect candidate understandings, that Nina uses *also* to contribute to the negotiation of meaning, both in her own and in others' prior talk. In Section 7.4.6, where I summarize analyses, I give a detailed quantitative breakdown of the data collections.

7.4 Analyses: Nina's *alsos* in the negotiation of meaning

I now move to my analyses of Nina's use of *also* in the negotiation of meaning across the two collections, the Beginning collection (from the first four months of Nina's sojourn) and the End collection (from the end of her sojourn). I discuss the following of Nina's uses of *also* in interaction: to unpack some earlier talk (Section 7.4.1); to formulate either an upshot or a consequence of prior talk (Section 7.4.2); to correct a co-interactant's candidate understanding (Section 7.4.4); and to reformulate her own prior talk (Section 7.4.5). This order also reflects the change I observe in Nina's use of *also* throughout sojourn. I then give a concluding overview of Nina's *also* use (Section 7.4.6). I end this chapter with a discussion and conclusion (Section 7.5), in which I reflect on how my analytic findings represent a change in Nina's *also* use and describe development of L2 IC in German.

7.4.1 Unpackings

One of the activities in which Nina employs German *also* is in that of unpackings; with "unpackings", I describe moves (consisting of a single or multiple TCUs) in which Nina makes explicit what she implicitly conveyed in some earlier talk. The earlier talk (or *target*) can be in the prior TCU or in an other-than-prior TCU within the same sequence. In terms of *scope*, the target can lie either in a prior or an other-than-prior TCU in the same sequence. Consider Excerpt 23, taken from month 4 of Nina's sojourn, in which she and two fellow students, Emma (EMM) and Simon (SIM), are discussing German license plates. License plates for motorized vehicles registered in Germany indicate the municipality in which the vehicle is registered; each municipality has their own unique letter combination that appears on the very left of the license plate; the abbreviation is taken from the municipality's largest city. The abbreviations can

contain one, two, or three letters of the German alphabet (including the umlauts *Ä, Ö,* and *Ü*). The length of the abbreviation is generally dependent on the population size of the municipality, with more populous municipalities having single-letter abbreviations and the least populous municipalities having three letters. For example, there is an "F" on license plates for cars registered in Frankfurt, "BN" on cars registered in Bonn, and "CUX" on cars registered in the northern German Cuxhaven. Prior to the following excerpt, Nina and Simon were listing the abbreviations that they already knew, including Würzburg (WÜ) — where they live —, Bad Kissingen (KI), and Frankfurt (F).[118] At the beginning of this excerpt, Emma explains to Simon and Nina what she has learned about the system behind these abbreviations, namely that there is an inverse relationship between the size of the city (*Stadt*) and the city's abbreviation (lines 01 to 03, 10, 12, 37). [119] Nina first receipts the information about larger cities having shorter license plate abbreviations in line 11 with the change-of-state token *oh* (A. Golato, 2012; Heritage, 1984a). In lines 44 to 46, Nina explains an earlier notion she had, namely that the system of abbreviations is like the grading scale of German universities (line 46: *Punktsystem* "points system"), a numeric scale from 1-6, in which 1 is the highest possible grade and 5 and 6 are failing grades. The focus is on Nina's *also* in line 47.

Excerpt 23: NIN_2019.11.05_04:52-06:13_*ähnlich wie die Punktsystem* "similar to the points system"

```
01   EMM:   ich HAbe (.) gelesen dass.
            i        (.)  read   that.

02          °h (0.41) ah:m °hh (0.58) es wenn es ein: (.) BUCHstabe, (.) [gibt, ]
            °h (0.41) uh:m °hh (0.58) it when it one: (.) LEtter, (.)    [gives,]
            that uhm when there's one letter                             [      ]
03   NIN:                                                                [mmhm, ]

04   EMM:   dann is der_sch\ die STADT (0.68) eine von den große. <<len> GROssteste?>
            then the c\ CIty is (0.68) one of the big (ones). <<len> beggestest?>

05          (0.25)

06   SIM:   [ ist  die  ] die GRÖSSte:;
            [(it) is the] the BIGGest:;
07   EMM:   [GROSSte?   ]
            [BEGgest?   ]

08   SIM:   [die  mit dem BUCH]staben: [  An]fängt.
            [that with the LEt]ters:   [  bE]gin.
```

[118] All place names are anonymized in the transcript.

[119] In Nina's recorded interactions with other exchange students, they regularly discuss and compare differences between Germany and their countries of origin, particularly when they have learned a new fact about Germany (such is the case in Excerpt 23).

```
             that start with the letters              [    ]
09   EMM:    [stadt  mit  diese]                      [ja  ]
             [city with that   ]                      [yeah]

10   EMM:    und dann d\  [mit ] (.) drei:.=
             and then th\ [with] (.) three:.=
11   NIN:              [oh  ]

12   EMM:    =ist es (0.74) <<creaky> äh:[:          >] immer am ähm_ja am KLEINsten.
             =it's (0.74) <<creaky>   uh:[:          >] always the uhm_yeah the
                                         [            ]                  SMAllest
13   SIM:                                [am KLEINsten.]
                                         [the SMALLest.]

((21 lines of transcript ommitted, in which Emma relates larger cities' shorter city
abbreviations on license plates numbers to those cities' increased number of cars))

36   NIN:    °h [ja::         ][(0.4)   es gibt mehr] KOMbinationen.
             °h [ye::h        ][(0.4) there are more] combiNAtions.
37   EMM:       [weil es mehre][(0.4) AUtos gibt.   ]
                [because there][(0.4) are more CARS.]

38   EMM:    jep
             yep

39   NIN:    oh::—=O:kay::;

40           (0.74)

41   NIN:    okay—

42           [no, ] ich habe geDACHT dass (.) viellEIcht es könnte:
             [no, ] i THOUGHT that (.) mAYbe it co:uld
43   EMM:    [(e\)]

44   NIN:    es könnte SEIN (.) ((schmatzt)) °h
             it could BE (.) ((smacks lips)) °h

45           also (0.76) ahm: (1.06) zu:: ((schmatzt)) °h
             PTCL (0.76) uhm: (1.06) to:: ((smacks lips)) °h

46   NIN:    zu[120] ÄHNlich wie: (.) die: (.) punktsystem?
             (like/to) SIMilar to (.) the (.) points system?

47=>         also— EI:NS (.) ist die beste not,
             PTCL— O:NE (.) is the best grade,

48           und [funf ist die SCHLECH]te not?
             and [five   is   the   ba]d grade?
49   EMM:       [ah::               ]
```

After returning to the main sequence after a repair in line 36, Nina receipts and indexes a change of state to Emma's explanation with *oh okay* (line 39), a combination in which *oh* indicates the speaker now knows something they did not know before (Heritage, 1984a) and *okay* indicates

[120] While Nina utters [tsu] in lines 45 and 46, corresponding to German *zu* "to", German *so* "so" (realized as [zo]) would be more idiomatic here as part of the construction *so ähnlich wie* "similar to". Because there is no visible trouble of understanding in the data related to Nina's use of *zu* rather that *so* in line 45 and 46, and because she repeats and does not repair her *zu*, I treat Nina's *zu ähnlich wie* as the more idiomatic *so ähnlich wie*.

the speaker must revise some previous understanding (Couper-Kuhlen, 2021),[121] Nina (in lines 42 and 43) begins to make public her revision process (*ich habe geDACHT dass (.) viellEIcht es könnte: es könnte SEIN* "i THOUGHT that (.) mAYbe it co:uld it could BE"). In using the past tense *habe gedacht* "thought" here, she indexes the revision of an assumption she previously held that is discrepant with the information that Emma has just shared (Deppermann & Reineke, 2020). In line 46, Nina produces her discrepant assumption: Nina understood that the system behind the abbreviations on license plates was like the German grading scale.

As exchange students in Germany themselves, Simon and Emma (both also and L2 speakers) are likely acquainted with the points system at German universities. Nina has not (yet), however, explicitly stated for her co-interactants in which way(s) she assumed the *Punktsystem* and the abbreviations to be similar. She does so in lines 47 and 48: Following a level intonation TCU-initial *also*, she selects one aspect of the *Punktsystem* — namely the inverse relationship between the numeric value of the grade and its quality (*EI:NS (.) ist die beste not, und funf ist die SCHLECHte not? "*O:NE (.) is the best grade, and five is the bad grade?") — out of its many possible aspects. That is, she unpacks *die Punktsystem* "the points system" from line 46 by selecting which (of many) of its aspects she previously believed it shared with the system of license plate abbreviations. Nina is thus making explicit what the noun phrase *die Punktsystem* in line 46 implicitly conveys.[122]

In the first 5 months of her sojourn, Nina prefaces unpackings of some element of her own earlier talk with *also*. These unpacking sequences consist of two parts: a *target* (i.e., the talk that is unpacked) and the *unpacking* (prefaced with *also*).[123] Targets are specific syntactic units: in Excerpt 23, Nina's *also*-unpacking in lines 47 and 48 targets specifically the noun phrase *die*

[121] Although the participants are speaking German, I refer to research on English *oh* and *okay* here to interpret Nina's turns in line 11 and 39. There are, however, differences in the changes of state these tokens index in German and English. This is particularly the case for *oh* in response to new information: while English *oh* claims epistemic changes of state (e.g., increased informedness; Heritage, 1984a), German *oh* indexes emotional changes of state (e.g., surprise, disappointment; A. Golato, 2012). Since Nina does not produce the *oh*s in lines 11 or 39 with an intonation contour that would suggest a change in affect (see A. Golato, 2012, on role of intonation in differentiating between emotional changes of state) and since the topic of conversation (German license plate numbers) does not appear to be one of particular emotional or personal import for Nina, I argue that Nina is using *oh* in this excerpt to claim epistemic and not emotional changes of state.

[122] That Nina is targeting specifically the noun phrase *die Punktsystem* and not a larger unit (e.g., *wie die Punktsystem* "like the points system", in which case she would be explicating the comparison between the abbreviations; see Excerpt 24) is visible through her use of the noun *not((e))* "grade", which has a closer semantic link to the grading system than it does to city abbreviations.

[123] Unpacking sequences are *retro-sequences* (see Schegloff, 2007, pp. 217–219), that is, sequences in which the first unit only becomes the first item once the second item is produced. In unpacking sequences, the target only acquires its status as a target once the interactant produces an unpacking.

Punktsystem in line 46. The distance to the target can, however, vary. In Excerpt 24, a continuation of Excerpt 23, Nina again uses an *also*-prefaced unpacking, now to target an adjunct in some earlier talk; however, that talk is not in the prior TCU, but in the prior-to-prior TCU.

In lines 42 to 46 of Extract 2, Nina presents her now-discrepant assumption about the city abbreviations on German license plates presenting it with the past tense *ich habe geDACHT* "i THOUGHT" in line 42 (see Deppermann & Reineke, 2020); in lines 47 to 48 she produces an *also*-prefaced unpacking of *die Punktsystem* from line 46. In the talk following the unpacking (lines 52 and 53), Nina makes more explicit the commonality she previously assumed the points system and the city abbreviations shared — that there is an inverse relationship between the length of the abbreviation and the quality (and not the population) of the municipality (*wenn du nur EIN (.) buchstabel hast,= also es ist die die beste städte* "if you only have ONE (.) letter,= PTCL it is the the best cities"). The focus is Nina's *also* in line 50.

Excerpt 24: NIN_2019.11.05_05:47-06:13_*ähnlich wie die Punktsystem* "similar to the points system"

```
42   NIN:   [no, ] ich habe geDACHT dass (.) viellEIcht es könnte:
            [no, ] i THOUGHT that (.) mAYbe it co:uld
43   EMM:   [(e\)]

44   NIN:   es könnte SEIN (.) ((schmatzt)) °h
            it couled BE (.) ((smacks lips)) °h

45          also (0.76) ahm: (1.06) zu:: ((schmatzt)) °h
            PTCL (0.76) uhm: (1.06) to:: ((smacks lips)) °h

46   NIN:   zu ÄHNlich wie: (.) die: (.) punktsystem?
            (like/to) SIMilar to (.) the (.) points system?

47          also— EI:NS (.) ist die beste not,
            PTCL— O:NE (.) is the best grade,

48          und [funf ist die SCHLECH]te not?
            and [five   is   the   BA]D grade?
49   EMM:       [ah::               ]

50 =>NIN:   [<<lachend> (also)> ]
            [<<laughing> (PTCL)>]
51   EMM:   [haha               ]

52   NIN:   °h heh wenn du nur EIN (.) buchstabel hast,=
            °h heh if you only have ONE (.) letter,=

53          =also es ist die die beste städte hehe
            =PTCL it is the the best cities hehe

54          [((unverständlich)) <<lachend> und FÜNF it's like hahahaha ]
            [((unintelligible)) <<laughing> and FIVE it's like hahahaha]
55   EMM:   [die             beste             hahahaha                ]
            [the            best              hahahaha                ]
```

```
56   NIN:   [°h hm:      ]
57   EMM:   [(alSO:) ein]e SCHLECHte stadt.
            [(PTCL:)   a] BAD city.

58   NIN:   j[a.
            y[eah.
59   EMM:    [ahm:
             [uhm:
```

In lines 52 and 53, Nina connects the number one in *ein Buchstabel* "one letter" with being the *beste Städte* "best cities", repeating both the number *eins* "one" and the superlative adjective *beste* "best" from line 47. And in line 54, although she breaks into laughter without grammatically completing the TCU (*und FÜNF it's like* "and FIVE it's like"), Nina similarly repeats the number *fünf* "five" — the *schlechte Not* "bad grade" — from line 48; Emma then, after producing affiliative laughter in line 55, formulates the kind of city that would have a five-letter abbreviation[124] under Nina's system: *eine SCHLECHTE stadt.* "a BAD city" (line 57). Nina's talk in lines 52 to 54 unpacks *so ähnlich wie die Punktsystem* "(like/to) similar to (.) the (.) points system?" from line 46 (broadening the syntactic unit of the target *die Punktsystem*): It makes explicit the commonality between the length of the city abbreviations (which is the ongoing topic of conversation) and the the *Punktsystem* (which she unpacked in in lines 47 and 48).

Like her unpacking of *die Punktsystem* "the points system" in Excerpt 23, Nina prefaces this unpacking in Excerpt 24 with an *also* (line 50). And her unpacking of *so ähnlich wie die Punktsystem* builds on her unpacking of *Punktsystem*: It connects the inverse number grade-performance relationship (the unpacking in lines 47 and 48) of the *Punktsystem* to the length of city abbreviations (lines 52 and 53). However, unlike the unpacking of *Punktsystem*, Nina's *also*-unpacking in Excerpt 24 does not target some element of the just-*prior* TCU (in line 48), but an element of an other-than-prior TCU. In other words, Nina's unpacking with also allows her to extend the scope to a target that lies further back in the sequence.

Nina's *also*-prefaced unpackings in Excerpt 23 and Excerpt 24 each consist of complex TCUs with clausal constructions: in Excerpt 23, Nina's unpacking in lines 47 and 48 consists of two declarative clauses, and in Excerpt 24, Nina's unpacking in lines 52 to 54 takes the shape of an *if*-

[124] The laughability of Nina's TCU in 54 may also be due in part to the fact that there are no five-letter abbreviations on license plates; the longest abbreviations are three letters long.

then construction (with *wenn* in line 52 and *also*[125] in line 53). The targets of the unpackings in Excerpt 23 and Excerpt 24, however, are both phrasal units within larger TCUs. Nina also produces *also*-prefaced unpackings that target shorter phrasal constructions, such as that in the following Excerpt 25. Here, Nina is talking with Emma and Simon in the university cafeteria (or *Mensa*). The three interactants are making plans for the upcoming weekend, on which both Emma and Simon will be hosting guests. Prior to the beginning of the excerpt, Emma announced that she and her guest will be going to the local Christmas market on Saturday. In line 01, Nina expresses her excitement for *Glühwein* ("mulled wine", lit. "glow wine"), a popular winter beverage widely available at German Christmas markets. In line 10, Nina starts telling Emma and Simon about a different kind of *Glühwein* she tried at the Christmas market, likely a *Feuerzangenbowle* "flaming punch", another common beverage, which consists of a sugar loaf that is suspended over a container of mulled wine on tongs (or *Zange*) and soaked in rum. The rum-soaked sugar loaf is then ignited and melts into the mulled wine below. Nina describes the *Feuerzangenbowle* in lines 10-30. The focus *also* is in line 26.

Excerpt 25: NIN_2019.11.26_04:45-05:20_*mit Rum* "with rum"

```
01   NIN:   ich bin begeistert für die GLÜHwein.
            i am excited for the.FEM.ACC MULLED wine.
            I am excited for the mulled wine

            (0.64)

02   NIN:   <<mit vollem Mund, f> HM.>
            <<with a full mouth, f> HM.>

            (0.38)

03   EMM:   [hm::                ]
04   SIM:   [für     DEN     glüh]wein.
            [for THE.M.ACC mulled] wine
            for the mulled wine

05   EMM:   [joa,          ]
            [yeah,         ]
06   NIN:   [  für   DEN  ] glühwein.
            [for THE.M.ACC] mulled wine.
            for the mulled wine

07          (0.47)

08   NIN:   ah:m

09          (3.23)
```

[125] Nina uses the TCU-prefacing *also* in line 53 to project the production of some consequence of earlier talk; I analyze these *also*s in Section 7.4.2.

10 NIN: ich hab AUCH probiert ein glÜhwei:n?
i ALso tried a mUlled wine?

11 (.) und es hat (0.47) also ein:: STÜCK?
(.) and it has (0.47) PTLC a:: PIECE?

12 (0.96) ah: von SUcker?
(0.96) uh: of SUgar?

13 (0.68)

14 NIN: UND,=
AND,=

15 EMM: =ja?=
=yeah?=

16 NIN: es alle (.) ähm: ein\ ein\ ein STÜCK von sucker:—
it all (.) uhm: a\ a\ a PIECE of sugar:—

17 (0.46)

18 NIN: mit (0.82) rum? ((=[ʀʊm]))
with (0.82) rum?

19 (0.61)

20 SIM: mi[t]
wi[th]
21 NIN: [<<all> u]nd> dann\
[*<<all> a]nd> then*

22 (0.61)

23 NIN: <<English> rum?> ((=[ɹɐm]))

24 EMM: <<English> rum.> ((=[ɹʊm]))

25 SIM: oh yeah.

26=> NIN: **also** die ALkohol,=und dann alles: ahm:
PTCL *the ALcohol,=and then everything: uhm:*

27 (0.46)

28 NIN: NICHT verbrannt.
NOT burned:PTCP.

29 (0.83)

30 NIN: [alles (als) verBRANNT (es).]
[*everything (as) (it) BURNED:PTCP*]
31 SIM: [achSO:; ja.]
[*oh i SEE:; yeah.*]

32 NIN: dann <<kehlig> ä[:h O:]H> my gosh.=es ist=
then <<guttural> u[:h O:]H my gosh.=it is=
33 EMM: [OH::]

34 SIM: =schön.
=nice.

```
35   NIN:   S:Uper lecker.
            S:Uper delicious.
```

In line 02, with a full mouth, Nina produces a *hm* with increased volume, indicating that she is preparing to take the floor once her speaking apparatus is clear of food. Before she can take the floor, in line 04, Simon corrects Nina's turn in line 01, repeating the prepositional phrase (*für die GLÜHwein* "for the MULLED wine") but replacing the feminine accusative definite article *die* with the masculine accusative article *den* (*für DEN glühwein* "for THE mulled wine"). In line 06, Nina takes up Simon's correction by repeating it. After silences in lines 07 and 09 and an *ahm* from Nina in line 08, Nina begins telling her co-interactants about a(nother) *Glühwein* she has tried (*ich hab AUCH probiert ein glÜhwei:n?* "i ALso tried a mUlled wine?", line 10). In lines 11 and 12, Nina continues, telling her co-interactants about a piece of sugar that accompanied this mulled wine. Nina produces *Sucker* "sugar" in line 12 with rising final intonation. Such prosodic "try-marking" was originally described in L1 interaction as a way to check a co-interactant's recognition of a person reference by making a claim or disclaim of recognition relevant (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Research on L2 word searches describes how L2 speakers take advantage of try-marking rising intonation to "elicit[] confirmation of a candidate solution" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 63). Before Nina receives a verbal claim of recognition (in the form of Emma's ja "yeah" in line 15, which also serves as a go-ahead for Nina's telling; see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 61, on confirmation and go-aheads in L2 word search sequences),[126] she projects the production of some other feature of this novel mulled wine with the conjunction *und* "and" in line 14. Nina then continues what her *UND* "AND" projected (*es alle* "it all", line 16), but replaces this with a repeat of her TCU from lines 11 and 12: *ein\ ein\ ein STÜCK von sucker:—* " a\ a\ a PIECE of sugar:—".

After a pause in line 17, Nina (in line 18) adds *mit (0.82) rum?* "with (0.82) rum?" to the repeat, try-marking *rum* with rising intonation; she produces *rum* in line 17 with a standard German pronunciation, i.e., a voiceless uvular trill [ʀ] and a near-close back rounded vowel [ʊ]. In line 20 (and in overlap with Nina's *und dann* "and then" in line 21), Simon initiates repair on Nina's *rum* by repeating the preposition *mit* "with"; repeating the preposition pinpoints the trouble source from Nina's line 16 as Simon's hearing of the next item after the *mit*, i.e., *rum* (see Egbert, 2009, p. 101, on other-repair initiation via partial repeat). In line 23, Nina repairs by

[126] It is, of course, possible that Emma or Simon indicated their recognition non-verbally, e.g., by nodding. As I only have an audio recording of this interaction, I do not have access to the interactants' use of multimodal resources.

completing the prepositional phrase Simon started with *mit* in line 16. She now produces *rum* with an English pronunciation, i.e., with a voiced alveolar approximant [ɹ] and a near-open central vowel [ɐ]. Emma does the same repair in line 24 (realizing the vowel as [ʊ]), and Simon receipts the repairs with *oh yeah* in line 25, indicating that Nina's and/or Emma's solutions in lines 23 and 24 were sufficient to address his trouble of hearing; he thereby claims "a change of state of information" (Heritage, 1984a, p. 316) and proposes closure of the repair sequence (see also Koivisto, 2019, on repair receipts).

In line 26, Nina utters *also* and then names the category of drink to which rum belongs: *die ALkohol,* "the ALcohol,". At this point, it is unclear what the relevance is of Nina explicitly mentioning that rum — a liquor that is well known for its high alcohol content — is alcoholic. Simon has just indicated that his trouble with Nina's *rum* in line 18 has been resolved and does not initiate any further repair that would suggest he is unacquainted with rum. However, Simon's turn in line 18 is a *claim* of recognition, and not a *display* i.e., Simon has not demonstrated that he knows of rum (with, e.g., "oh, the drink"). Therefore, despite his claim, Nina may take Simon to still not have recognized to what *rum* refers.[127] By uttering *die ALkohol,* "the ALcohol," in line 26 — the category of beverage to which rum belongs — Nina is, in a post-possible completion expansion of the repair sequence (the possible completion being Simons' *oh yeah* in line 25), addressing a possible lingering trouble of reference.

Following *also die ALkohol,* Nina continues her explanation of the beverage in line 26, repeating *und dann* "and then" from line 21 with *alles* "everything" (see Jefferson, 1972, on continuation). With the lengthening on *alles* and her *ahm* "uhm" in line 26, Nina signals that she is having difficulty producing the next item and is initiating a word search.[128] In line 28, after a pause, Nina starts a new TCU (*NICHT verbrannt* "NOT burned"), putting on display for Simon and Emma her cognitive search process: that she is searching for a word related to *verbrannt* "burned" but not specifically *verbrannt*. Despite her difficulties in describing the *Glühwein*, in line 31, Simon claims understanding of Nina's explanation thus far with the token combination

[127] Because Emma, who, like Simon, is also a recipient of Nina's explanation of *Feuerzangenbowle*, also attempts to repair Simon's trouble of hearing by code-switching into English (thereby demonstrating her recognition of Rum from line 18), Simon may also be motivated to claim recognition in line 25 to demonstrate that he — like Emma — is a knowledgeable recipient (in that he also has access to the referent of rum).
[128] For a review of word searches in interaction, see Section 6.4.1.

achSO:(Golato, 2010; Golato & Betz, 2008). After Nina's further attempt to explain the *Glühwein* in line 32, Emma also claims understanding with *oh* in line 33 (Heritage, 1984a).[129]

In the context of a flaming *Glühwein* (i.e., a *Feuerzangenbowle*), that the rum is alcoholic is relevant: it is its high alcohol content (and its related flammability) that allows this "flaming punch" to be "flaming". If Simon does not understand that rum is an alcoholic beverage, he may not understand the novelty of the *Glühwein* Nina is presenting. Thus, while Nina's *die Alkohol* may orient to a possible lingering trouble of reference from Simon on the noun *rum*, it does not repair the trouble of reference (i.e., by having Simon establish a link between the noun *rum* and the beverage to which it refers); rather, it unpacks *rum* (from line 18) by selecting and bringing to the foreground the here-and-now relevant aspect of rum — its alcohol content — allowing Nina to continue the telling and preparing Simon to understand the punchline implied in line 28 (that the *Glühwein* is on fire) — despite any lingering problems of reference.[130] In line 31, Simon claims understanding of the peak (implied in Nina's *nicht verbrannt* in line 28) with the change-of-state token combination *achso* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008); he follows with *ja*, possibly claiming recognition of the beverage Nina is telling about and, thereby, a claim of independent experience with the *Glühwein* (see Betz & Golato, 2008, on the role of confirming/acknowledging ja in indexing now-remembering). Nina continues her turn, assessing the taste of the flaming *Glühwein* positively in lines 32 and 35.

Like in Excerpt 24, the *also*-unpacking is not adjacent to its target: *rum* (either in the main sequence in line 18 or in the repair sequence in line 23) is not in the TCU prior to the *also*-unpacking in line 26. However, whereas Nina's unpackings in Excerpt 23 (lines 47 and 48) and Excerpt 24 (lines 52-54) are both comprised of complex clausal units, Nina's unpacking in Excerpt 25 is a single noun phrase (*die Alkohol* "the alcohol"). Nina's *also*-unpackings thus vary in terms of the target's syntactic structure and distance from the unpacking, the placement of the unpacking in the unfolding sequence, and the structure of the unpacking turn.

In the data from the beginning of her sojourn, Nina produces 4 *also*-prefaced unpackings. All of Nina's *also* unpackings make explicit something that some earlier unit (the target) conveys implicitly. In Excerpt 23 and Excerpt 25, the unpackings select the aspect of the target that is

[129] See p. 139, note 121.

[130] It is possible, given Nina's troubles formulating (in lines 26, 28, and 30) that the rum-soaked sugar loaf over *Feuerzangenbowle* is ignited, that Nina is activating the knowledge of rum's alcohol content to prepare Simon and Emma for recognizing (and properly responding to) the upcoming point of her informing despite her troubles in formulating it.

relevant for the here-and-now. In Excerpt 23, Nina unpacks *die Punktsystem* by selecting the inverse relationship between the number grade and performance in order to communicate a discrepant assumption she previously held; in Excerpt 25, Nina unpacks *Rum* by selecting its alcohol content to make understandable her telling about a flaming alcoholic beverage. The target of her unpacking can be a noun phrase (Excerpt 23, Excerpt 25) or a larger (e.g., adjunct) phrase (Excerpt 24). Nina's *also*-unpacking in Excerpt 24 makes explicit a discrepant assumption that Nina has revised due to some new information from a co-interactant. The *also*-unpackings represent one way in which Nina uses the discourse marker at the start of her sojourn to negotiate the meaning of her earlier talk, specifically to explicate some implied locally relevant meaning. I next look at how Nina uses *also* before summative formulations (e.g., consequences, upshots) of larger segments of talk, such as TCUs, turns, and sequences.

7.4.2 *also*-summations: Upshots and consequences

During the course of her sojourn, Nina uses *also* in the formulation of upshots and consequences of her own prior talk. By "upshot", I mean that Nina formulates some inferable, but not yet explicated, meaning from the prior talk (see Heritage & Watson, 1979, 1980). Take for example Excerpt 26, from the second month of Nina's sojourn, in which Nina is explaining to her friend Susa (SUS) why she chose to play the flute in public school. In focus is Nina's *also* in line 23.

Excerpt 26: NIN_2019.09.18_03:29-04:14_*eine praktisch Instrument* "a practical instrument"

01	NIN:	ich habe ((Sprechansatz)) (.) ah diese instrument °h (1.06)
		i have ((speaking onset)) (.) uh this instrument °h (1.06)
02		gesch:ie <<len> geSCHIEDnet?>
		dec:ee <<len> deCEEded?>
		I decee: deceeded uh this instrument
03	NIN:	no ahm (.)
		no uhm (.)
04		°h ich will (.) DIEses one.
		°h i want (.) THIS one.
05		(0.4)
06	NIN:	ja,
		yeah,

07 SUS: [mmhm,]
08 NIN: [ahm]:
[*ahm]:*

09 SUS: [AUSge]sucht.
[CHO]SE.
10 NIN: [also.]
[*PTCL.*]

11 NIN: °h (.) ausgeSUCHT?
°h (.) CHOSE?

12 SUS: mmhm,

13 NIN: genau,
exactly,

14 SUS: you che CHOSE?

15 NIN: YES. [YEAH.]
16 SUS: [mmhm] mmhm,

17 NIN: a::h weil (.) es wa:r se:hr sehr KLEIN,=
u::h because (.) it wa:s very: very SMALL,=

18 =und auch zehr LIGHT?
=and also very LIGHT?

19 u:nd (.) jede TAG m muss man d\ like\
an:d (.) every DAY you h have to d\ like

20 MÜSSte ich es °h zu hause: b bringen?
i HAD to b bring it °h ho:me?

21 und da[nn mitbring]en die (.) am: nächsten tag,=
und th[en bring it] back (.) on: the next day,=
22 SUS: [hm.]

23=> NIN: =**also—** es war °h eine PRA:Ktisch instrument?
*=**PTCL—** it was °h a PRA:Ctical instrument?*

24 [°h]
25 SUS: [mmhm,]

26 NIN: ähm:: (0.5)
uhm:: (0.5)

27 NIN: ((schmatzt)) aber: ich ich ähm: (1.0)
((smacks lips)) bu:t i i uhm: (1.0)

28 <<len> ich wurde> (0.8) ge:rn
<<len> i would> (0.8 li:ke

29 NIN: (0.4) ich wurde gern: (0.53) TRUMpet lernen?
(0.4) i would li:ke to learn (0.53) TRUMpet?

After an extended repair sequence (lines 03 to 15/16) targeting Nina's past participle *geSCHIEDnet* "deceeded" (="decided") in line 02, Nina begins giving grounds for having chosen the flute. In line 17, she projects grounds for her decision with *weil* "because" and describes the flute as *sehr KLEIN* "really SMALL" and *zehr LIGHT* "very LIGHT" (line 18). In lines 19 and 20, she adds that she had to bring the flute to and from school every day. That is, Nina's reason for choosing the flute is that it was not cumbersome to transport daily. In line 23, Nina assesses[131] the flute positively as *eine PRA:Ktisch intrument* "a PRA:Ctical instrument", prefacing the assessment with *also*. While the flute's practicality as an instrument is arguably inferable from Nina's talk in lines 17 to 21, it is only in line 23 that Nina explicates this. Nina's TCU in line 23 is thus an upshot (Heritage & Watson, 1979, 1980).

Nina also prefaces formulations of consequences with *also*. With "consequence", I describe those formulations that frame some action, event, or state of affairs as resulting from the earlier talk; or, put differently, the earlier talk is the basis for some following action or event (see also Deppermann & Helmer, 2013, on *Handlungskonsequenzen*, i.e., actions that are consequences of a co-interactant's prior action in interaction). Take Excerpt 27, in which Nina is telling Emma (EMM) and Simon (SIM) about her experiences studying for classes in her student residence. Excerpt 27 is from the fourth month in Nina's sojourn.

Excerpt 27: NIN_2019.11.26_08:42-08:55_*ich könnte mich nicht allein konzentrieren* "I couldn't concentrate on my own"

```
01   NIN:   so ich könnte nicht (.) alLEIN
            so i couldn't (.) aLONE

02          (1.16)

03   NIN:   äh: (.) ich könnte nicht mich alLEIN konzentrieren? (.)
            uh: (.) i couldn't concentrate aLONE? (.)

04=>        <<all> also;>=ich hab in unsere WO:HNsimmer (.) zu\[132] äh gelernt?
            <<all> PTCL;>=i (.) s\ uh studied in our LIving room?

05          (0.57)

06   NIN:   <<all> i was just like (.) STUDYing hard.>
```

[131] *Assessments* are turns that either positively or negatively evaluate someone or something; in producing an assessment, an interactant expresses their stance towards the assessed (see Pomerantz, 1984a; Sidnell & Enfield, 2012, p. 312).

[132] Nina is possibly beginning to produce *studiert* "studied" here, which she then repairs to *gelernt* "studied". In the context of university education, *studiert* (from the infinitive *studieren*) refers to a student's course of study, whereas *gelernt* (form the infinitive *lernen*) refers to reviewing course materials, e.g., for a test or exam.

```
             (.)

07   EMM:    ja?
             yeah?
```

In lines 01 and 03, Nina presents an obstacle she had to studying: while studying, she could not concentrate in solitude. In line 04, she reports an action she took to address the issue, namely that she relocated to a shared space, her residence's living room. Her relocation to the living room is a consequence of her not being able to concentrate in solitude; Nina's prefaces her TCU in line 04 with *also*, using the discourse marker's adverbial meaning as an indication of consecutiveness (Dudenredaktion, n.d.-a; Section 7.2) to make it hearable and mark it as a consequence. While upshots are *inferable* glosses of the previous talk, consequences are non-inferable results. In Excerpt 27, Nina's consequential relocation to her living is not inferable from the previous talk in lines 01 and 03. This is also the case in Excerpt 28, taken from the final days of Nina's sojourn. Here Anna (ANN) and Nina are making plans for the following day, which is a Sunday. In line 04, Nina projects the utterance of an obstacle to their plans. The focus of analysis is line 11.

Excerpt 28: NIN_2020.06.08_01:47-02:08_*morgen ist Sonntag* "tomorrow is Sunday"

```
01   ANN:    wir können einfach auch (.) ein bisschen WANdern,
             we can also (.) hike a bit,

02   NIN:    J:A.
             y:eah.

03           (0.8)

04   NIN:    °h meine: (.) meine einzige (.) SOrge? (.)
             °h my: (.) my only (.) conCERN? (.)

05   ANN:    mmhm,

06   NIN:    äh [ist  das(s)  ]
             uh [is (the/that)]
07   ANN:       [das WEtter? ]
                [the WEAther?]

08           (1.0)

09   NIN:    °h NEIN; nicht das (wesser)-=
             °h NO; not the (weather)-=

10           =<<all> also> morgen (.) ist (.) SONNtag-=
             =<<all> PTCL> tomorrow (.) is (.) SUNday-=

11=>         =also werde alle:s (.) ´geÖffnet sein?
             =PTCL will everythin:g (.) ´be Open?

12           (0.7)
```

```
13   NIN:   (i know) vielleicht nicht [Alles- aber was wir    ]
            (i know)   maybe    not   [Everything- but what we]
14   ANN:                             [ja:       nicht   alles] aber (.)
                                      [yea:h   not  everything] but (.)

15   ANN:   touRIStisch schOn.
            touRIStic PTCL.
            touristy stuff should be.
```

In line 06, Nina begins to formulate the concern she projected in line 04; in overlap with this, Anna collaboratively completes (see Lerner, 1991) Nina's turn by producing a possible concern (*das WEtter?* "the WEAther?"). In line 09, Nina disconfirms this candidate formulation of Nina's concern and then corrects it in in lines 10 and 11 (on the use of *also* in correcting candidate understandings, see Section 7.4.4 below): Nina first produces the day of the week (*morgen (.) ist (.) SONNtag–* "tomorrow (.) is (.) SUNday–") and then asks whether everything will be open (*werde alle:s (.) ´geÖffnet sein?*).[133] In Germany, stores (including grocery stores) are typically closed on Sunday. Nina's question in line 11 points to the possibility that, because the next day is Sunday, she and Anna may be limited in terms of what they can do. Nina presents the possible closure of businesses as a state of affairs resulting from the fact presented in her prior TCU; that is, that businesses may be closed is a consequence of the following day being a Sunday. Nina prefaces the consequential question in line 11 with *also*.

Upshots, on the other hand, are inferable-but-not-explicated glosses of the earlier talk, as in the following excerpt. In Excerpt 29, Emma, Nina, and Simon are searching for the German translation for "squat". The search was occasioned by Simon's presentation (directly prior to the start of the excerpt) of a new German word he learned at a band rehearsal, *verkacken* "to botch", which has as its root the verb *kacken* "to crap". Nina (prior the excerpt) formulates a candidate understanding of *verkacken* as requiring a trip to the bathroom. In line 01, Emma then requests the German translation for another bathroom-related word, "squat", to which she adds an *-en*

[133] *also* can also appear as a connector adverb that prefaces summaries and expansions (see Section 7.2) in the front field position. When occupying the front field position in an independent clause, *also* is followed by the finite verb, making declarative and interrogative sentences (in which the finite verb appears in first position) syntactically indistinguishable (Auer, 1996, 1997). Syntactically, therefore, Nina's utterance in line 11 could also be a declarative independent clause. The role of intonation in making Nina's utterance in line 11 hearable as a question is thus worthy of discussion. With the rising final intonation, Nina's utterance in line 11 could be either an interrogative or a try-marked declarative (see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979, on try-marking). The rising intonation contour, however, begins on *geÖffnet* "Open" (marked in the transcript with ´), making the intonation more strongly hearable as interrogative (rather than try-marking) intonation and, thus, Nina's utterance in line 11 hearably a question.

suffix to form a German infinitive, *squaten* (line 07). Simon begins searching for a translation (presumably on his phone) in line 14/16 (*ich SUCH mal*, "i'll LOOK it up,").

Excerpt 29: NIN_2019.11.05_08:54-09:36_*hocken* "squat"

```
01   EMM:   <<all> was ist [   das    ] wort> für SQUAT.
            <<all> what is [ the      ] word> for SQUAT.
02   NIN:                [(((sniffs))]

03          (0.25)

04   EMM:    hehe

05   NIN:   ((splutters))

06   SIM:   haha <<lachend> i don't [KNO:W,> hoho]
07   EMM:                           [hahahaha    ] squaten ins BAD.
                                    [hahahaha    ] squatting in the BATHroom.

08   NIN:   SQUA[ten ] [hehehehe             ]
            SQUA[ting] [hehehehe             ]
09   EMM:       [  ha] [haha                 ]
10   SIM:              [SQUA<<lachend>te:n>  ]
                       [SQUA<<laughing>ti:ng>]

11   EMM:   haha

12   NIN:   °h i'm sorry hihihi

13   EMM:   [ah:    ] MANN—
            [ah:    ] MAN—
14   SIM:   [is o\  ]
            [it's o\]

15   NIN:   ((sniffs)) h°
16   SIM:   ((schmatzt)) ich SUCH mal,
            ((smacks lips)) i'll LOOK it up,

17          (0.62)

18   SIM:   HOchen (.)
            SQUAT (.)

19          <<f,len> HOCHCKen.>
            <<f, len> SQUAT.>

20   EMM:   HOcken.
            SQUAT.

21   NIN:   HOck[en; ]
             SQU[AT; ]
22   EMM:       [hock]en:,
                [squa]:t,

23   NIN:   °h OH you [know what?]
24   SIM:             [kauern    ]
                      [ cower    ]

25   NIN:   [nee nee nee]
            [no  no  no ]
26   SIM:   [sich       ] (.) AN[siedeln.]
            [to         ] (.) SE[ttle.   ]
```

```
27  NIN:                        [ das  da]s macht SINN.=
                                [ that th]at makes SENSE.=

28  NIN:   =unsere:
           =ou:r

29  EMM:   (xxx)

30  NIN:   ((schmatzt)) °h unsere fitness:
           ((smacks)) °h our fitness:

31         (0.42)

32  EMM:   hm

33  NIN:   ah:::  (1.08) leader::?

           [            unsere]:
           [               our]:
34  EMM:   [((unverständlich))] train[(ier),]
           [((unintelligible))] train[(er), ]
35  NIN:                            [   fit]ness tri\ trai\
                                    [   fit]ness tri\ trai\

36  EMM:   trai[ner ]
           trai[ner ]
37  NIN:       [trai]NIER-Ø?
               [trai]N-1.P.Sg/IMP.Sg?

38  NIN:   °h [ahm:            ] hat es: (0.3) ahm:
           °h [uhm:            ] wrote i:t (0.3) uhm:
39  EMM:      [fitness trainer,]
              [fitness trainer,]

40         (0.3)

41  NIN:   also— <<len> ha es KU,> ((=HSQ))(.)
           PTCL— <<len> aitch es CUE,> ((=HSQ)) (.)

42         gesch\ äh: an der an der TAfel geschrieben?
           wr\ uh: on the on the BOARD wrote?
           wr\ wrote HSQ on the on the board?

43         gestern?=
           yesterday?=

44  NIN:   [<<all> also>] (.) maybe ja?
           [<<all> PTCL>] (.) maybe yeah?
45  EMM:   [ah:         ]

46         (0.43)

47  NIN:   <<len> HOchsse,>
           <<len> SQUAT,>

48         (0.49)

49  NIN:   <<p, all>  wie   heißt  es [noch(mal),>]
           <<p, all> what's it called [    again,>]
50  SIM:                              [      HOcke]n.
                                      [       SQUA]T.
```

```
51   NIN:   HOcken?
            SQUAT?

52   SIM:   oder KAUern—
            or COwer—
```

In line 18, Simon produces a first candidate translation, *HOchen* "SQUAT", the pronunciation of which he corrects through the repeat in line 19, *HOcken* "SQUAT". Emma (in lines 20 and 22) and Nina (in line 21) both repeat *hocken*. In line 23, Nina projects an announcement (*OH you know what?*). the *oh*-preface indicates Nina is undergoing a change-of-state (Heritage, 1984a), potentially now-remembering (see also Bolden, 2006, on *oh*-prefaces in sequentially first position). The *you know what?* also projects more talk, such as an announcement, display of prior knowledge, or another explanation in support of *hocken* as a translation of *squat*. *You know what?* thus appears to act as some sort of "pre" (see Schegloff, 1980). Simon continues to list potential translations, with *kauern* "cower" in line 24 and *sich (.) ANsiedeln* "to (.) SEttle" in line 26. In line 25, Nina attempts to stop Simon's listing of translations with a triple *nee nee nee* "no no no" (in overlap with *kauern* "cower" in line 24), potentially to get the floor and produce the talk she projects with the pre-announcement/pre-explanation in line 23. In line 27, Nina endorses Simon's first candidate translation, *hocken* (*das macht SINN.* "that makes SENSE."). She then produces the talk she projected, giving supporting evidence for her endorsement and, thereby, of Simon's first candidate translation: in lines 30 and 33, Nina begins a telling by introducing a non-present third party, her fitness leader (Jefferson, 1978). After Nina try-marks *leader::?* in line 33, she and Emma engage in a word search. After Emma produces a candidate solution in line 36 (*trainer* "trainer"), in line 39, Nina continues her storytelling: she utters the projected finite verb *hat* with the direct object *es* "it". In a self-repair in line 41, Nina replaces the pronoun *es* "it" with the letters *HSQ* that (as Nina continues in lines 42 and 43) her fitness trainer wrote on the board the previous day. While the connection between *HSQ* and *hocken* (beyond the possible significance of the shared initial sound) is unclear, Nina's *das macht SINN.* "that makes SENSE" in earlier line 27 (and her candidate hearing of *hocken* in line 47 as *hochsse*) make Nina's telling a provision of evidence in favour of *hocken* as the correct translation of *squat* — presumably she is reconstructing instructions she received the previous day as including the initial of the word *hocken* and thus the instruction to do a common strength training move: squatting. In line 44, Nina utters *also maybe ja* "PTCL maybe yeah", presenting her telling in lines 28 to 43 as evidence that *hocken* in potentially ("maybe") the correct translation for *squat*. That is, line 44 is

an *inferable* upshot of her story, or an explicit formulation of what her story amounts to in the larger context of the joint search for a translation of *squat*.[134]

That Nina prefaces both consequences and upshots of prior talk with *also* may be due to the similarities between the two types of formulations. They both consist of as-of-yet unuttered information (either new information or inferable information) that emerges from the prior talk. However, whereas upshots formulate "what an interactant was talking about in the prior talk", consequences are framed as formulations that result from the prior talk. Excerpt 30 gives a clear example of this resultative quality of consequences. In this excerpt Nina, Anna, and Karla (KAR) are eating *Flammkuchen* in their residence. *Flammkuchen* (lit. "flame cake") is a dish where crème fraiche is spread over a thin dough, topped with savory or sweet toppings, and baked briefly at a high temperature. Nina, Anna, and Karla are cutting the *Flammkuchen* into pieces (likely similar to pizza slices) to share. In lines 04 and 06, Nina asks if she can have another piece. Anna shares that she is on her third piece (line 08), whereas Nina has only had one (line 16). In line 36, Anna asks Karla how much she has eaten. The focus is Nina's *also* in line 46.

Excerpt 30: NIN_2019.10.10_05:49-06:28_*du kannst ein anderes haben* "you can have another one"

```
04   NIN:   hey guys, (.) könnte ich eine anderen (.)
            hey guys, (.) could i another (.)

05   ANN:   j[a:.  ] ich h[ab   ][schon    ]
            y[e:ah.] i   h[ave  ][already  ]
06   NIN:    [äh:m ]      [  STÜ][CK bekomm]en?
             [uh:m ]      [  PIE][CE     ge]t?
            hey guys could I get another piece
07   KAR:                [  ja.]
                         [yeah.]

08   ANN:   ich hab schon DREI;
            i already have THREE;

09          (1.17)

10   NIN:   DREI;
            THREE;

11   ANN:   WIE viel.
            HOW much.

12          (0.3)

13   NIN:   DREI oder zwei.
            THREE or two.
```

[134] A possible functional equivalent in English for Nina's *also* is English *so*, which interactants use to mark consequences and upshots (Raymond, 2004; Schiffrin, 1987). A possible translation for line 44 would thus be *so maybe yeah?*.

14 ANN: (.) do ich hab\ DAS mein dritte.
(.) doh i've\ this (is) my third.

15 NIN: das\ oh kay no. dis (.)
the\ oh kay no. the (.)

16 NIN: es war mein ERster=okay.
it was my FIRST=okay.

17 dis:
this:

18 ANN: OH.=

((... 18 lines of transcript ommitted in which Anna expresses guilt for Nina not having had fewer pieces, and Nina attempts to take blame for her consumption by claiming to have been speaking to much))

36 ANN: how MUCH did you eat.

37 (0.45)

38 KAR: ich denke dass ich habe: ZWEI stücke: oder,
i think that i have: TWO pieces: or,

39 (0.68)

40 KAR: ich hatte
i had

41 (0.21)

42 NIN: ((schmatzt)) DREI?
((smacks lips)) THREE?

43 (0.62)

44 NIN: die sind ZWEI,
those are TWO,

45 (0.31)

46 =>NIN: **also**:; ((Sprechansatz)) FÜNF,
PTCL:; *((speech onset)) FIVE,*

47 ANN: you you can\ DU kannst ein anderes (.)
you you can\ YOU can (have) another (.)

48 je s sie ka[nn] äh: (0.2) die ZWEI haben.
ye sh she ca[n] uh: (0.2) have those TWO.
49 NIN: [ja?]
[*yeah?*]

In line 38, Karla answers that she had two pieces, however hedging her response with *ich denke* "i think". Karla possibly begins another TCU in line 40 (*ich hatte*), but she does not complete it. In line 42, Nina repeats the number of pieces Anna has had (*DREI?* "THREE?") and in line 44 the number Karla has had (*die sind ZWEI,* "those are TWO,"). In line 46, Nina utters a

lengthened *also* and then the sum of pieces Anna and Karla together have had: five (*FÜNF?*).[135] The sum is the (mathematical) *result* of Nina's prior TCUs in lines 42 and 44.

The distinction between upshots and consequences can, however, be murky, as Excerpt 31, from the end of Nina's sojourn, illustrates. Nina is telling Anna, Paulina (PAU), and Daniel (DAN) about her experiences learning how to drive. In lines 01, 02, 05, and 08, Nina begins telling her co-participants about having first driven a car with manual transmission. The focus is Nina's *also* in line 20.

Excerpt 31: NIN_2020.06.21_06:06-06:50_*kannst du auch manuel fahren* "you can also drive manual"

```
01   NIN:   ähm (.) auch so ein bisschen (.) <<creaky> äh:m> (.) LUStig.=
            uhm (.) also like a little (.) <<creaky> uh:m> (.) FUNny.=

02          =ich hab (0.4) zuerst eine: (0.9) äh (0.4) ((schmatzt))
            =i DROVE (0.4) first a: (0.9) äh (0.4) ((smacks lips))

03          <<breathy> ah SHOOT.>

04          (1.0)

05   NIN:   ein: man\ manuAL?
            a: man\ manuAL?

06          (.)

07   PAU:   mmhm,=

08   NIN:   =auto geFÄHRT,
            =car,

09          und da:nn mit einem automAtischer auto ge\ (.) geLERNT,
            and th:en l\ (.) LEARNED with an automAtic car,

10   DAN:   jap.
            yep.

11   NIN:   ahm
            uhm

12   ANN:   AH. dann hast du:: (.) autoMAtisch(.)es äh (0.5)
            AH. then you:: have (.) autoMA(.)tic uh (0.5)

13   NIN:   ja.=
            yeah.=

14   ANN:   =FÜHrerschein.
            =DRIver's license.

15   NIN:   ((schmatzt)) JA.
            ((smacks lips)) YEAH.

16          unsere führerscheine sind NICHT (.) ähm
            our driver's licenses are NOT (.) uhm
```

[135] The lengthening on the *also* could also be Nina indexing the cognitive process of 'doing' the mathematical calculation of 2 + 3.

```
17          <<all> also> wenn du: (.) e\ es (0.3) es äh:m (1.5)
            <<all> PTCL> if you: (.) i\ it (0.3) it uhm (1.5)[136]

18          dein führerschein is für (.) Alle autos in deiner klasse.=
            your driver's license is for (.) ALL cars in your class.=

19          =nich nu:r (.) automatisch oder manuAL;=
            =not ju:st (.) automatic or MAnuel;=

20=>        =also wenn du (.) wenn: mit: automAtisch (.) beSTEHST?
            =PTCL if you (.) if: (.) PASS with: automAtic?

21          kannst du AUCH (0.5) [ähm ]
            you can Also (0.5)   [uhm ]
22   ANN:                        [WIRK]lich?
                                 [REAL]ly?

23   NIN:   manuEL fahren.=
            drive MAnual.=

24          =<<all> !JA!.
            =<<all> !YEAH!.

25          isch glaube> es is (.) verRÜCKT.
            i think> it's (.) CRAzy.
```

In line 09, Nina tells her co-participants that she then learned to drive on a car with automatic transmission. In lines 12 and 14, Anna then formulates a candidate understanding based on Nina's switch, namely that Nina is now only licensed to drive cars with automatic transmission. Many European countries issue driver's licenses based on the transmission of the car that the driver used for their test; if the driver tests with an automatic car, then they are only licensed to drive automatic cars. If, by contrast, the driver tests with a manual car, then they are licensed to drive both manual and automatic cars. European drivers thus more commonly learn to drive cars with manual transmission. Anna, a European, is thus presupposing that Canadian driver's licenses, like European ones, are also awarded based on the transmission of the test car.

In line 13, while Anna is searching for the noun *FÜHrerschein* (line 14), Nina utters *ja.* "yeah.", potentially confirming Anna's candidate understanding in progress. In line 16, however, she begins correcting the candidate understanding, or, rather, the presupposition underlying the candidate understanding: that Canadian driver's licenses are also transmission type specific (see Heritage, 2010b, on presuppositions). She begins and cuts off a TCU in line 16 (*unsere führerscheine sind NICHT (.) ähm* "our driver's licenses are NOT (.) ähm"), and does the same

[136] Nina is formulating a *wenn* "if" clause, in which the finite verb commonly appears in final position. Because Nina does not produce the finite verb before cutting off the TCU, it is not possible to provide an idiomatic translation of line 17.

with a new TCU in line 17 (*also wenn du: (.) e\ es (0.3) es ähm* "PTCL if you: (.) i\ it (0.3) it uhm"). In line 18, Nina produces a complete TCU, informing Anna (and the other co-participants) that, in Canada, drivers are licensed based on the vehicle class; Nina adds *nich nu:r (.) automatisch oder manuAL;* "not ju:st (.) automatic or MAnual" in line 19 indicating that provincial/territorial governments in Canada do not issue transmission-based licenses. In lines 20, 21, and 23, Nina formulates what is interpretable as *either* a consequence *or* an upshot of the prior talk, prefaced with *also.* Whether the *also*-formulation in lines 20, 21, and 23 is a consequence or an upshot is dependent whether the prior talk is formulated as the basis for the formulation (in which case it would be a consequence) or whether the formulation re-presents the state of affairs from the prior talk. If Nina is producing the *also*-formulation (that passing a driving test with an automatic car licenses the driver to operate a manual car) as a *result* of the transmission-independent licensing system, then lines 20, 21, and 23 are a consequence. If Nina is explicating the meaning she intended with her prior talk, lines 20, 21, and 23 are an upshot. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to further investigate the distinction and differences between upshots and consequences in interaction; for current purposes, the primary finding is that Nina prefaces both upshots and consequences of prior with *also*.

Nina uses *also* to preface consequences at both the beginning and the end of her sojourn. I have already presented analyses of Nina's *also*-consequences from both points in time: Excerpt 27, from the first months of Nina's sojourn, and Excerpt 28, from month eleven, both present Nina formulating an *also*-prefaced consequence of the prior talk. With upshots, on the other hand, the picture from the data is different. The two *also*-upshots I have presented (Excerpt 26 and Excerpt 30) came from the first months of Nina's sojourn. At the end of Nina's sojourn, the picture is possibly different, as in the selection of data that forms the basis of my analysis (with the possible exception of Excerpt 31) I found no instances of Nina prefacing an upshot with *also*. This is, however, potentially due to the size of the database and resulting collection. At the beginning of her sojourn, there are 9 instances of Nina prefacing a consequence or upshot with *also* (out of 32 *alsos* in the data corpus); at the end, there are only 3 (out of 27 in the data

corpus).[137] It could thus be that Nina continues to use *also* to preface upshots at the end of her sojourn, but that the transcribed data does not include such an instance.

7.4.3 Intermezzo: Summary of Nina's *also*s at the beginning of her sojourn

At the beginning of her sojourn, Nina uses *also* to negotiate meaning of her *own* earlier talk, by unpacking a specific syntactic unit of an earlier TCU (Section 7.4.1), by formulating an upshot or consequence of several prior TCUs (Section 7.4.2). Common across these three uses of *also* in the negotiation of meaning is not only *whose* talk Nina is negotiating (her own), but also the kind of negotiation she is doing. In all three uses, Nina is explicating the relevance of earlier talk for the current conversational business; and in unpackings and upshots more specifically, Nina is explicating something inferable from earlier talk. In the next two Sections (7.4.4 and 7.4.5), I analyze Nina's use of *also* in the negotiation of meaning at the end of her sojourn: to correct a co-participant's incorrect candidate understanding (Section 7.4.4) and to reformulate some earlier talk (Section 7.4.5). The analyses in Sections 7.4.4 and 7.4.5 present new uses of *also* that Nina seems to have developed in the course of her year-long sojourn and thus may be said to emerge as new uses for her. While there is some evidence that Nina continues using *also* to preface consequences and upshots in the final month of her stay in Germany, there were no instances of Nina unpacking earlier talk with *also*. In the following section, I analyze how Nina's uses of *also* changed by the end of her sojourn; I found that Nina continues to use *also* to show the fit between some upcoming and some earlier talk, either to correct a candidate understanding from a co-interactant in the prior turn (Section 7.4.4), or to reformulate her own prior or other-than-prior talk (Section 7.4.5). I explore the changes in Nina's use of *also* and the implications for our understanding of IC in the discussion following the analyses (Section 7.5).

7.4.4 Targeting a co-interactant's talk: Correcting candidate understandings

At the end of her sojourn, Nina also uses *also*-prefacing in turns that target a co-participant's prior talk. One environment in which Nina recurrently uses (4 times in the data) *also* is when correcting co-interactant's incorrect candidate understanding. A *candidate understanding* is a

[137] I compare Nina's use of *also* in summations to the entire set of Nina's *also*s (rather than just the subset that I analyze as part of *negotiation of meaning*) to provide a better picture of the relative frequency of Nina's *also* uses. I discuss in more detail the relative frequency of Nina's deployment of *also* in Section 7.4.6.

turn that offers an interpretation of some aspect of another's, in this case Nina's, talk (see Antaki, 2012; Helmer & Zinken, 2019). In Excerpt 32, taken from the beginning of a recording between Nina, Anna, Paulina, and Daniel, Anna suggested (prior to the beginning of the recording) as a topic of conversation for the recording the German car manufacturer *Audi*; Anna produced (and Paulina treated) the suggestion as laughable. In line 26, Paulina utters the name of a car model from Audi, the Audi R8, possibly continuing the laughability by making a non-serious topic suggestion. In line 28, however, Nina takes up the topic and begins a telling about a time when she was in the proximity of an Audi factory. The focus lines are 31, 32, and 33, labeled "a", "b", and "c" respectively; the focus *also* (in line 33) is bolded.

Excerpt 32: NIN_2020.06.21_00:50-01:15_*Audi-Fabrik* "Audi factory"

```
26   PAU:    [audi err ACHT;
             [audi are ((="r")) EIGHT;
27   ANN:    [mm

28   NIN:    (ich hab) EINmal ähm: in der NÄhe von einem audi (.)
             (i've) ONCE uhm: NEAR an audi (.)

29           äh:m. ich WEISS nicht ob es ein: fabrIk war,
             uh:m. i don't KNOW if it was a: fActory,

30           aber °h (.) ein:: ah
             but °˙ (.) a:: uh

31a=>DAN:    in KAnada,
             in CAnada,

32b=>NIN:    nein NEIN.=
             no NO.=

33c=>        =<<all> also> e\ es war: in der SCHWEISS? ((=Schweiz))
             =<<all> PTCL> i\ it was: in SWITzerland?

34   DAN:    <<all> aha>
             uh huh

35   NIN:    un:d ein::: (.) ein kolLEgen von mir hat gesagt dass-
             an:d a::: (.) a cOlleague of mine said that-

36           °h ahm ich (.) DA gehen könnte—=
             °h uhm i (.) could go THERE—=

37           =und auch ein (.) audi FAHren könnte=
             =and could also DRIve an (.) audi=

38           =wenn ich meine (.) komplett\ aehm (.) .ts FÜHrerschein hatte,
             =if i had my (.) comple\ uhm (.) .ts DRIver's license,
```

In line 28, with her shift to the past tense (visible in the finite auxiliary verb *hab* "have") and a reference to a point in time in the past with *EINmal* "once", Nina is opening a telling (see

Jefferson, 1978; and Mandelbaum, 2013, for an overview of storytelling in conversation). The auxiliary verb *hab* "have" in line 28 is a left sentence brace; it projects in syntactically final position a past participle, or the right sentence brace (see Section 5.3 for more on the German sentence brace). Nina, however, does not produce a past participle; she stops her TCU on the proper noun *Audi*. In line 29, Nina indicates that a problem of word choice prevented her from completing her TCU in the previous line (*ich WEISS nicht ob es ein: fabrIk war* "i don't KNOW if it was a: fActory"). The problem lay with the compound noun she began with *Audi* in line 28, namely her uncertainty as to whether *fabrIk* "fActory" adequately describes the Audi-owned structure near which she once was.[138] In line 30, Nina utters the conjunction *aber* and the indefinite article *ein::* "a::", possibly moving away from the problem of reference and forward with the plot of the storytelling she had opened.

In line 31 (arrow "a"), Daniel interrupts Nina's TCU in progress and produces a candidate understanding of the location of the Audi-facility (*in KAnada* "in CAnada"). That Daniel's turn in line 31 is hearable as a candidate understanding (rather than, e.g., Daniel co-telling the story with Nina) is due to the interactants' domains of knowledge, to which Daniel orients with his rising intonation on *KAnada,* "CAnada,": Nina is recounting her personal experience with this Audi-structure and, thus, its geographic location is in her domain of knowledge and not Daniel's (for an overview of epistemics in conversation, see Heritage, 2013). Daniel is thus offering his candidate understanding for Nina to confirm or disconfirm (Heritage & Watson, 1980; on “confirmables”, see Betz et al., 2013, p. 138). In line 32 (arrow "b"), Nina disconfirms Daniel's candidate understanding with a doubled *nein nein* "no no". She then (in line 33, arrow "c") corrects it by providing the actual geographic location (*es war: in der SCHWEISS* "it was in SWItzerland"), prefacing the correction with *also*. Daniel receipts this correction in line 34 with *aha* "uh huh", and Nina continues her telling in line 35 to 38.

At the end of her sojourn, Nina recurrently uses *also* to preface corrections to candidate understandings from a co-interactant. The sequences follow a recurrent pattern: First, a co-interactant produces a candidate understanding of an aspect of Nina's talk, typically (i.e., in all but one instance) before Nina's current TCU has reached a possible completion (i.e., a TRP);

[138] Line 29 has characteristics of a word search: Nina has stopped a TCU in progress (line 28), begun the search process with *ähm* "uhm" (in line 29), and produces metatalk that puts on display her cognitive search process (by indicating *Fabrik* "factory" is not the searched for solution). However, the co-interactants neither find nor offer a solution, and in line 36, Nina refers to the structure using a pronominal *da* "there", treating her own description of the Audi structure as adequate for current purposes (rather than, e.g., taking up the search again).

second, Nina disconfirms that candidate understanding with a particle response; third, Nina produces an *also*-prefaced correction to the candidate understanding. In these sequences, the co-interactant's candidate understanding is not inferable from Nina's prior talk; instead, Daniel's candidate understanding appears to be based on his knowledge that Nina is from Canada. I give a schematic representation of these sequences in Figure 2, below:

a=> B: candidate understanding

- Information in Nina's domain
- Not inferable from Nina's prior talk
- Interrupts Nina's TCU in progress

b=> NIN: disconfirmation with *nein*

c=> NIN: *also* + correction of candidate understanding

Figure 2: Schematic representation of the sequences in which Nina uses *also* in the correction of a candidate understanding.

Candidate understandings are "interruptions to the progressivity" on the level of the current sequence and project (Antaki, 2012, p. 531). Daniel's candidate understanding in Excerpt 32 does not only interrupt Nina's TCU-in-program, but it interrupts the progressivity of Nina's storytelling (M. H. Goodwin, 1997): Nina must put her storytelling on hold to respond to the candidate understanding. The candidate understanding also brings up something that is commonly found at story beginnings but that Nina was not projectably going to include in her telling at that moment: the geographic location where the events took place.[139] Daniel's candidate understanding is thus *disaffiliative* (see Antaki, 2012, on affiliative and disaffiliative candidate understandings). All the candidate understandings in these *also* sequences impede the progressivity of Nina's turn in progress; however, the threat to progressivity varies, meaning the work Nina does to restore progressivity and return to her turn in progress also varies. In the following excerpt, Nina simultaneously corrects an affiliative candidate understanding and

[139] In line 35-38 and following, the fact that Nina does not have a full driver's license (*komplett\ aehm (.) .ts* FÜHrerschein "complete\ uhm (.) .ts DRIver's license" in line 38), and thus could not drive an Audi, becomes the tellable of the storytelling; the topic then shifts to how one obtains a driver's license more generally in Canada, and to the interactants' personal experiences learning to drive (see Extract 9).

continues her course of action. In Excerpt 33, Nina and Anna are making plans for the following day (a Sunday); in line 04, Nina begins to utter a concern that could affect their plans. The *also* in focus is in line 12.

Excerpt 33: NIN_2020.06.08_01:26-02:05_*morgen ist Sonntag* "tomorrow is Sunday"

```
01   ANN:    wir können einfach auch (.) ein bisschen WANdern,
             we can also (.) hike a bit,

02   NIN:    J:A.
             y:eah.

03           (0.8)

04   NIN:    °h meine: (.) meine einzige (.) SOrge? (.)
             °h my: (.) my only (.) conCERN? (.)

05   ANN:    mmhm,

06   NIN:    äh [ist    das(s)]
             uh [is (the/that)]

07a=>ANN:       [das WEtter?  ]
                [the WEAther? ]

08           (1.0)

09b=>NIN:    °h NEIN; nicht das (wesser)-=
             °h NO; not the (weather)-=

10c=>        =<<all> also> morgen (.) ist (.) SONNtag-=
             =<<all> PTCL> tomorrow (.) is (.) SUNday-=

11c=>        =also werde alle:s (.) geÖffnet sein?
             =PTCL will everythin:g (.) be Open?

12           (0.7)

13   NIN:    (i know) vielleicht nicht [Alles- aber was wir    ]
             (i know)   maybe    not   [Everything- but what we]
14   ANN:                               [ja:       nicht   alles] aber (.)
                                        [yea:h   not  everything] but (.)
15   ANN:    touRIStisch schOn.
             touRIStic PTCL.
             touristy stuff should be.
```

In line 04, Nina takes the floor and begins a projector construction (see Günthner, 2008), a construction that (as its name implies) projects more talk from its speaker. The lengthening on *meine:* and the micropauses indicates Nina may be engaged in a word search (see M. H. Goodwin, 1983; and Section 6.4.1). She produces a solution, the noun *SORge* '"conCERN", with rising intonation; previous research on L2 word searches (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019) found that, in producing candidate word search solutions with rising intonation, L2 speakers take advantage of try-marking intonation (see Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) to make confirmation of the

correctness of the solution from their co-interactant relevant. Also with *SOrge?* "CONcern?" in line 04, Nina projects the nature of the further talk, possibly some aspect that will complicate her and Anna's plans for the following day. Anna confirms simultaneously confirms the word search solution and gives Nina a go-ahead in line 05 (see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019), and, in line 06, Nina begins to produce the next item in her turn, likely her concern for her and Anna's plans (*äh ist da(s)* "uh is that"). In line 07 (the arrow "a") and in overlap with Nina's turn in line 06, Anna utters the noun phrase *das WEtter* "the WEAther", a candidate understanding of Nina's projected but not-yet-produced concern; Anna's candidate understanding is thus a possible collaborative completion of Nina's turn in progress (Lerner, 1991).[140] Unlike Daniel's disaffiliative candidate understanding in Excerpt 32, Anna's candidate understanding (possibly treating Nina's *äh* in line 06 as a sign of trouble of producing the concern) is an attempt at promoting progressivity in the face of Nina's potential trouble of production; Anna's candidate understanding is thus affiliating with Nina's course of action (see Antaki, 2012).

Anna's candidate understanding, however, proves to be incorrect. After a pause in line 08, Nina disconfirms it in line 09 (arrow "b"): She first utters the polar response token *NEIN* "NO" and a negated repeat of Anna's candidate understanding from line 07 (*nicht das (wesser)*– "not the (weather)–"). In lines 10 and 11 (two arrows "c"), Nina utters an *also* and then corrects Anna's candidate understanding, first by stating the day of the week of the following day (*morgen (.) ist (.) SONNtag*– "tomorrow (.) is (.) SUNday–", line 10) and then producing a consequence thereof in interrogative format. This consequence is the the concern projected in line 04: *werde alle:s (.) geÖffnet sein?* "will everythin:g (.) be Open?" (line 11).[141] Anna's incorrect understanding proves to be a hitch in the progressivity of Nina's turn in progress, as Nina must first disconfirm the candidate understanding before returning to the talk she projected.[142] However, because Anna's candidate understanding in line 07 is also an attempted collaborative completion, Nina's talk in lines 10 and 11 both corrects Anna's candidate understanding *and* returns to Nina's course of action she projects in lines 04 and 06. This stands in contrast to Excerpt 32, in which Nina's correction adds background information that she had

[140] Notice, however, that Anna's turn in line 07 does not fit syntactically at this point in Nina's turn, as Nina has yet to produce a finite verb.
[141] In Germany, many commercial businesses (especially stores, including grocery stores) are closed on Sunday, with few exceptions. Restaurants and cafés are typically open. See also my analysis of Excerpt 28 in this chapter.
[142] While Nina's talk in line 11 is not what she *syntactically* projects with her projector construction in lines 04 and 06, it is fitting in terms of action projection (Günthner, 2008).

not projected and that was not thematically relevant to her storytelling before returning to the main storytelling.[143] Thus, while the incorrect candidate understandings do affect the progressivity of Nina's turn in progress, their consequences are not all equal, and, as such, the amount of work Nina does to return to her main course of action varies.

The question becomes: What is *also'*s function in these sequences? These analyses represent a larger shift in Nina's use of the discourse marker. At the beginning of the sojourn, Nina uses *also* to do work (e.g., unpack, self-initiated self-repair) on her own talk that was not prompted by a co-interactant. At the end of her sojourn, Nina's *also*s contribute to work that Nina does in response to talk from a co-interactant. When responding to candidate understandings, Nina's *also*s signal to her co-interactants that she is doing specific work *on their talk*: she will correct the candidate understanding she has just disconfirmed. In the following section, I analyze instances in which Nina prefaces reformulations *of her own earlier talk* with *also* in the service of repair.

7.4.5 Saying it in different words: Reformulating *also*

In addition to correcting a co-interactant's incorrect candidate understanding, Nina continues to use *also* at the end of her sojourn to do work on her *own* talk, however a different kind of work than I observe at the beginning of her sojourn: projecting the reformulation of earlier talk. Nina uses *also* to preface both other-initiated reformulations (i.e., reformulations initiated by a co-interactant, e.g., in the absence of a relevant response or other display of understanding) and self-initiated reformulations. In the case of other-initiated reformulations, Nina uses *also* to preface reformulations that paraphrase or rephrase (see Gülich, 2002, p. 355) some element of her own prior TCU; in the case of self-initiated reformulations, Nina uses *also* to preface a correction (see Gülich, 2002, p. 355) of some talk of hers in an other-than-prior TCU. In this section, I address first Nina's other-initiated *also*-reformulations and then her self-initiated *also*-reformulations; I then compare the role of *also* in these reformulations.

[143] Also notice, in Excerpt 32, Daniel's third-position response token *aha* "uh huh" in line 34; although there is to date little published conversation analytic research on German *aha* (cf. Imo, 2009; Schirm, 2019; see also Koivisto, 2016, on Finnish *aha*; and Weidner, 2016, on Polish *aha*), that Nina first continues her storytelling in line 35 (after the *aha*) indicates that Daniel's candidate understanding in line 31 opened an insertion sequence that required additional work to close before returning to the main sequence (see also Koivisto, 2019, on repair receipts). Anna produces no such third-position receipt in Excerpt 33.

7.4.5.1 Other-initiated *also* paraphrase reformulations

Nina uses *also* to preface reformulations that address some problem of understanding from a co-interactant. These are *paraphrase* reformulations (see Gülich, 2002, p. 355) that do work on the composition of Nina's original talk, but do not modify the validity of the reformulated talk. Unlike with the candidate understandings, however, the co-interactant does not *stop* Nina's turn-in-progress to indicate that they have a problem of understanding; rather, the *also*-turns seem to respond to an absence of a claim of understanding where it is relevant or expectable. Nina subsequently reformulates her own talk to achieve understanding from her co-interactant. Take Excerpt 34, in which Nina reformulates an unrecognized lexical item. Nina and Anna are on the train and making plans for the following day. Prior to the beginning of the excerpt, they discussed taking Nina's camera and having a "photoshoot", an activity which they have done several times before. In line 02, Anna now proposes a photoshoot for when she visits Nina in Canada; Nina endorses this proposition in line 05 with *OH my gosh,* then agrees with it in line 06. In line 07, Nina informs Anna of the existence of *graffitiwände* "graffiti walls" in Canada. In focus is the *also* in line 12.

Excerpt 34: NIN_2020.06.20_03:56-04:16_*Graffitiwände* "Graffiti walls"

```
01   ANN:   å:h=

02          =in kanada müssen wir das (.) noch (.) neu MAchen wenn ich [ko]mme.
            =in canada we have to  (.) still  (.) DO that again when i [co]me
03   NIN:                                                              [°h]

04   ANN:   [ A::H     ]
05   NIN:   [OH my gosh]

06   NIN:   ja—
            yeah—

07          es gibt SO viele: (.) schöne graffitiua\ äh graffitiwände?
            there are SO many: (.) nice graffiti wa\ uh graffiti walls?

08          (0.3)

09   ANN:   hm?

10   NIN:   ähm graffitiW:ÄNde?
            uhm graffiti W:ALLS?

11          (.)

12 =>NIN:   °h also es is ein\
            °h PTCL it is a\

13          wie DAS,
            like THAT,
```

```
14          also— (es_)is eine\ eine WAND?
            PTCL- (it_)is a\ a WALL?

15          (.) [wo est (.) schöne grafFIti gibt?]
            (.) [where there's (.) nice grafFIti?]
16  ANN:        [                           o::::]h

17  ANN:    oKAY;

18  NIN:    un i[n
            an i[n
19  ANN:        [graFFI:tiwän\
                [graFFI:tiwa\

20  ANN:    OH=okay.=ja;
            OH=okay.=yeah;

21          JETZT (.) versteh ich.=[hehe]
            NOW (.) i understand. =[hehe]
22  NIN:                           [ae:h]m:
```

Nina produces the compound noun *graffitiwände* "graffiti walls" in line 07 with try-marking (i.e., rising) intonation and leaving a pause after its production (line 08). As prior to *graffitwände*, Nina exhibited some troubles of production (line 07: lengthening on *viele:* "many", the micropause, a cut-off first attempt at producing *graffitiwände*), Nina was searching for *graffitiwände* and produced it with the try-marking intonation to create a space for Anna to confirm it as the correct or a recognizable lexical item (see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019).

Anna neither confirms nor disconfirms recognition of *graffitiwände.* In line 09, Anna utters an open-class repair initiator (*hm*), initiating repair on Nina's prior talk without either identifying the trouble source (i.e., the troublesome element in Nina's talk) or the kind of trouble (i.e., hearing or understanding) in need of repair (see Drew, 1997, on open-class repair initiators). In line 10, Nina identifies the try-marked *graffitiwände* from line 07 as the trouble source and repeats the compound noun with a stronger focus accent and lengthening on the second noun in the compound *W:ÄNde* "W:ALLS". The repetition orients to the trouble as having been a problem of hearing. Nina again try-marks *graffitiW:ÄNde* "graffiti W:ALLS" in line 10, again making (dis)confirmation of recognition from Anna relevant. Anna does not produce any verbal conduct[144] in response to Nina's repetition, possibly indicating that there is a problem of understanding (and not of hearing) *graffitiwände*.

After a micropause (line 11), Nina starts a new *also*-prefaced TCU in line 12 (*es ist ein* "it is a"). She cuts off the TCU and in line 13 and possibly draws Anna's attention to an example of a

[144] It is, of course, possible that Anna performs for non-verbal conduct that was not captured due to the audio-only recording of this interaction.

graffiti wall that is visible from the train with *wie DAS* "like THAT".[145] In line 14, she restarts her TCU from line 12 (*((es_)is eine\ eine WAND?* "(it_)is a\ a WALL?"). Nina's use of the singular noun *WAND* "WALL" in line 12 ties this turn in progress to the problematic lexical item *graffitiwände*. In line 15, she produce a *wo* ("where")-clause that describes the *wand* "wall" as one with *schöne grafFIti* "nice grafFIti".

Taken together, Nina's lines 14 and 15 reformulate *graffitiwände* from lines 07/10; specifically, they paraphrase *graffitiwände* by providing a definition of the compound noun (see Gülich, 2002). The reformulation was occasioned by a lack of recognition from Anna of the try-marked *graffitiwände* "graffiti walls"; it is in this sense an *other-initiated* reformulation. At the end of her sojourn, Nina recurrently prefaces reformulations of unrecognized try-marked elements with *also*, as she does here in line 12. In these reformulations, *also* plays the role of the "reformulation indicator" (or *Reformulierungs-Indikator*, see Gülich, 2002, pp. 353–354): It projects that a reformulation of some earlier talk is coming and, in doing so, connects the reformulation with that earlier talk. In line 16, in overlap with the portion of Nina's reformulation in line 15, Anna utters a lengthened *oh*, claiming now-understanding of *graffitiwände*; Anna also partially repeats the noun in line 19, placing stress on the second syllable *(grafFItiewän* "grafFIti wal\"), thereby diagnosing the original problem of recognition as having to do with Nina's pronunciation of *graffitiwände* in lines 07 and 10 (Egbert, 2004). Anna subsequently makes a more explicit claim of understanding in line 21 (*JETZT (.) versteh ich* "NOW (.) i understand"). Nina's repair (including line 13 and the portion of the reformulation in line 14) thus successfully addressed Anna's trouble of recognition. In Excerpt 34, it is a relevant-but-lacking display of recognition/understanding that occasions Nina's *also*-reformulation.

Nina also produces *also*-reformulations when an interactant explicitly indicates non-understanding, as in Excerpt 35, which is taken from the same train interaction as Excerpt 34. Nina and Anna will arrive at their destination within a minute, and an automated announcement in the train notified them of their imminent arrival. Prior to the beginning of the excerpt, the interactants have determined that their arrival is quite advantageous: First, the platform at which they are arriving is next to and has direct access to the exit, and second, a friend they are meeting

[145] Because the interaction was only audio recorded, it is impossible to know for certain whether Nina is drawing Anna's attention to a graffiti wall to which she has visible access. There are, however, several bridges that stretch over the train tracks near their destination station, and on the underside of these bridges there are many large and easily visible pieces of graffiti. It is thus possible that Nina, as the train is going underneath these bridges, is drawing Anna's attention to the graffiti as part of her work to repair the problem of reference of *graffitiwände* for Anna.

has just arrived, as they found out via text message, and is waiting at their destination. At the beginning of Excerpt 35, Nina is attempting to formulate a description of their arrival as serendipitous by using a particular figure of speech.

Excerpt 35: NIN_2020.06.20_09:33-10:17_*wenn wir es geplant hätten* "if we had planned it"

24	NIN:	yo. wenn WIR es: (.) besser-e (0.3) ah (.) ge-PLAN, *yo. if WE i:t (.) better-F.PL (0.3) uh (.) PTCP-PLAN,*
25	ANN:	mmHM,=
26	NIN:	=HAtten? *=HAD\PST?* yo. if WE (.) HAD (0.3) uh (.) PLANNED i:t, (.) better?
27		würde es nicht so gut (.) FUNKtionier\ äh FUNKtionieren.=glaub ich— *would\COND it not so good (.) FUNCtio\ FUNCtion.=think i—* it would not work\ uh work this well I think
28		f\ bu\ (0.5)
29		MACHT\ m\ erGEBT es sInn, *MAKE\ m\ YIELD it sEnse,* does it make\ m\ sense sense[146]
30	ANN:	WHAT.
31	NIN:	wenn wir es (.) besser-e ge-PLAN-T, hAtten, *if we it (.) better-F;PL PTCP-PLAN-PTCP, hAd\PST],* if we had planned it better
32	ANN:	wenn wir es (.) besser ge-plän-t\ ge-plan-t hätten? *if we it (.) besser PTCP-PLAIN-PTCP\ PTCP-plan-PTCP had\COND?* if we had planed\ planned it better?
33	NIN:	HÄtten, (.) wurde es NICH so gut funktioNIeren. *had\COND, (.) would\PST it NOT so gut FUNCtion.* had it would not work this well
34		(.)
35	ANN:	ah\ ber\ aber ich verSTEH nich was du: (.) damit meinst.= *uh\ bu\ but i don't underSTAND what you: (.) mean by that.=*
36	=>NIN:	=<<all> **also**. wir haben> es NICH geplant, *=<<all> **PTCL**. we did> NOT plan it,*
37	ANN:	uh huh,
38	NIN:	a[ber es hat PER]fekt [funktionIErt; *b[ut it has PER]fect [fUnctioned;* but it worked perfectly [
39	ANN:	[!O::H!] [ja. *[!O::H!] [yeah.*

[146] Both *macht es Sinn* and *ergibt es Sinn* are acceptable formulations and equivalents to "does it make sense". Nina's repair, however, orients to *ergibt es Sinn* as being the more correct option. As the choice of *macht* "make" or *ergibt* "yield" is not central to my analysis, my idiomatic translation (in Times New Roman) does not attempt to capture the Nina's replacement of *macht* with *ergebt*.

40 NIN: you know,=

41 ANN: =hätten wir es ge-(.)PLAN-T,
=had\COND we it PTCP-(.)PLAN-PTCP,
had we planned it

42 aeh würde es nich (.) ae:h funktioNIE:R,
uh would\COND it not (.) uh FUNCtion,
uh it wouldn't uh work

43 (0.9)

44 NIN: wurde es nich so_aeh=
it would[PST] not so_uh=

45 ANN: =gut funk\ KLAppn: habn:?
=good func\ WO:Rk[INF] have:[INF]?
=have func\ worked out so well?

46 NIN: ja;
yeah;

47 es wurde NICH so gut klappen glaub ich—
it would NOT work out so well i think—

Nina makes a first formulation attempt in lines 24, 26, and 27; however, there are different indications that she is having formulation troubles. In line 26, in addition to the pauses, she lengthens *es:* "i:t", produces the adverb *besser* "better" with an adjective ending *-e* (which the adverb does not require), and the past participle *ge-PLAN* "planned" with only one element of its circumfix (the prefix *ge-*).[147] Nina also only produces the right brace (the finite verb *HAtten* "HAD") of this subordinate *wenn* "if" clause in line 26, after Anna has uttered a continuer *mmhm;*[148] she conjugates the finite verb in the past tense of the indicative (*hatten*), rather than in the subjunctive mood (*hätten*). In line 27, Nina produces the result (i.e., the apodosis) of her *wenn* "if" clause from lines 24 and 26. Nina receives no uptake from Anna (see the 0.5-second pause in line 28) and, in line 29, requests an explicit display of understanding from Anna. Nina's question, a polar question, makes a yes- or no-answer from Anna relevant (Raymond, 2003).

[147] By default, past participles in German are formed with a circumfix: a *ge-* prefix and either a *-t* (for weak verbs) or an *-en* (for strong verbs) suffix are affixed to the verb's root. The past participle of *planen* "to plan" (a regular weak verb) is *geplant*.

[148] Continuers most commonly come between complete TCUs of multi-unit turns (Schegloff, 1982), that is, in the TRP (Sacks et al., 1974). As Nina is producing a *wenn* "if" subordinate clause in line 24, which projects as its final item a finite verb, it is not grammatically complete at the past participle *ge-PLAN* "plan". Nina's *hatten* in line 26 is thus not an increment (i.e., not a grammatical extension of a TCU after it has reached a possible completion point) but the final item of the TCU she began in line 24 (see Schegloff, 1996b, p. 59).

Anna does not produce a yes- or no-answer, but rather initiates repair in line 30 with the open-class repair initiator *WHAT,*[149] which initiates repair on Nina's turn without identifying the trouble source (Drew, 1997; Egbert et al., 2009).[150] Nina interprets the trouble to be the referent of *es* "it" in *erGEBT es sInn* "does it MAKE sEnse" and, in line 31, begins to repeats the *if*-clause from lines 24 and 26 *(wenn WIR es (.) bessere gePLANt HAtten* "if WE (.) HAD PLANNED it better"). In line 32 Anna does a modified repeat of Nina's turn, correcting the indicative *hatten* to the conditional *hätten*; Nina takes up this correction in line 33 by repeating *hätten* and before continuing her repeat of her own earlier turn, now re-producing the consequence of her conditional clause (*wurde es NICH so gute funktioNIeren* "if would NOT wOrk this well"). In *repeating* her earlier talk, Nina treats the problem with the referent *es* "it" primarily as one of hearing (to which it is easier to provide a solution) and not one of understanding (i.e., that Anna did not understand lines 24, 26, and 27).[151]

In line 35, Anna initiates another repair on Nina's talk, now identifying the trouble as one of understanding, that is, she did not understand Nina's formulation in lines 24, 26, and 27 (*aber ich verSTEH nich was du: (.) damit meinst* "but i don't underSTAND what you: (.) mean by that"). In response to Anna's repair initiation, in line 36, Nina utters *also* and then begins reformulating the troublesome turn. She begins with a reformulation of the *if*-clause from lines 24 and 26, now formulating a main clause in indicative rather than the original subjunctive mood (*wir haben es NICH geplant* "we did NOT plan it"). After a continuer *uh huh* from Anna in line 37, indicating Anna understands line 36 as the first unit in a multi-unit turn and thus the formulation as not yet complete, Nina reformulates the second clause from line 27. She now uses a *but*-clause but again deploys the indicative mood (*aber es hat PERfekt funktionIErt* "but it wOrked PERfectly"). In overlap with Nina's talk, Anna (in line 39) claims she now-understands Nina's earlier talk with a lengthened change-of-state *!O::H!* (Heritage, 1984a). Anna thereby indicates that Nina's repair solution — the reformulation — successfully repaired the problem of understanding, and in lines

[149] Another possibly analysis is that Anna's *WHAT* in line 30 does specifically identify the referent of *es* "it" in line 29, particularly since Nina's attempt at repair starting in line 31 is doing work on the pronoun (rather than, e.g., repeating the question "does it make sense"). However, Anna could have also used a repair initiation that specifically targets *es* "it" (e.g., *ergibt was Sinn* "does what make sense"), thereby identifying the trouble source.

[150] Nina's question in line 29, as it asks about the understandability of her own talk, could be inviting other-repair or other-correction from Anna. There is a preference for interactants to initiate and perform repair on their *own* talk over having co-interactants initiate and/or repair another's talk (Schegloff et al., 1977).

[151] For more on open-class repair initiators and the preference for treating problems of understanding and acceptability first as problems of hearing, see Svennevig (2008).

41 and 42 demonstrates that it did: Anna now corrects Nina's talk, offering a reformulation of lines 24, 26 and 27. In the following lines (44 to 47), Nina and Anna negotiate the correct formulation of the saying.

In Excerpt 35, as in Excerpt 34, Nina's *also*-turn offers a reformulation of her own prior talk in order to address a co-interactant's displayed trouble in understanding; that is, these are *other*-initiated reformulations. In both excerpts, Nina first attempts to repair her co-interactant's trouble with a repeat (in Excerpt 34, by repeating *graffitiwände* in line 10, in Excerpt 35 by repeating her by producing a repeat in lines 31 and 33). Nina produces these *also* reformulations when a repeat either fails to repair the trouble source or is not an option for repair (e.g., because troubles of formulation in the trouble-source turn that make it ungrammatical and, thereby, difficult to repeat). Furthermore, these are *paraphrase* reformulations, i.e., reformulations in which the validity of the original talk is maintained but whose composition noticeably differs from the original talk (see Gülich, 2002, p. 355). The reformulations differ, however, in their initiation: whereas in Excerpt 34 it is a lacking verbal claim of understanding/recognition that acts as a repair initiator, in Excerpt 35 Nina's co-interactant explicitly indicates she does not understand Nina's talk. In the next section, I analyze how Nina also uses *also* as a reformulation marker in self-reformulations. In the other-initiated reformulations, it is talk in her prior turn that Nina reformulates. In her self-initiated *also*-reformulations, on the other hand, Nina reformulates talk that is in an other-than-prior TCU.

7.4.5.2 Self-initiated *also* correction reformulations

While Nina uses *also* in other-initiated reformulations to project a paraphrasing or rephrasing of her own earlier talk, in her self-initiated reformulations Nina prefaces corrections with *also*. Correction reformulations are those that either restrict or otherwise modify the validity of the original talk *or* that make aspects of the original talk invalid (Gülich, 2002). In the following excerpt, taken from a conversation with Paulina, Daniel, and Anna, and Nina is explaining the restrictions placed on drivers with a learner's permit in Canada; Nina's explanation is her answer to Paulina's question in lines 01 and 02. The focus *also*s are in lines 16 and 18.

Excerpt 36: NIN_2020.06.20_01:26-02:06_*ein Erwachsene* "an adult"

```
01   PAU:   [wie  IST  das  in  <<len> ka]nada,>
            [what IS it like in <<len> ca]nada,>
```

02 PAU: ab äh wie viel jahren (.) darf man FÜHrerschein machen?
at uh what age (.) can you get your DRIver's license?

03 (.)

04 NIN: .ts (.) <<all> also> du KANNST es
.ts (.) <<all> PTCL> you can (start) it

05 ae:hm. der der pro↑SSESS mit (.) ä:h sechzehn anfangen?
u:h start the the PRO↑cess at (.) u:h sixteen?

06 NIN: °h[h
07 PAU: [uh.=
[*ooh.=*

08 DAN: =ja=
=yeah=

09 NIN: =ab[er_aeh]m: (0.3)
=b[ut uh]m: (0.3)
10 PAU: [mm:—]

11 NIN: mit sechzehn kannst du nu:r (.) aehm (.) f\ FAHren—
at sixteen you can only: (.) uhm (.) dr\ DRIVE—

12 wenn es (.) LICHT draußen gibt,
when there's is (.) LIGHT outside,

13 und mit ELtern—
and with PArents—

14 °h und niemand ANderen (.) im auto—
°h and no one ELSE (.) in the car—

15 PAU: ↑mm.

16=> NIN: <<all> **also** es NICHT> (.)
*<<all> **PTCL** it NOT> (.)*

17 e\ es MUSS nich mit deinem eltern sein.=
i\ it DOEsn't need to be with your parents.=

18=> =**also** ein: aeh (.) erWACHsene;
*=**PTCL** an: uh (.) aDULT;*

19 die (.) mehr als FÜNF jahren—=
who (.) more than FIVE years-=

20 =mit SEIne\ oder ihre(r) (.) führerschei\ führerschein hat—
=with HIS\ or her (.) driver's licen\ driver's license has-
who's had his\ or her driver's lice\ driver's license for more than five years

21 °h es GIBT viele regeln.
°h there ARE a lot of rules.

22 NIN: abe:r (.)
bu:t (.)

23 <<len> nachdem du> in eine FÜHRerschein::(0.3)schule gehts—
<<len> after you> go to a driver's license:: (0.3) school

In lines 04 and 05, Nina responds to Paulina's question. While Paulina's question in line 02 requests the age at which one can get their driver's license in Canada, Nina responds with the age at which one can start the process (16 years), thereby specifying the terms of the question (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010). In lines 11 to 14, Nina lists restrictions under which 16-year-olds can drive: when it is light outside (line 12), with parents (line 13), and without further passengers in the vehicle (line 14). After Paulina receipts the list as an answer to her question with *mm.* in line 15, Nina performs two correction reformulations on one of the limitations she herself listed, that not only parents can supervise the driving (line 13). In lines 16 and 17, after uttering *also,* Nina cancels the validity of the category of "parents" in the context of restrictions on driving (*es NICHT (.) e\ es MUSS nich mit deinem eltern sein.* "it NOT (.) i\ it DOEsn't need to be with your parents."). Then, in lines 18 to 20, after uttering another *also,* Nina modifies the group of eligible supervisory drivers: adults (line 18) who have had their driver's license for more than five years (lines 19 and 20). Nina prefaces both of these correction reformulations with *also* (line 16, line 18).

Like Nina's use of *also* in her other-initiated reformulations (Section 7.4.5.1), Nina's *also*s in Excerpt 36 serve as reformulation indicators. There are differences between these *also*s and those in the other-initiated reformulations: In other-initiated reformulations, Nina reformulates an item she initially try-marked and in response to which she received no indication of recognition or understanding (Excerpt 34) or received an explicit indication of non-understanding (Excerpt 35). In the reformulation in Excerpt 36, by contrast, Nina does not address a trouble of understanding from her co-interactants. Nina did not mark *mit ELtern* "with PArents" in line 13 as possibly inadequate, and she continues with a description of additional driving restriction in line 14. The co-participant Paulina also passes up on an opportunity to initiate repair on Nina's talk or contribute talk with her utterance of the weak acknowledgement token *mm* (see Gardner, 2001). Nina's reformulations in lines 16 to 20 are therefore *self*-initiated reformulations. A further feature of Nina's self-initiated reformulations to note is the placement of the reformulation relative to the original talk. Before reformulating *mit ELtern* "with PArents" in line 13, Nina continues listing restrictions on 16-year-old drivers (line 14) and Paulina produces a continuer (line 15). Nina's first (of two) self-initiated *also* reformulation in line 16 targets not some element of in her prior TCU (line 14), but of an other-than-prior TCU (line 13, the second item in her list). In the following excerpt, which begins approximately 15 seconds after the end of

Excerpt 36, Nina similarly uses *also* to preface a self-initiated reformulation that targets some talk in other-than-prior TCU. This excerpt begins where Excerpt 36 left off: Nina is telling Anna, Daniel, and Paulina about the Canadian driver's licensing system, and in line 23, Nina introduces the role of driver training in the Canadian licensing process.

Excerpt 37: NIN_2020.06.21_02:02-02:50_*wenn du es bestehst* "when you pass it"

```
23   NIN:   <<len> nachdem du> in eine FÜHRerschein::(0.3)schule gehts—
            <<len> after you> go to a DRIver's license:: (0.3) school—

24          FÜHrerschule?
            LEADder's school?

25   DAN:       FAHR[schule.]
            DRIving [school.]
26   PAU:          [   FAHR]schule  j[a.     ]
                   [DRIving] school y[eah.   ]
27   NIN:                            [      F]AHRschule.
                                     [DRIving] school.

28   DAN:   <<pp> ja.>=
            <<pp> yeah.>=

29   NIN:   =OH führerschule,=my ba_haha
            =OH leader's school,= my ba(d)_haha

((7 lines of transcript omitted; interactants all laugh about Nina's Führerschule))

36   NIN:   [<<:-)> aehm[152]> <<lachend> eine FA:HRschule  ] (.) gEHts,>
            [<<:-)> uhm> <<laughing> go (to) (.) a DRI:]ving school,>
37   ANN:   [((continues laughing))                      ]

38   PAU:   ((laughs quietly))

39   NIN:   °hh aehm:
            °hh uhm:

40   PAU:   <<pp> hmhm[hm> ((=laughter))
41   NIN:              [kannst du entweder nur SECHS monate warten,=
                       [you can either wait only SIX months,=

42          =oda bis du:: (.) ah SIEBzehn bist—
            =or until you:: (.) uh are sevenTEEN—

43          um deine:_ähm (0.4) VORletzte (.)
            to your:_uhm (0.4) SEcond last (.)

44          <<creaky> äh:m> führerscheintest MAchen?
            <<creaky> uh:m> driver's test DO?
            to TAKE your:_uhm (.) SEcond last (.) <<creaky> uh:m > driver's text?

45   PAU:   mmhm,

46   NIN:   un NACH dieser v\ (.) vorletzte TEST,=
            an AFter this se\ (.) second-last TEST,=
```

[152] I use *aehm* and *aeh* in the original German line to capture the English hesitation markers *uhm* [œm] and *uh* [œ], as standard German orthography does not differentiate between the hesitation markers *ah(m)* [ä(m)]*/äh(m)* [æ(m)] and *uh(m)*.

47 =kannst du alLEIN (.) aehm
=you can aLONE (.) uhm

48 => <<all> **also**> wenn du (.) es (.) beSTEHST?
*<<all> **PTCL**> when you (.) it (.) PASS?*
PTCL when you pass it

49 (0.2)

50 PAU: ja.
yeah.

51 DAN: (uh huh)

52 NIN: kannst du alLEIN fahr\ aehm fahren—
can you aLONE dri\ uhm drive—
you can dri\ uh drive alone

52 aber nicht ah::m: (.) nicht am autobahn—
but not uh::m (.) not on the highway—

In lines 23 and 24, Nina displays some trouble in producing the German *Fahrschule* "driver's school". In line 23, she forms the compound noun "*FÜHRerschein::(0.3)schule*" "DRIver's license:: (0.3) school" by combining *Führerschein* "driver's license"[153] and *Schule* "school". In line 24, she initiates repair on the compound, offering a candidate *FÜHrerschule* "DRIVer's school" for confirmation. In lines 25 and 26, Daniel and Paulina both correct Nina's word choice to *FAHRschule* "DRIving school", which Nina takes up in line 27. In line 29, Nina produces a post-trouble-resolution diagnosis, identifying the nature and source of the trouble: she indexes some cognitive change of state (here potentially realization) with *OH* (Heritage, 1984a) and then repeats the trouble source *führerschule* "leader's school". Speakers of German commonly avoid the noun *Führer* "leader", as it retains its connection to Adolf Hitler. Synonyms to *Führer* are often preferred. In repeating *führerschule* and adding *my ba(d)* with laugh particles in line 29, Nina is indexing her understanding of the way in which *führerschule* is incorrect

In line 36, Nina resumes her explanation of the Canadian licensing system, repeating the noun phrase and right bracket from line 23, replacing *FÜHRerschein::(0.3)schule* "DRIver's license school" with the now-corrected *FA:HRschule* "DRI:ving school". In line 41, Nina utters a (presumably) reduced length of time a student driver must wait (*kannst du entweder nur SECHS monate warten* "you can either wait only SIX months"); she produces in line 42 an alternative (projected by *entweder* "either" in line 41) to the 6-month waiting period (*oda bis du:: (.) ah*

[153] Literally "leader's license".

SIEBzehn bist "or until you:: (.) uh are sevenTEEN"). Nina gives the goal of the waiting period in lines 43 to 44: It is a requirement to take the second-to-last driver's test.

After a continuer *mmhm* from Paulina in line 45, Nina begins to formulate (with the explicit temporal frame *nach* "after") what follows after taking the penultimate driver's test; she begins the formulation in line 47 (*kannst du alLEIN (.)* "you can aLONE), but cuts-off the TCU-in-progress before reaching the right brace, projectably the infinitive *fahren* "to drive". In line 48, Nina begins a new TCU, uttering *also* and reformulating line 46. That is, it is not *after* (taking) the penultimate driving test, but it is after *taking and passing* the penultimate driving test that the driver is permitted to operate a motor vehicle without supervision (line 51).

Like in Excerpt 36, Nina's reformulation in line 48 corrects an other-than-prior TCU. By changing the condition for legal unsupervised driving from *taking* the test to *passing* the test, the reformulation explicates the intended meaning of "take" and modifies the validity of the TCU in line 46.[154] Like with the other cases of *also*-reformulation I have presented (including the other-initiated reformulations in Section 7.4.5.1), Nina's *also* in line 48 of Excerpt 37 functions as a reformulation indicator, projecting a reformulation of some earlier talk. Whereas Nina's other-initiated *also*-reformulations address a co-interactant's trouble of understanding (see Section 7.4.5.1), her self-reformulations, in modifying the validity of the original talk also make visible and deal with a possibly unwanted interpretation of her talk. In her self-initiated *also*-reformulations, Nina's *also*s connect the reformulation to her other-than-just-prior TCU; in other words, prefacing *also* may instruct Nina's co-interactants to interpret the reformulation not against the talk directly prior, but against some other earlier talk. The distance over which Nina's *also*s can connect a self-initiated reformulation to its target appears to be limited, however. In both Excerpt 36 and Excerpt 37 (as in all other instances in my collection), both the reformulation and its target are part of the same topic (the Canadian licensing system) and sequence, without another sequence, activity, or topic inserted between reformulation and target. Nina's *also*s in her self-initiated reformulations thus set for her co-interactants boundaries within which the target of reformulation is located: within the current sequence but before the start of the prior TCU.

[154] It is important to note, however, that the reformulation in line 48 relies on the target in line 46; Nina does not reproduce the noun *test* "test" but rather refers to it by using the neutral third-person pronoun *es* "it".

7.4.6 Summary of analyses

Despite the limited size of my collection, there are visible changes in Nina's use of *also*. In the data, which consists of 50 minutes of transcribed audio recorded interactions from the first four months of Nina's sojourn and 20 minutes of transcribed audio recorded from the final month of the sojourn, Nina uses *also* a total of 59 times: 32 times at the beginning of the sojourn, and 27 times at the end. Given the amount of recorded data from which I draw each collection, there is a clear increase in the frequency with which Nina uses the discourse marker at the end of the sojourn. At the beginning, Nina utters *also* 0.64 times/minute in the transcribed data, whereas she uses the discourse marker 1.35 times/minute at the end of the sojourn; Nina uses *also* more than twice as frequently at the end of her sojourn as she does at the beginning.

It is important to note that Nina does not use *also* only in the negotiation of meaning. At the beginning, Nina also uses *also* in self-repair, specifically in word searches and restarts, and in topic/activity shifts. At the end of her sojourn, Nina also uses *also* in story prefaces. There are also additional instances that I was unable to categorize, either because they were single cases of a particular *also* use, or there was insufficient information (e.g., due to a cut-off TCU) to adequately describe the *also.* The choice of *also*s in the current chapter was based in the commonality between the types of *also* (all of the *also* that negotiate meaning are backward looking in that they do work on earlier talk, whereas the repair *also*s are forward looking and the topic/activity shift *also*s are Janus faced in that they contribute to the closure of one topic/activity and the opening of another) and their frequency in the collections: 13 of the 32 beginning *also*s and 17 of the 27 end *also*s are backward looking. I summarize the entire data collection in Table 8

Action environment	**Beginning (months 1-4)**	**End (month 12)**
Word searches	4	0
Restarts	2	2
Topic/activity shifts	7	0
Story prefaces	0	3
Negotiation of meaning	13	17
Unsorted	6	5
Total	**32**	**27**

Table 8: Summary of Nina's uses of *also*

In Table 9, I give a quantitative overview of the collection of Nina's uses of *also* in the negotiation of meaning, the focus of the present analysis. In the collection, Nina uses *also* in unpackings 4 times (exclusively at the beginning), in upshot/consequence formulations 12 times (9 at the beginning, 3 at the end of her sojourn), in corrections of a co-interactant's candidate understanding 4 times (exclusively in the last month), and 10 times in her reformulations (4 times in other-initiated reformulations, 6 times in self-initiated reformulations, all exclusively in the last month).

Action environment	**Beginning (months 1-4)**	**End (month 12)**
Unpacking	4	0
Summation (upshot or consequence)	9	3
Correction of co-interactant's candidate understanding	0	4
Reformulation (other-initiated paraphrase)	0	4
Reformulation (self-initiated correction)	0	6
Total	**13**	**17**

Table 9: Frequency and types of Nina's use of *also* in the negotiation of meaning

The data in Table 9 suggest that there is a shift in Nina's use of the discourse marker over the course of her sojourn: whereas Nina's uses of *also* at the beginning of her sojourn are self-initiated and target her own earlier talk, at the end of her sojourn her uses of *also* additionally include those that are other-initiated (see Sections 7.4.4 and 7.4.5.1) and target (by correcting a candidate understanding in) a co-participant's earlier talk (see Section 7.4.4); Nina continues to employ *also* to do work that is self-initiated and targets her own talk, namely in her reformulations of an other-than-prior TCU (see 7.4.5.2). Furthermore, while at the beginning sojourn, the kind of meaning negotiation Nina manages with *also* involves *explicating some meaning* implicitly conveyed in (unpackings, Section 7.4.1), inferable from (upshots, Section 7.4.2), or that follows from (consequences, Section 7.4.2) earlier talk, at the end of the sojourn Nina uses *also* signal that her talk will *address (possible) problems of meanin*g by correcting a co-interactant's incorrect understandings (Section 7.4.4), by addressing an interactant's displayed trouble understanding her talk (other-initiated reformulations, Section 7.4.5.1), and by avoiding

possible unwanted understandings of her earlier talk (self-initiated reformulations, Section 7.4.5.2).[155]

In the discussion of this analysis chapter, I use the trajectory of Nina's uses of *also* to investigate our current understanding of the development of L2 IC and its empirical underpinnings, and to propose additional mechanisms of its development.

7.5 Discussion: Changes over time in Nina's *also* and trajectories of the development of IC

7.5.1 Trajectories for the development of IC: *diversification, streamlining,* and *pruning*

Previous research on the development of IC has found that L2 speakers develop interactional competence by *diversifying* their L2 methods for interaction. The work on disagreements in L2 French done by Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2011) illustrates this: They found that advanced (classroom) students of French combined a more diverse range of resources to do disagreement than do their lower-intermediate counterparts. While the lower-intermediate students used primarily *yes/no* tokens when doing disagreement, the advanced speakers seemed to have 'diversified' their resources for doing disagreement, using and combining *yes-but* type constructions, linguistic hedges, and clause-combining patterns (Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011). Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) documented similar trajectories in their study of one au pair's storytelling openings in L2 French. At the end of her sojourn in French-speaking Switzerland, the au pair increasingly used more diverse resources to project an incipient storytelling (e.g., using the disjunct marker *mais* "but"), to indicate the storytelling's relevance to the ongoing talk, and to display the nature of that storytelling; at the beginning of her sojourn, by contrast, she predominantly launched storytellings without any such prefatory work (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; for similar findings on L2 speakers' complaints, see Skogmyr Marian, 2020).

Diversification does not just suggest that the L2 speakers' employed more resources when performing these actions, but that they employed more resources in *service* of the action. The L2 speakers performed the actions more recognizably, that is, in ways more fitted to the local

[155] There are some cases of Nina using *also* unpackings and summations as part of some larger series of TCUs that work to prevent some unwanted understanding (similar to her unpacking of *rum* as *the alcohol* in Excerpt 25). However, not all of Nina's *also* unpackings and summations contribute to this kind of work and, thus, cannot be said to be a central feature of Nina's *also* in these action environments.

context and more specifically designed for their recipient. In doing disagreement with more diverse resources, the advanced L2 speakers of French were able to fine-tune disagreements with their co-interactants in two ways: Firstly, by pinpointing those aspects of their co-interactants' talk with which they disagreed, and; secondly, by pushing the disagreeing turn components away from the start of the turn and thus orienting to a preference for agreement over disagreement (Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; see Pomerantz, 1984a, on the preference for agreement).

More recent research has suggested, however, that diversification is not the only trajectory by which L2 speakers develop their ability for recognizable and context-sensitive conduct in an L2. Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) analyzed one L2 English speaker's online, video-mediated collaborative task-based interactions, and they specifically investigated how she suspended ongoing talk with a co-participant to perform an activity on her screen. In early interactions, the L2 speaker relies on a variety of constructions, such as *wait a minute, I will try, I will copy*, eventually settling on *I'll check*; four years after these early recordings, the speaker only uses *let me check* to suspend ongoing talk (Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021). Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) describe this as "progressive simplification of a social action format in the specialized context at hand" (p. 199) and refer to the process as "streamlining" (p. 187). They demonstrate that the development of IC centers around the "deploy[ment of] contingent solutions for getting locally relevant interactional work done" (p. 199), and these solutions may include both expanding and simplifying the resources used. It is important to note that the simplification that Pekarek Doehler and Balaman (2021) observe is not a reduction of resources the participant would employ together in service of suspending the ongoing talk, but rather a reduction in *alternatives* that the participant would employ.

Diversification and *streamlining* are opposites in terms of the trajectory of change they describe: the former implies an increase and the latter a decrease in alternative methods. The body of research on the development of IC, however, has predominantly identified as its analytical focus a specific action environment (e.g., storytellings, Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; complaints, Skogmyr Marian, 2020), and the resulting studies track the resources interactants deploy in the accomplishment of that action (see Wagner et al., 2018). In the context of action environments, *diversification* involves the interactant developing novel resources to employ (in tandem with

already available resources) to accomplish an action, and *streamlining* involves the interactant pairing down the selection of alternative resources they routinely employ in a specific action environment.

In the current chapter, however, I began with a linguistic resource, the discourse marker *also*, and tracked the action environments in which Nina employs it. Can *diversification* or *streamlining* describe the change in action environments in which Nina deploys the token? At the beginning of her sojourn, Nina employs *also* to negotiate meaning in three different action environments: in unpackings, upshot formulations, and consequence formulations. In all these action environments, Nina targets her own earlier talk. At the end of her sojourn, the only action environment to which *also* continues to contribute is that of consequence formulations; unpackings and upshot formulations with *also* do not appear in the end collection. Nina does, however, use *also* in novel ways by the end of her sojourn: She uses *also* to project a reformulation of her own earlier talk, either due to a problem of understanding or recognition (Section 7.4.5.1) or to prevent or exclude an unwanted understanding of some other than prior talk (Section 7.4.5.2); and she prefaces her corrections of co-interactants' incorrect candidate understandings with *also* (Section 7.4.4). That is, along with the possible removal of some uses of *also*, in line with Pekarek Doehler and Balaman's (2021) notion of *streamlining*, there are also additions, suggestive of *diversification* (Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Wagner et al., 2018).

It would thus appear that neither *streamlining* nor *diversification* can adequately describe the process by which Nina's use of *also* develops. I propose an alternative process, *pruning*, to describe Nina's development of *also*. I take *pruning* from common gardening practice by which unwanted limbs of plants are removed to promote and shape a plant's overall growth and health. In the context of IC development, *pruning* describes the removal (or *dropping*) of uses from a linguistic resource in favour of the development (or the *growth* or *strengthening*) of novel[156] uses. When applied to Nina's change in *also* use, some uses seem to have been dropped (in unpackings and upshot formulations) while novel interactional contexts of use were grown and strengthened.

There are some possible accounts for the processes of dropping and growth/strengthening. A context of use may be thinned from a resource because, in that context, it was not contributing to

[156] I use *novel* in the context of an individual L2 speaker and their methods for interaction, and not in terms of uses that have not yet been described in a particular language.

(or even impeding) the recognizable accomplishment of an action or project; in this case, the interactant may replace the non-contributing resource with another that better contributes to the recognizable accomplishment of the action. There is some potential evidence for this in prior research: In their study of storytelling openings in L2 French, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) found that, over the course of a 10-month sojourn, their participant stopped prefacing tellings with the continuity marker *et* "and" and, instead, began using the disjunct marker *mais* "but". Whereas a continuity marker (such as *et* "and") projects that an interactant will produce a contribution that continues the ongoing course of action, disjunct markers (such as *mais* "but") project some departure from the current course of action — such as the opening of a storytelling (see also Jefferson, 1978). The participant's *et* "and" thus did not contribute (and may have impeded) her ability to recognizably open her tellings; indeed, at the beginning of her sojourn, the participant regularly failed to secure recipiency from her co-interactant (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018). The participant thus thinned the context of storytelling openings from her range of uses of *et* "and" in favour of the more context-fitted *mais* "but".

It is also possible that the L2 speaker drops a context of use from a resource because, as they develop their L2, they no longer require that use in their L2 interactions or because they perform an action less frequently. In their study of a participant's word searches in L2 French, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2019) found that the participant's use of the multi-word expression *comment on dit* "how do you say" changed from one that recruits assistance from a co-participant in the word search activity to one that holds the floor, so that the speaker can find the solution herself. Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2019) account for the change in the participant's word-search behaviour as part of her general decrease in "doing being a language learner" (p. 65): Rather than treating language learning as part of the business of interaction, the participant increasingly oriented to a preference for progressivity by, for example, no longer asking metalinguistic questions or expanding repair sequences. Thus, as the participant developed her L2 IC, she no longer required, and thus dropped, the recruitment function of *comment on dit* "how do you say" in her word searches (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019).

Diversification of resources is also visible as the growing of novel functions; the L2 speaker's diversification of the resources they employ in the accomplishment of an action requires them to use resources in a novel context. Take Nina's use of *also* from the end of her sojourn in other-initiated reformulations (Section 7.4.5.1). Nina uses *also* to preface a paraphrase reformulation

(see Gülich, 2002) of some of her prior talk that a co-interactant did not demonstrably recognize or understand. In the following excerpt, taken from the beginning of Nina's sojourn, she similarly reformulates some of her prior talk. Here, Nina has just finished telling fellow L2 speakers Emma (EMM) and Simon (SIM) about how she taught L1 speakers of German aspects of German grammar of which the L1 speakers had no explicit knowledge. Nina explains L1 speakers' ability to use prepositions correctly without having explicit knowledge of grammar rules as a symptom of *die naTIve sprechersyndrom?* "naTIVE speaker syndrome?" (line 01), a term she produces as a solution to a word search she initiates on the lengthened *glaube* and carries out during a 0.9-second silence. By using try-marking (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) in line 01, Nina creates a space for recognition of the term/concept by her co-participants (see Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, on try-marking intonation in L2 word searches).

Excerpt 38: NIN_2019.11.26_09:42-10:09_*Muttersprachlersyndrom* "Native speaker syndrome"

```
01    NIN:    ↑ja. aber es is\ äh ich glaube: (0.9) die naTIve sprechersyndrom?
              ↑yeah. but it's\ uh i thi:nk (0.9 the naTIVE speaker syndrome

02            (0.88)

03=>  NIN:    wenn du: (.) wenn du es (KENNST/KANNST),=
              when you (.) when you KNOW (how to do) it,=

04            =aber du  [könntest NICH e\]
              =but you  [could   NOT   i\]
05    SIM:              [   MUTtlersprach]ler.
                        [   NAtlive speak]er

06            (.)

07    NIN:    MÜTTlersprach[e    s]yndrom.
              NATliver lang[uage s]yndrome.
08    SIM:                [ nee. ]
                          [ no.  ]

09            (1.58)

10    NIN:    ERSte sprache  [   (syndro\)?]
              FIRST language [   (syndro\)?]
11    SIM:                   [<<len, f> MUT][tersprachler.>]
                             [<<len, f> NAT][ive speaker.> ]
12    EMM:                   [<<len, f> MUT][tersprachler.>]
                             [<<len, f> NAT][ive speaker.> ]

13            (1.5)

14    NIN:    <<len> sprachLER.>
              <<len> speaKER.>

15            (.)

16    SIM:    sprachLER.
```

```
            speaKER.

17          (0.23)

18   NIN:   okay.

19          (0.83)

20   NIN:   JA wenn du etwas: (0.6) verSTEhen?
            yeah when you (0.6) underSTAND something:?

21          no.

22          verstehen und benutzen könntest?
            could understand and use (something)?

23          (0.4) <<all> aber> du kannst das NICH zuklä\ erklären.
            (0.4) <<all> but> you canNOT cle\ explain it.

24   EMM:   ja.
            yeah.
```

After making relevant a claim of recognition or understanding from her co-interactants in line 01, Nina receives no verbal uptake of her construction *die naTIve sprechersyndrom?* "the naTIVE speaker syndrome?" (see the 0.88 silence in line 02). In line 03, Nina begins to produce a paraphrase reformulation (specifically, a definition) of *die naTIve sprechersyndrom* (see Gülich, 2002); taken with line 04, Nina is producing a definition of the "syndrome" where a native speaker has knowledge of their native language's grammar without being able to explain that grammar. In overlap, Simon corrects Nina's anglicized *naTIve sprecher* to *MUTtlersprachler* "NAtlive speaker" (line 05), the standard formulation (notice, however, the additional voiced alveolar lateral approximant in *MUTtler* "natlive", which Nina takes up in her attempted repeat of the correction in line 07). After an extension of the correction sequence (lines 07 to 16), Nina resumes her reformulation from lines 03 and 04 (see Jefferson, 1972, on resumption), more explicitly describing the "syndrome" as a speaker being able to understand and use something (presumably a structure of one's native languages; lines 20-22) without being able to explain it (line 23). The sequence in line 01 to 04 (additionally including the post-repair resumption in line 20 to 22) is similar to the sequences I describe for Nina's other-initiated *also*-reformulations (Section 7.4.5.1): After producing an item that her co-interactants do not visibly recognize or understand (line 01), Nina reformulates her own talk so that her co-interactants reach understanding. However, whereas Nina uses *also* as a reformulation indicator at the end of the sojourn to project, in Excerpt 38 Nina uses no reformulation indicator. While conclusions drawn from a single instance ought to be taken with a grain of salt (Excerpt 38 being the only instance I

have of Nina doing a paraphrase reformulation of her own talk in the transcribed data from the beginning of her sojourn), it suggests — together with the observation that *also* only emerges later in this reformulation context — that Nina is diversifying her resources for doing, and making recognizable, self-reformulation work. As part of this diversification, Nina's *also* grows a new function as a reformulation indicator.

My presentation thus far of possible accounts for thinning and growing could be taken to suggest that pruning consists of two unrelated processes. Research on linguistic particles, such as *also*, has repeatedly argued that individual particles have 'core meanings' or 'aspects' that contribute to their interactional work across contexts (see, e.g., Eckert, 2008, on indexical fields of meaning; or Enfield, 2015, on semantic invariance; see also Heritage & Sorjonen, 2018b). For example, Heritage's analyses of a collection of *well*-prefacing in English conversation revealed that, as a preface to question responses, topic shifts, and second descriptions,[157] *well* signals "that in the subsequent turn the current speaker's perspective or project will be privileged over that of interlocutors" (Heritage, 2015, p. 101). *Well*-prefaced responses to questions prioritize the respondent's perspective over the needs of the questioner, e.g., by treating the question as unanswerable or challenging the grounds on which the question was asked; *well*-prefaced shifts to new topics "embody motivations that are clearly self-attentive" (Heritage, 2015, p. 96) by departing from the ongoing topic and routinely opening topics that are self-attentive. A. Golato (2018) similarly observed that, across sequential positions, German *naja* signals a break with the prior talk. In first position, turn-initial *naja* signals a break with a closed side sequence and a return to the ongoing sequence; in sequentially second position, turn-initial *naja* signals a break with the prior speaker's stance in the form of disagreement; and in sequentially third position, *naja* signals that the speaker (in light of information they have just received in second position) is breaking with their own previously held stance (A. Golato, 2018).[158]

[157] That is, a description from a second speaker that matches "a first speaker's characterization of some state of affairs" (Heritage, 2015, p. 98).

[158] There are a few limits to the pruning metaphor. First, 'pruning' implies an agent, someone who prunes (either the plant or, in our case, the function of a linguistic resource). In the case of the development of L2 IC, implies an agent also implies that the L2 speaker is actively shaping their L2 development, that is, actively choosing which functions to thin and which to grow. While it may be the case that an L2 speaker does actively decide to stop using a linguistic resource in one way and begin using it in another, it is likely that L2 speakers are not conscious of the ways in which their L2 interactions change over time. Indeed, as Golato (2003) demonstrated, interactants generally have a poor explicit knowledge of how they interact. A second limit to the pruning metaphor is the implied teleology, that is that one prunes generally with a specific goal for the shape or optimal function of the plant in mind; in the case of the development of IC, this would suggest that an L2 speaker has a specific goal in mind for a linguistic resource. Like

As an L2 speaker's use of an L2 particle develops, so too does the particle's 'core meaning' in the L2 speaker's interaction; reflexively, the particle's changing core meaning also shapes the novel action environments in which the L2 speaker deploys the particle, and from which environments the speaker drops the particle. There is evidence of change in Nina's core meanings *also*: She thins out her uses of *also* that explicate meaning from earlier talk (unpacking or formulating upshots/consequences) to grow uses that address (manifest) problems in the meaning of earlier talk (by correcting a co-interactant's candidate understanding and reformulating her own earlier talk). The changing 'core meaning' of a particle and its reflexive relationship with the particle's contexts of use could thus potentially account for both sides of the pruning coin. A comparative analysis of several chronologically ordered collections of a particle could reveal how a particle and its core meaning emerges in an L2 speaker's interactions, how the core meaning changes over time, and how an L2 speaker's use of a particle reflexively shapes its core meaning.

7.5.2 The development of IC and the limits of recognizability

With its basis in CA and ethnomethodology, IC is concerned with the "methods" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii) interactants deploy to recognizably accomplish actions in interaction; that is, to build actions and courses of action in interaction in a way that "is analyzable and recognizable for what it is by co-participants, that is, when it provides no grounds for comment or correction" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 53). When studying IC through the analysis of an action environment, such as storytelling, the recognizability of a participant's conduct is directly accessible to the analyst through the co-participants' conduct using the *next-turn proof procedure* (see Sacks et al., 1974, pp. 728–729), as their orientation towards the participant's conduct reveals their (the co-participants') interpretation of what the participant was doing in that context. For instance, if an interactant recognizably opens a storytelling (including the projection of a tellable that is not already known to the intended recipient), their co-participant can align by taking the role of storytelling recipient (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018).

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with the issue of agency, while an L2 speaker may want to use a linguistic resource for a particular interaction function, it is also unlikely that the speaker has an ultimate set of interactional functions in mind for a linguistic resource when they first develop it. The metaphoric descriptiveness of *pruning* in the context of IC lies in its power to understand two apparently separate processes — thinning and growth — as complementary to one another, as two sides of the same IC developmental coin.

Describing co-participants' orientation to a linguistic resource or format can be a more difficult task — particularly in the case of discourse markers. Some linguistic resources are employed in practices where they regularly occur as the only item in a turn, such as the German token combinations *achso* (A. Golato, 2010; A. Golato & Betz, 2008) and *^achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008). When an interactant deploys a resource as a standalone item, the co-interactant's next turn can be taken to demonstrate their interpretation of that resource as part of that practice. That also applies for turn-final resources that create or increase response relevance (e.g., question tags) and are followed by speaker change. Discourse markers, however, typically preface more talk, and are therefore deployed *with other resources* which do the bulk of the work to make an action recognizable. The *also* marking of Nina's reformulations at the end of her sojourns is not what makes Nina's reformulations recognizable *as* reformulations (Section 7.4.5); the same applies to her unpackings (Section 7.4.1), upshots/consequences (Section 7.4.2), and her corrections (Section 7.4.4). Her co-interactants orient to the entire turn/TCU that Nina produces, not to her use of *also* alone or separate from the rest of the turn. In studying the development of IC through discourse markers, recognizability of deployment is not a variable that is captured in recordings and transcripts of conversation, unless a discourse marker were explicitly topicalized or negotiated, e.g., through repair, which would be an unusual and potentially problematic thing to do. Thus, orientations to discourse markers are generally not accessible to the analyst.

Other longitudinal studies that track a linguistic resource have, however, been able to describe interactants' developing IC without relying on descriptions of increasing recognizability of interactional conduct. In their study of word searches in L2 French, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2019) describe a shift in the multi-word expression *comment on dit* 'how do you say' from an explicit request for assistance to a floor holding device. In other words, the L2 speaker at the center of the study went from a literal use of the expression to a routinized, semantically bleached, discourse marker-like use (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). In doing so, she was better able to maintain progressivity by avoiding extended side sequences in which she and her co-interactant negotiate the word search solution; instead, she offered candidate solutions for confirmation (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019). The improved ability to maintain progressivity, a result of the speaker's development of an *L2 grammar-for-interaction* (Pekarek Doehler, 2018), is evidence of the speaker's improved ability to deal "with fundamental organizational principles of social interaction, such as repair organization and turn-taking organization" (Pekarek Doehler

& Berger, 2019, p. 72) and, therefore, an improved ability to organize and accomplish L2 interaction.

Pekarek Doehler (2018) arrived to similar findings in a study of L2 French speakers' changing use of *parce que* "because". Like the findings on *comment on dit* "how do you say", the L2 speakers went from using *parce que* primarily in its literal sense — as a causal connective — to using it as a discourse marker in the pursuit of affiliation from a co-interactant, and specifically to preface turn-extensions after some missing affiliative response (Pekarek Doehler, 2018) On top of this semantic bleaching, the L2 speakers morphophonetically reduce *parce que* to a quickened and quieter *parce* (Pekarek Doehler, 2018), which supports the description of later uses as discourse marker uses. The L2 speakers thus increasingly use *parce que* — like *comment on dit* — to contribute to the organization of interaction (Pekarek Doehler, 2018).

Studying the development of IC through changing use of a linguistic resource thus reveals L2 speakers' developing ability to contribute to the *organization* of interaction. This conception of IC is tied to Psathas' (1990) description of interactional competence as the ability to produce interactional structures (e.g., repair, closings, adjacency pairs) and deploy them in different interactional contexts (e.g., everyday conversation, medical interviews).[159] In deploying discourse markers, interactants make visible the relationship between the units and, like *comment on dit* and *parce que*, contribute to the management of progressivity, intersubjectivity, and repair. Throughout her sojourn, Nina uses *also* to organize her interactions, both in terms of its discursive organization and intersubjectivity. On a discourse organizational level, Nina begins her sojourn by using *also* only to show the connection between her current TCU and her own earlier talk, either by explicating some relevant or inferable aspect (unpackings, upshots) or formulating some result of the prior talk (conclusion). At the end of her sojourn, she additionally uses *also* to connect her current TCU to the talk of co-interactants, by correcting a co-interactant's candidate understanding and by reformulating her own talk in response to some lacking understanding/recognition from a co-interactant; she continues using *also* to connect units of her own talk, but to connect a current TCU with some other-than-prior TCU in the same topic (in the case of self-initiated reformulations). Over time, Nina is thus able to contribute to

[159] Psathas (1990) treats "interactional competencies ... as member competencies", that is as those competencies that "any member of the common culture engaged in interaction with a similar context" could produce (p. 18). As with other conversation analysts and ethnomethodologists, however, Psathas (1990) does not formulate to what he refers with *common culture*. I pick up this discussion on the use of terms such as *culture* in CA and ethnomethodology literature in Section 8.3.

the discursive organization of interaction with *also* in increasingly complex ways. Nina's management of intersubjectivity also develops through her use of *also*. At the beginning, Nina uses *also* in turns that make explicit the topical relevance of earlier talk: in unpackings, upshots, and consequences of earlier talk, she displays the relevance of that talk to the larger topic (e.g., in Excerpt 25, unpacking *rum* as *die Alcohol* in a telling about a flaming alcoholic beverage; in Excerpt 26, formulating an upshot that explicates the flute's practicality to account for choosing it as a school instrument; in Excerpt 28, formulating the consequence that businesses may be closed to account for naming the day of the week as a possible problem). At the end of the sojourn, Nina uses *also* to manage manifest trouble and pre-empt possible trouble in understanding (e.g., in Excerpt 32 by correcting a co-interactants incorrect candidate understanding; in Excerpt 34 by reformulating an unrecognized *graffitiwände* so that her co-interactant understands the noun's referent; and in Excerpt 36 by reformulating the category of legitimate supervisory drivers to avoid the unwanted understanding that learning drivers can only be supervised by their parents). Nina thus went from using *also* to *maintain* intersubjectivity to using it to respond to the local explicit needs of the interaction by *repairing* intersubjectivity. In this way, Nina used *also* to contribute to the fundamental organization of interaction in her L2 in increasingly cooperative ways.

While recognizability (and, thereby, accountability) are powerful analytical tools with which to capture the development of an L2 speaker's interactional competence, they are, depending on the analytical focus, not always useful. I propose research on L2 IC take up an understanding of interactional as the ability to *contribute to the organization of interaction* (see also Psathas, 1990). This is not incongruous with the conceptions of IC as "*the ability for joint action*" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30, italics in original) or as the ability to recognizably accomplish actions in interaction (Pekarek Doehler, 2018), but rather a complement to them that allows for the description of IC through the longitudinal analysis of linguistic resources.

7.6 Conclusion

While the recognizability of the deployment of discourse markers (such as *also*) may not be directly accessible to the analyst via the next-turn proof procedure, their changing contributions to the organization of interaction — fundamental to an interaction's successful accomplishment — can give insight into participants' developing L2 IC. While previous CA studies on the

development of L2 IC have revealed two trajectories of IC development — diversification (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011, 2015; Skogmyr Marian, 2021) and streamlining (Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021) — I proposed a trajectory that captures both the development of additional uses and the removal of uses: *pruning*. In pruning the spectrum of uses of *also* in her repertoire, Nina went from using the discourse marker to exclusively explicate *her own* talk (by unpacking or formulating upshots and consequences) to deploying *also* in contexts that respond to or work on a co-interactant's contribution. Nina's developing use of *also* demonstrates her increased ability to contribute to the organization of interaction, on the one hand by developing the ability to show the discursive relationship between her and others' turns, and on the other hand by developing the ability to repair problems and also anticipate problems of intersubjectivity. Based on my analyses of Nina's use of the discourse marker *also*, I propose a conception of IC that includes participants' abilities to contribute to the organization of interaction. In the following discussion chapter, I use my findings from this and the previous analysis chapter to explore in more depth the current conceptions of L2 IC, in particular the notion of "members' methods" and "recognizability".

Chapter 8 Discussion and conclusion

8.1 The dissertation so far: A summary

Before moving towards the final discussion of the dissertation, in which I review the role of *recognizability* and the related concepts of *members' methods* and *accountability* in IC research (see Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002), I summarize my analyses of my participants' use of discourse markers in everyday interactions in L2 German.

In Chapter 6, I analyzed one L2 speaker's (Rachel's) use of the German particle combination *achja* in sequence-initial positions in her everyday interactions during a 4-month sojourn to Germany. Previous research on L1 German interactions found that, in response to some information from a co-interactant (i.e., in sequentially second or third position), *achja* indexes now-remembering, i.e., that the interactant has independent access to that information, but that there was a temporary lapse in access due to forgetfulness (Betz & Golato, 2008). I argued that Rachel takes advantage of *achja*'s function as an index of now-remembering 1) in searches to mark the retrieval of some past but temporally forgotten event, 2) to backlink upcoming talk to some earlier activity in the conversation, and 3) in combination with *also* to resume an earlier suspended story or course of action. I then investigated two factors that could be influencing her use of sequence-initiating *achja*, namely her interactions with L1 speakers of German (the Participation hypothesis) and the strategies for accomplishing actions in English, her L1 (the Transfer hypothesis). As resumptions were the only environment described in both German and English interactions, I tested the hypotheses against Rachel's use of *achja also* to do resumption. I used evidence from research on similar resumptions in L1 German (A. Golato, 2018) to examine the first hypothesis as well as corpus searches to investigate the frequency of *achja also* in L1 spoken interaction. I concluded that Rachel's participation in interactions with L1 speakers did not seem to be the main influence on her resumptions: Previous research found that the particle combination *naja* is one systematic way in which L1 speakers signal resumption (A. Golato, 2018). Unlike *achja*, *naja* does not index a change of state, but rather a break with the prior side sequence (A. Golato, 2018). The corpus searches additionally revealed that L1 speakers rarely produce *also* following *achja* (or its phonetic variants) in their interactions with one another.

There were, however, commonalities between Rachel's *achja also* resumptions and resumptions in her L1 (English). Some evidence in interaction research (notably Heritage, 1984, 2005) suggests that speakers of English use the combination *oh anyways* to do resumption; in this combination, the change-of-state token *oh* indexes now-remembering (Heritage, 1984a, 2005) and *anyways* signals the resumption of some telling (Ferrara, 1997). We see a similar division of labour in Rachel's resumptions with *achja* indexing now-remembering to backlink to some earlier activity (Betz & Golato, 2008) and *also* projecting a resumption of a suspended activity (Alm, 2004). My suggestion thus is that Rachel is using resources from the L2 (German) but a strategy from her L1 (English) to accomplish resumption. Importantly, however, Rachel was *recognizably* accomplishing resumption; her co-interactants displayed no trouble of recipiency (through, e.g., repair) following the resumption, indicating that Rachel's strategy to do resumption, despite apparently differing from that of L1 speakers, was a *competent* method for doing resumption. My analysis in Chapter 6 makes the case for more research on IC based on L2 speakers' uses of specific linguistic resources, as it can reveal aspects of L2 IC that analyses using action accomplishment as a point of departure cannot.

In the following Chapter 7, I undertook a longitudinal analysis of the language use of another L2 speaker of German, Nina, by focusing on her use of the discourse marker *also* during a year-long sojourn to Germany. German *also* is a connector adverb in the production of outcomes and conclusions (see Dudenredaktion, n.d.-a). Additionally, *also* has several uses as a discourse marker dependent on sequential positions (Auer, 1996), including in repair (Alm, 2007), reformulations (Fernández-Villanueva, 2007) and topic shifts (Alm, 2007). In my analyses, I focused on Nina's uses of *also* in contexts where she is explicating, correcting, modifying, or otherwise *negotiating the meaning* of some earlier talk. At the beginning of her sojourn, Nina uses *also* to make explicit the relevance of her own earlier talk and *maintain* intersubjectivity; she specifically uses *also* to 1) project an unpacking, 2) formulate an upshot, and 3) frame a consequence from earlier talk. By the end of her sojourn, Nina used *also* in the *repair* of intersubjectivity: *Also* contributed to managing manifest troubles (by *correcting* a co-interactant's incorrect candidate understanding or by doing a *correction reformulation* of her own talk that the co-interactant did not understand) or by pre-empting possible troubles of understanding (by doing a *paraphrase reformulation* of her own talk to block an unwanted interpretation). The changes in her uses of *also* indicate that Nina became more able to

contribute to the fundamental organization of interaction in her L2 in increasingly cooperative ways.

Also based on the observed changes in Nina's uses of *also*, I proposed *pruning* as one trajectory that the development of IC may take, in addition to *diversification* (see Pekarek Doehler, 2019) and *streamlining* (see Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021). *Pruning* is meant to capture how an L2 speaker's may both *grow* and *strengthen* new uses for a linguistic resource while *dropping* other uses. For example, at the end of her sojourn, there were no instances of Nina using *also* to unpack some earlier talk, suggesting that she has dropped (or is in the process of dropping) that use of *also*.

In the discussion of my analysis of Nina's *also* uses, I also problematized the role of *recognizability* in the study of IC, that is, the conceptualization of IC as the ability to interact in increasingly recognizable ways. In the current chapter, and as outlined at the beginning of this chapter, I pick up and expand upon that discussion of recognizability. I begin by exploring recognizability from an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic perspective (Section 8.2), particularly in terms of *accountability* (Garfinkel, 1967) (Section 8.3). I then discuss the related concept of *members' methods* (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970) and understandings of membership and membership collectivities in CA and ethnomethodology (Robinson, 2016; Sacks, 1992; ten Have, 2002) as well as in IC research (e.g., Hellermann, 2008, 2011) (Section 8.4).

8.2 What *is* recognizability in interaction? What is its role in studying IC?

With the ethnomethodological perspective that CA brought to IC research (see Hall, 2018; Skogmyr Marian et al., 2017; Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018 also Chapter 2), IC became increasingly conceptualized as the "*ability for joint action*" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30, emphasis in original), understood in terms of the "members' methods" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii) interactants deploy to *recognizably* accomplish actions in interaction and, thereby, contribute to what was collaboratively achieved in and through interaction (see also Pekarek Doehler, 2019). In earlier chapters (particularly Chapter 2), I approached *recognizability* through the findings of previous IC research; from this emerged a concept of recognizability as the unproblematic performance of an action (e.g., a complaint, a telling), as evidenced by co-interactants' orientations to the action in their next turns. For example, an L2 speaker's developing IC (over

the course of a 9-month sojourn) in the context of storytellings was visible in that she (the L2 speaker) was better able to secure her co-interactant's (displayed) recipiency to the storytelling. At the beginning of the sojourn, the L2 speaker's co-interactants only produced minimal responses (if any response) to the L2 speakers' storytellings, causing the L2 speaker to do response pursuit (e.g., to pursue an adequate response to a story's climax); as the L2 speaker developed methods to open a storytelling, (i.e., methods that project the upcoming storytelling, project the nature of that storytelling, and indicate the relevance of the storytelling to the local context), she increasingly received responses from her co-interactants that index their interest in the story (e.g., follow-up questions) without having to do pursuit (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018). The L2 speaker's co-interactants increasingly oriented to the L2 speaker's storytelling openings for what they were: storytelling openings.

Analyses such as Pekarek Doehler & Berger's (2018) rely on a specific tool in the CA toolbox: the next-turn proof procedure (see Sacks et al., 1974). After a turn from a co-interactant, an interactant displays their understanding of what that turn was doing (e.g., opening a story complaining, requesting) in their (the interactant's) own next turn. Conversation analysts can use next turns to describe co-interactants interpretations of each other's turns at talk (Sacks et al., 1974). This next-turn proof procedure is limited, however, as co-interactants, in their next turns, orient primarily to the *action* of the prior turn (or the turn's 'main job', see Levinson, 2013), and not to the resources that the prior speaker employed to perform the action. In my analyses of two L2 speakers' uses of discourse markers, a conceptualization of IC only in terms of recognizability would have not allowed for either a nuanced description for *how* the speakers were deploying discourse markers to do some local interactional work nor how their (or, rather, Nina's) IC developed during their sojourns. I was able to use recognizability in my analysis of Rachel's use of the particle combination *achja* (Betz & Golato, 2008) in non-responsive sequential positions. For example, I found that Rachel's use of *achja*, in the combination *achja also*, contributed to the recognizable (that is, unproblematic) resumption of some suspended course of action (see Jefferson, 1972; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001), despite *achja also* not being the linguistic resource that L1 speakers of German systematically use for doing resumption (see A. Golato, 2018, on German *naja*). In Chapter 7, in my discussion of Nina's developing uses of the discuss marker *also* (Section 7.5.2), I presented the difficulties of relying on recognizability as evidence for developing IC when tracking a linguistic resource and its changing spectrum of uses, because the

successful (that is, recognizable) accomplishment of actions in interaction do not hinge on a single resource. In this final chapter, I revisit the ethnomethodological roots of CA and IC to explore *recognizability* and the related members' methods (see Garfinkel, 1967; ten Have, 2002); I specifically examine the related notions of *accountability* and *membership*, their use in IC research (e.g., Hellermann, 2008), and their implications for future studies on the development of interactional competence.

8.3 Accountability and account-ability

In CA, there are two interconnected senses of accountability. On the one hand, there is "Accountability as Responsibility" (Robinson, 2016, p. 12) or as "liability" (ten Have, 2002, para. 8). Because members share understandings and normative expectations for how interaction is to unfold, when one interactant's conduct breaches that understanding or those normative expectations, the interactant is held accountable (either by themselves or by co-interactants) to address their breach (Robinson, 2016). For example, should an interactant produce a turn that makes a response conditionally relevant (e.g., an invitation, a question, a greeting) from a co-interactant, but no response is forthcoming, they may (and commonly do), pursue a response from their co-interactant (Pomerantz, 1984b; see also Schegloff, 2007). In pursuing a response, the interactant is holding their co-interactant accountable for not producing an expectable next action (Pomerantz, 1984b; see also Stivers et al., 2018). *Accounts* are then the steps interactants take to address and deal with such breaches (Robinson, 2016).

On the other hand, there is the notion of *account-ability* that captures how interaction can functions without breaches; that is, how interactants can use interactional (e.g., linguistic, gestural, sequential) resources to perform actions, and have those actions understood by their co-interactants for what they are, without having describe or account for what they are doing (Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002). Account-able conduct is *intelligible* conduct that both fits its local social context of production (or, rather, fits with the other components of the social context, e.g., co-interactants' turns at talk) and contributes to its context of production by being components against which further contributions are understood (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002). CA — with its focus on the turn-by-turn unfolding of interaction — seeks to describe this account-ability in *interaction*, that is, how interactants form their actions (e.g., storytellings, invitations, requests) recognizably and

understandably for their co-interactants (i.e., “in such a way that [the actions’] sense is clear right away” ten Have, 2002, para. 8) and how interactants ascribe actions to their co-interactants' turns (Levinson, 2013; Robinson, 2016, p. 11).

Garkinkel's (1967) account-ability is closely tied with *recognizability*, or, rather, members' methods for performing actions and carrying out interactional projects. In other words, members' methods are those methods that fit with interactants understandings and expectations for interaction, that interactants take for granted, that do not require an account for their production (Garfinkel, 1967; Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002). Both in performing actions accountably and recognizing others' actions, interactants continuously construct and re-construct themselves and each other as co-members. In the context of IC, as an individual (e.g., L2 speaker or a child in their L1; on children’s development of IC, see Stivers et al., 2018; Wootton, 1997) develops members' methods for interacting, their methods become more common-sense and attract less attention, e.g., are less frequently topicalized or less frequently being targeted for (other-)repair. In other words, in developing account-able, recognizable (i.e., members') methods for interacting, L2 speakers become increasingly able to "treat conversational business *as* conversational business, that is, as a site for communicating with each other, for sharing experiences and points of view, ..., and for maintaining and developing the social bond" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 73), rather than (primarily) as a site for (L2) learning.

The term *member* (and the related *membership*), however, implies a belonging to some *collectivity*. Garfinkel (1967), who is commonly cited in CA discussions of account-ability, membership (Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002), and members' methods (see also Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; and Hellermann, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2019, for discussion of members’ methods in IC research), does not explicate the nature of such collectivities (e.g., Hellermann, 2008; Robinson, 2016; Sacks, 1992). Garfinkel (1967) describes members, whose methods are recognized and taken for granted in interaction, as being "*collectivity* members" (p. 57, emphasis added; see also ten Have, 2002, para. 15). However, for Garfinkel (1967; see also ten Have, 2002), *member* does not refer to an individual or their identity, but rather "to a mastery of natural language" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 142). In ethnomethodology and CA, members accomplish each other's membership through their ability to account-ably form and ascribe actions (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; ten Have, 2002). For CA, the evidence for membership lies in interactants orientations to each other's conduct (in the form of, e.g., TCUs,

turns) in the context of their production (Robinson, 2016); discussing membership outside of the micro-details of interaction become a thorny matter.

However, referring to *members* as "a mastery of natural language" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 142) does not take away the word's semantic meaning as a unit that is part of a group. In CA and ethnomethodological research (e.g., Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002), including research on IC (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Hellermann, 2008, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2015), researchers have used several different terms to refer to collective entities to which members belong. Sacks (1992), in making sense of how speakers of (North American) English interpret connection between the paired sentences "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up" in a story told by a child (pp. 243-251),[160] hypothesizes that an apparatus exists that members use in interpreting each other's contribution, and that "such an apparatus may be called a 'culture'" (p. 245). Although Sacks (1992) does not formulate *culture* as a *collectivity* to which members belong, but rather as a *tool* members use to form and interpret each other's conduct, others have used *culture* as the collectivity to which members belong (Hellermann, 2008, p. 33, 2011, p. 148; Robinson, 2016, p. 12). Robinson (2016), in his introduction to his collected volume on *Accountability in social interaction*, describes CA as being "primarily concerned with relevance rules[161] that are intersubjectively understood by a large swatch of a *culture/society*" (p. 12, emphasis added). And Hellermann (2008, 2011), who understands members' methods as "being locally-occasioned and continually displayed in interaction" (p. 38) — in line with Garfinkel (1967) and account-ability — also interprets culture as the collectivity to which members' belong. To Hellermann (2008), "[members'] 'methods' are the common-sense ways that ordinary people ('members' of the particular *language/culture*) in ordinary interactions use to make sense of the micro-actions performed in their talk" (p. 33, emphasis added); Hellermann (2011) describes CA's research

[160] Sacks' (1992) lecture surrounding these two sentences points out that the two events in these sentences are, for speakers of (North American) English, hearably connected: The mommy is hearably the baby's mommy (even though there are no elements expressing possession); the two events (the baby crying and the mommy picking it up) are hearable as occurring subsequently (i.e., the baby cried and *then* the mommy picked it up) without temporal adverbs indicating such; and one event (the baby crying) is hearably the cause for the second event (the mommy picking it up).

[161] Relevance rules are those normative rules that interactants use in interaction to both interpret the conduct of others and by which interactants design their own contributions (Robinson, 2016, p. 7). Interactants use relevance rules in, for example, the organization of turn-taking (e.g., by taking the floor when selected as a next speaker), and sequence organization (e.g., by, in adjacency pairs, producing second-pair parts in response to first-pair parts) (Robinson, 2016).

goal as "show[ing] how common sense *methods* are used by *members* of a society to hold one another accountable for acting and talking in a culturally relevant way" (p. 148, emphasis in original; see also ten Have, 2002, para. 17).

There is thus precedent for using the related terms *culture*, *society*, and *language* in ethnomethodology and CA to describe the collectivities of members who share methods. In their discussions, Sacks (1992), Robinson (2016), and Hellermann (2008, 2011) do not, however, provide definitions of the membership collectivities to which they refer. On the one hand, drawing borders between one culture/society/language and another is difficult. Collectivities that share methods for interaction and cultural products often regularly differentiate themselves from one another; for example, English-speaking Canadians and Americans, despite being able to interact accountably with one another (pointing to shared members' methods for interaction), regularly characterize themselves (e.g., in their cultural products) as belonging to different cultures. And the opposite is also true: *Western Society* describes a collective of nations who, despite their shared political interests and governing philosophies, speak a diverse set of languages.

While the trans-national examples I give are likely not the scale of collectivity to which Sacks (1992), Robinson (2016), and Hellermann (2008, 2011) intend to refer, they do embody a problem in using such terms to refer to collectivities in terms of members' methods. In ethnomethodology and CA, the account-ability is the means by which a members' method, in the context of its production, create and re-create shared membership (Garfinkel, 1967). In describing those collectivities as *culture*, *society*, and/or *language*, the collective membership displayed through account-ability extends beyond the confines of the local social context; in this understanding of membership collectivity as a culture/society/language, an activity as mundane as a conversation opening (or an invitation, or a request), in being executed accountably (i.e., such that the interactants in the interaction do not orient to it as unexpected, inappropriate, ambiguous or otherwise problematic) would not only accomplish the interactants local co-membership to some collectivity, but also the co-membership of countless others who share the same understanding of and expectations for conversation openings (or invitations, or requests). By using *culture*, *society*, or *language* to refer to collectivities of members implies that, through the deployment of account-able methods, mundane activities in interaction become a vehicle for the creation and re-creation of communities.

The issue to which I am pointing is not about whether members' methods are shared among large collectivities of people, but, rather, the implication that, in accomplishing account-able activities, members engaged in interaction also shows their co-membership with others who are, 1) not currently engaged in the interaction (and thus cannot show their orientation to the method) and, 2) will (likely) never engage in interaction with those interacting members. This is not to say that methods are not shared amongst populations; CA findings on, e.g., (telephone) conversation openings (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002), demonstrate that there are shared methods for accomplishing mundane activities, and that those methods (can) differ between, e.g., languages and language communities. The possible issue I want to point to in the descriptions of membership in CA and ethnomethodology in terms of *culture*, *society*, or *language* is that such broad descriptions do not — or in themselves cannot — reflect nuances to and the fluidity of membership and the differences in access to account-able methods (and, thereby, different kinds of membership) that members can have, demonstrate, or claim.

Take, for example, Brown's (2013) examination of four male L2 speakers[162] of Korean — two white Europeans, one Japanese student studying in the UK, and one ethnically Korean student from Austria who speaks Korean as a heritage language —[163] and their use of Korean honorifics in everyday interaction while on exchange to South Korea. Although Brown (2013) investigated the *identity* construction of his participants *as* L2 speakers (rather than formulating the investigation as one on the development of *members' methods*), his findings bear some significance for the current discussion. Honorifics — a linguistically coded set of resources by which speakers show deference, respect, and courtesy to one another based on their position in their relative social hierarchy — are pervasive in Korean, with an entire set of prescriptive normative rules (*contaymal*) on how to speak respectfully to and about others. Those rules determine the verb endings and terms of address that one ought to use as well as the prosodic shape and length of one's utterances (Brown, 2013). Members of Korean society use honorifics to negotiate "Korean patterns of social identity and self-image as a competent member of Korean society" (Brown, 2013, pp. 270–271), and an inability or refusal to employ honorifics "may

[162] Brown (2013) uses *target language* (TL) rather than L2, and refers to his study participants as *participant* or *learner*. To keep consistency with rest of the dissertation and for ease of reading, I also use L2 speaker to refer to Brown's (2013) study participants.

[163] Brown (2013) chooses four male participants of different ethnic backgrounds for two reasons. First, he notes there is a gap in study abroad research in terms of research on male participants. Second, by having participants with various ethnic backgrounds, he was able to investigate the interplay between his participants' ethnicities and the identities they had available to them within Korean society.

ultimately limit the ability of the speaker to negotiate an identity as a legitimate speaker" (p. 271). Korean L2 speakers' use of honorifics in interaction thus reveal the way in which they, in their interactions, display their membership in Korean society (Brown, 2013).

Brown (2013) compared his participants' explicit knowledge and understanding of Korean honorifics (gathered through discourse completion tasks) to their use of the honorifics in their Korean interactions. He found that despite their high level of knowledge regarding the fit between honorific forms, social context, and conversation partner, the use of honorifics in the L2 speakers' interactions with L1 speakers differed from what is normatively expected in L1-L1 Korean interactions (Brown, 2013). In retrospective interviews about their experiences in South Korea, Brown's (2013) participants recounted that more senior conversation partners (with whom they expected to use honorific forms) would actively discourage the L2 speakers from using the honorific forms and that — more strikingly —more junior partners would refrain from using honorifics when they would be normatively expected with another L1 speaker of Korean. I say "strikingly" because the L2 speakers reported female participants who were 3 to 5 years their junior switching quickly to the less formal *panmal*, thereby treating them "as 'cute younger brothers'" (p. 295) rather than as "fully-formed adult members[s] of the community" (Brown, 2013, p. 285). The L1 speakers claimed that "Korean honorific categories... did not apply to [the L2 speakers] as ... foreigner[s]" (Brown, 2013, p. 291). Even the ethnically Korean heritage speaker — a *kyopho* "overseas Korean" — was "cast in the role foreigner if [his] honorific use appear[ed] to fall short of the local norms" (Brown, 2013, p. 295). That is, when the Korean heritage speaker's use of honorifics deviated from the norm, whether the deviation was incidental (i.e., slip of the tongue) or intentional (e.g., for humour), his conversation partners attributed the deviations to the heritage speaker's foreigner identity and thus as identified him as "someone 'not familiar' with the norms of honorifics use" (Brown, 2013, p. 294).

Brown's (2013) study demonstrates that, while L2 speakers can share with their L1-speaking counterparts expectations for the account-able use of a set of linguistic resources, their locally constructed identities as L2 speakers (or, in the case of Brown (2013), as foreigners), rather than their linguistic ability, can have consequences for the methods participants deploy in interaction. Granted, the identities the four participants could negotiate in Korean society by virtue of their ethnic background differed considerably: The three participants who were not ethnically Korean were treated as though the honorifics did not apply to them, while the Korean heritage speaker

was treated as a someone who was normatively expected to follow L1 patterns of honorifics use but did not understand "the fineries of honorifics use" (Brown, 2013, p. 295). However, regardless of their ethnic background, the L2 speakers did not have available to them "native-like patterns of interaction" because they were treated as "outsiders who are just passing through" (Brown, 2013, p. 295).

As Brown (2013) demonstrates, L2 speakers' locally constructed identities as such can have consequences for the linguistic resources that their co-interactants deploy in interaction (e.g., the L1 speakers using more informal speech with L2 speakers than they would with other L1 speakers) or with the rights and privileges that L2 speakers have to use certain methods in interaction (e.g., only being sanctioned to use informal speech). In the context of Brown (2013), the L2 speakers' differing access to honorifics (both as users and recipients thereof) excluded the participants from entering the social hierarchy of South Korean culture (Brown, 2013). The L2 speakers' membership thus differed from L1 speakers' in that, to participate in Korean interaction account-ably (that is, recognizably and non-problematically), the L2 speakers had to (or would have had to[164]) resort to a categorically different set of members' methods than their L1-speaking counterparts. Brown's (2013) participants thus had a different membership than the local L1 speakers of Korean.

In the context of the development of L2 IC, Brown's (2013) findings suggest that there is space, and possibly a need, in IC research for more critical reflection on both the kinds of collectivities to which members belong and on how account-able methods vary among members as a product of locally constructed identities (e.g., L2 speaker). Even L2 speakers who share understandings and expectations for interaction with L1 speakers may not be sanctioned to use the same methods for accountable interaction by virtue of their being locally constructed as L2 speakers, along with other factors such as age, race, and gender. L2 IC research cannot assume that "language practices that members use for the organization of their mundane interaction [are] available for use by any member of the language culture being studied" (Hellermann, 2011, p. 149).

[164] One of the white-European participants expressed significant frustration that his L1 conversation partners would "apply anything less than native-like patterns of honorifics use towards him" (Brown, 2013, p. 292) due to him being a foreigner. In order to claim "an identity of equal status to Korean native speakers", the participant thus strived to use Korean according to that which would be normatively expected from native speakers (Brown, 2013, p. 292).

Other labels for member collectivities appear in IC research. Labels such as "social group" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 47; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 53; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2015, p. 235), although similarly broad and not clearly defined within CA research, do not imply (at least to the same degree as *culture*, *society*, or *language*) that accountable members' methods accomplish co-membership with countless others who are not involved in the here-and-now of an instance of interaction. In his CA studies of adult ESL classrooms, Hellermann (2008, 2011), in addition to references to culture and language, describes how the adult language learners together achieve a *community of practice.* Unlike other collectivities that appear in CA and ethnomethodological research (such as *culture* or *society*), *communities of practice* are groups of people "that come together under the auspices of a common interest or goal" (Hellermann, 2008, p. 7), such as learning a language. In service of collective interests and goals, communities of practice develop shared interactional practices (see Heritage, 2010a; Schegloff, 1996a, and Chapter 3, Section 3.2) through which the individuals both co-construct the community of practice and each other's membership (Hellermann, 2008). By understanding the classroom and the people therein (including the instructor) as a community of practice, Hellermann (2008) can use CA methods to describe his participants' developing IC in terms of their changing membership status within the community, because the population of the community is finite (in that it consists of those people within the classroom rather than an imagined community such as "Canadians") and part of the feature of the community is that it is co-present in the language classroom. Both as the community of practice develops shared practices (or methods) for interaction and as the students acquire those shared practices, they can move from being peripheral (but legitimate) members to core members (Hellermann, 2008).

In a classroom context, *community of practice* may be a more descriptively useful approach for CA studies of IC. It uses the institutional context of the classroom to delineate who are and are not (potential) members; it also allows for an understanding of members' methods as not being shared by all members of the community of practice, that is, that membership status can vary in a community. *Community of practice*, when applied to larger collectivities such as *culture, society,* and *language,*[165] does not address the issues of the vagueness (in terms of what collectivity they refer to) of the terms *culture, society,* and *language,* nor the issues of

[165] Hellermann (2008) also uses *community of practice* to refer to the broad group of "proficient English language users" (p. 39) in which his participants are also becoming more central members.

membership construction (i.e., the implication that the use of a members' method also achieves the membership of those not participation in the here-and-now of the method's production).

With my criticisms here pertaining to references memberships collectivities, I do not seek to claim that humans do not organize themselves into and understand themselves as belonging to social groups. Indeed, there is a wealth of research in sociology (e.g., Anderson, 2006), applied linguistics (e.g., Kramsch, 1998), and other fields (e.g., Lave & Wenger, 1991) that has described how humans form, maintain, and become members of more or less distinct collectivities. Addtionally, this research would not disagree that members of social group share some methods for interaction. Language is a powerful tool that humans use to organize themselves into distinct cultures and nations (Anderson, 2006). One need only look at countries in Europe and Asia to see how language can unify a people under the banner of one language, culture, and nation: German is spoken in Germany, French in France, Japanese in Japan.[166] But humans also perceive shared membership to some larger social group by reference to a shared history, even in the absence of a shared language (Anderson, 2006). By referring to a shared history, multilingual and multiethnic countries (often former European colonies, such as South Africa, India, and Indonesia) can claim legitimacy as nation-states (Anderson, 2006, p. 11).

My criticism thus of CA and ethnomethodology thus does not seek to claim that methods are not one resource by which humans organize themselves into social groups, that cultures, societies, or languages do not exist; rather, it is that by not critically reflecting when using terms such as *culture*, *language*, and *society*, conversation analysts and ethnomethodologists neglect the multi-faceted nature of human social groups and how people understand their own membership. In order to gain a better understanding of membership and the role of methods therein, CA and ethnomethodological research ought to investigate whether participants orient to methods as indications of membership and, importantly, to what extent methods are actually shared amongst members. Research such as Brown (2013), which analyzes the rights and privileges that L2 interactants have to use L2 linguistic resources, could contribute to this line of inquiry in CA and ethnomethodology, as too could research on interactions between speakers of different (national) varieties of a language (e.g., Canadian and American English). Such research could also investigate the nature of sharedness (e.g., what it means to have methods shared

[166] *Printed* language is an even more powerful tool for unification, as it can allow for those who do not share a linguistic variety (or cannot even understand each other's spoken variety) to claim they speak the same language (Anderson, 2006).

amongst members), its contribution to account-able interaction, and how interactants can achieve interaction when they share few or no methods for interaction.

8.4 From member's methods to account-able methods

Because of the way the way researchers in CA and ethnomethodology have labelled members' collectivities and assumed (at least implicitly) that methods are equally accountable regardless of who deploys them, I propose that IC, barring a more nuanced understanding of membership, leave the notion of *member* to the side and use instead the notion of *accountable* (or *account-able*) *methods,* as it is those methods that interactants treat as account-able that contribute to the achievement of interaction, regardless of whether they are, indeed, shared amongst the interactants. As Brown's (2013) study of L2 speakers' use of honorifics indicates, members can have access and rights to different accountable methods, but they can still interact account-ably. Additionally, methods that are shared among members (which is the case for most methods) are shared *because they are accountable* and, thus, contribute to the co-achievement of interaction (Robinson, 2016; ten Have, 2002).

My own analysis of Rachel's use of sequence-initial *achja* (Chapter 6), particularly to do resumption in combination with *achja also* (Section 6.4.3), gives an instance where speaking of methods only in terms of account-ability rather than (additionally) in terms of membership is more useful for the study of IC and its development in terms of the increased ability for recognizable conduct in interaction. As my corpus search in Section 6.5.1 shows, L1 speakers rarely utter *also* following *achja.* However, despite their composition, Rachel's *achja also*s still contribute (in tandem with other local resources) to the *recognizable* — that is, *account-able* — accomplishment of resumption. Speaking only in terms of *members'* methods in the case of Rachel's resumptions (e.g., comparing Rachel's resumptions to that of L1 speakers) with *achja also* would potentially under describe and miss the success with which Rachel resumes some course of action previously put on hold. But describing Rachel's use of *achja also* in terms of account-ability captures what research in IC seeks to uncover: L2 speakers' increasing ability to interact in recognizable ways (Pekarek Doehler, 2019; Wagner et al., 2018).

A notion of 'account-able' methods, however, is limited in its descriptive power, namely in terms of recognizability. On the one hand, *recognizability* in terms of action formation (i.e., how interactants deploy linguistic, bodily, prosodic, etc. resources in concert to perform social actions

in interaction, see Deppermann & Haugh, in press; Schegloff, 2007) "presupposes that actions have a correct identity" that the action recipient(s) can identify (Levinson, 2013, p. 104). In other words, *recognizability* implies that the action producer will only accept one interpretation of their action. *Action ascription* more accurately describes the process by which interactants attribute actions to turns; whereas recognizability implies correctness, *ascription* captures how action recipients interpret some turn's action in their (the recipients') responsive turn which, if uncorrected, are "in some sense a joint 'good enough' understanding" between interactants (Levinson, 2013, p. 104). In tracking participants' developing IC in a second language, it may thus be more accurate to analyze how actions are *ascribed* to L2 speakers turns, and whether that action ascription is unproblematic.

In interaction, however, participants' responses to turns typically only address some main job or primary action that the turn is doing (Levinson, 2013; see also Zinken, 2020). The main job or primary action of a turn determines what some responsive turn must address, else the response may threaten the progressivity of the interaction (Levinson, 2013). For example, a response to a first greeting (in North American English) must deal with the business of 'greeting' by, itself, doing a second greeting (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). An interactant may produce a first greeting with an indication of annoyance, frustration, or joy, but the task of the responsive turn remains to address the *greeting* (Levinson, 2013).

As I touch upon in the discussion following my analyses of Nina's development of the discourse marker *also* (Chapter 7), discourse markers do not contribute to turns' main actions in ways that *must* be addressed in the responsive turns. In fact, overtly addressing (e.g., topicalizing) the use of a discourse marker could be damaging to progressivity, as it would favour a non-central element of a turn over the turn's primary action; it would make language use into the local interactional business, a move which could be taken as a problematization or criticism and, thereby, neglect to address that main action (Levinson, 2013). Let us take for example Rachel's use of *achja* to do backlinking (Section 6.4.2). The "main job" of those turns in which Rachel uses a backlinking *achja* are to make an offer or re-open and add to a previously closed topic. Backlinking (with *achja*) is some "less official work" of the turns that signals to Rachel's co-interactant that what Rachel is going to say is connected to something earlier in the interaction. While the *achja* instructs the co-interactant as to what they should interpret the upcoming turn against (i.e., against some other-than-prior talk), co-interactants' responsive turns

must not (or even ought not) address or deal with the backlinking that *achja* achieves. Discourse markers could thus be said to operate on a different interactional level (or even "track", see Clark, 1996), one that communicates the import or function of a turn or TCU without explicating the import or function.

Of course, this less official work can also contribute to the account-ability (in terms of intelligibility) of the main task without being, itself, account-able. For example, in resumption, Rachel's *achja also* prepares her co-interactant for the upcoming resumption (the main task) by instructing them to search for, in the earlier interaction, some incomplete course of action/telling. Similarly, in Nina's other-initiated reformulations, *also*s contribute to the reformulation activity by indicating that Nina will paraphrase her earlier talk to make it understandable for her co-interactant. By acting as a reformulation marker (see Gülich, 2002), Nina's *also*s make the upcoming reformulation more clearly hearable as a reformulation.

When researching IC, account-ability is a powerful way by which to track how L2 speakers develop the ability to interact in an L2, as its uses as evidence the participants' local orientations to the L2 speakers' conduct — when available. Account-ability is particularly useful for studies that take an action environment as a point of departure and then track how L2 speakers develop resources that contribute to the action's accomplishment as account-ably relevant, as those studies can use the next-turn proof procedure (see Sacks et al., 1974, and Chapter 3) to access how account-ably the L2 speaker performs an action over time through their co-interactants' responsive turns.

As I argue in the previous chapter, however, relying on account-ability as a measure of the development of IC limits IC research to studying account-able actions. As I argue in my previous chapter, tracking an L2 linguistic resource such as discourse markers can reveal additional ways in which L2 speakers develop the ability to interact successfully in an L2. From my analyses of Nina's uses of *also* in the negotiation of meaning in some earlier talk — where my findings suggest that she went from using *also* to unpack and formulate summations of her earlier talk to correcting others' incorrect candidate assumptions as well as reformulate her own talk in response to others' conduct — I proposed that research on second language interactional competence take up a conception of IC as the ability to contribute to and make visible the organization of interaction; Psathas (1990) forwarded a similar conception of IC in his discussion of the CA approach to the study of human interaction, in terms of the ability to co-construct

structures of interaction. In Nina's case, in developing additional uses of *also*, the increased organizational ability manifested, on the one hand, as an ability to target a co-interactant's talk for correction (rather than just her own), and, on the other hand, a projection of a reformulation where no projection with *also* was previously observed. Further diversifying our objects of analysis beyond L2 speakers' accountable actions could similarly deepen our understanding of IC and the task that L2 speakers' have before them in becoming more interactionally competent.

8.5 Conclusion: Interactional competence, discourse markers, and future research directions

The goal of this dissertation was to explore what an analytical focus on discourse markers can reveal about how L2 speakers develop their ability to interact in the L2, that is, develop their interactional competence. The introduction of IC into research into the field of second-language acquisition (Kramsch, 1986) turned the field's attention to L2 speakers' interactions and their language use in interaction (e.g., Hall, 1995, 1999, 2004; He & Young, 1998; Young, 1999). As researchers started to apply conversation analytic theories and methodologies to the study of IC, in particular its understanding of interaction as a collaborative accomplishment, IC became increasingly understood in term of L2 speakers' "*ability for joint action* that is contingent upon the details of social interaction people participate in, and emerges for the people's cumulative experience of social interactions while continuously being adapted in the course of such interactions" (Pekarek Doehler, 2019, p. 30, emphasis in original).

Fueled by the contributions of CA, IC research moved to investigating the actions L2 speakers perform in interaction (e.g., disagreeing, complaining, storytelling). The ethnomethodological concepts of *account-ability* and *members' methods* (Garfinkel, 1967), both central to conversational analytic inquiry, put the analytic focus on the turns *following* L2 speakers' actions, as it is in those next turns that the L2 speakers' co-interactant(s) display their orientation to and understanding of the L2 speakers' prior turn; it is also in these next turns that it becomes visible to the analyst whether the L2 speaker performed an action *recognizably* for their co-interactants (Pekarek Doehler, 2018, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018). In longitudinal studies of the development of IC, analyzing co-interactants' next turns also provide emic evidence of an L2 speaker's developing IC, that is, that the changes in the *methods* an L2 speaker use to accomplish an action lead to that action becoming more recognizable for what it is.

Because, in their next turns, co-interactants primarily orient to and deal with the *action* of the prior turn (Levinson, 2013), the IC research that takes as its analytic starting point an action or action environment (e.g., Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Hellermann, 2007, 2008, 2011; Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019; Pekarek Doehler & [Pochon-]Berger, 2011; Skogmyr Marian, 2021) has been able to use recognizability as evidence for increasing IC. This IC research has consistently found that L2 speakers become more able to perform actions recognizably by *diversifying* the methods they employ in the accomplishment of those actions (cf. Pekarek Doehler & Balaman, 2021, on streamlining).

I argue that both our current understanding of the IC as the ability to recognizably accomplish actions in interaction and the conceptualization of IC development as the diversification of methods stems from the analytic focus on action environments. There are, however, *two* proposed starting points for longitudinal studies on social interaction: an action environment and an interactional resource (Wagner et al., 2018). With an action environment as the analytical starting point, the analyst tracks changes in the resources participants deploy in that action environment; with an interactional resource (e.g., a discourse marker) as a starting point, the analyst tracks the changes in the action environments to which the resource contributes.

Studying the development of IC by starting with a linguistic resource and tracking the action environments to which it contributes presents an opportunity to broaden our understanding of L2 IC, or, in other words, to add new conceptualizations of IC and its development. For example, my analyses of Rachel's use of sequence-initial *achja* (Chapter 5) showed that Rachel was able to innovate and take advantage of the particle combination's function as an index of now-remembering to do interactional work in other environments (see Section 6.4). Specifically in the case of resuming a course of action with *achja also*, Rachel's strategy for doing resumption — by now-remembering the ongoing activity put on hold with *achja* and projecting the resuming of its progressivity with *also* — does not seem to align with how L1 speakers of German do resumption (at least based on the research available to date); however, her strategy does share commonalities with one way of doing resumption in English, namely with the combination *oh anyways*, in which *oh* indexes now-remembering and *anyways* projects resumption. That Rachel is using L2 resources to *recognizably* accomplish a task (resumption) in her L2 (German) using a strategy from her L1 (English) suggests that the term *members' methods* (with its implication of

membership to some collectivity) may not adequately represent the differences in the resources members may use (or even may have rights to use, see Brown, 2013, and Section 8.3) to competently perform actions in interaction. I instead propose a notion of *account-able methods* (Section 8.4), which retains recognizability (through the reference to Garfinkel's *account-ability*), without invoking membership.

As I discuss earlier in this chapter as well as in Chapter 7, an analysis of next turns for evidence of the recognizability of an L2 speaker's construction of a prior action can reveal co-interactants' orientation to and interpretation of the *action* that the prior turn is performing. It is thus a useful approach to both track the changes in the resources the L2 speaker deploys in that action environment and whether those changes make the action more recognizable to the co-interactant. To some extent, I was able to apply recognizability to my analyses of Rachel's uses of *achja,* specifically to her uses of *achja* in backlinking and resumption. Rachel's co-interactant had trouble aligning in one instance of Rachel's backlinking *achja* (Excerpt 15), pointing to a possible issue of recognizability. On the other hand, Rachel's co-interactants had no trouble aligning with Rachel's *achja also* resumptions, indicating *achja* (in combination with *also*) is a recognizable and thus competent method for doing resumption (Section 6.4.3).

It is important to highlight, however, that there are always multiple resources that contribute to construction of any action; in the case of Rachel's resumptions, the *achja also* works together with modified repeats of talk to accomplish the resumption of the temporarily suspended activity. Furthermore, co-interactants rarely put on display their orientations to *individual* resources in a prior turn and those individual resources' contribution to the accomplishment of the action, e.g., by topicalizing some word choice or intonation contour (see Levinson, 2013). Doing so would favour a potentially face-threatening activity — problematizing the conversation partners' language use — over the business at hand. It is thus difficult for the analyst to describe the deployment of a particular resource, such as a discourse marker, in terms of recognizability (or, rather, ascription, see Levinson, 2013), both because an action's performance does not hinge on any single resource *and* because any orientation to a single resource is potentially problematic (see also Section 8.4).

An investigation of the development of IC with a linguistic resource as an analytical starting point thus cannot use recognizability to describe how an L2 speaker's methods for interacting changes over time. Based on my longitudinal analysis of Nina's use of the discourse marker *also*

in the negotiation of meaning during a year-long sojourn, I propose the integration of a complementary understanding of IC: the ability to contribute to the organization of interaction. My analysis of Nina's *also* found that, while she used the discourse marker *also* at the beginning of her year-long sojourn to connect her current TCU to *her own* earlier talk, at the end she was using *also* to additionally connect her current TCUs to her co-interactants' turns. Furthermore, there was a greater shift in the intersubjective work Nina did with *also*. At the beginning of her sojourn, she used the discourse marker to explicate some meaning of her own earlier talk and *maintain* intersubjectivity, by either 1) unpacking that talk, 2) formulating an upshot the talk, or 3) formulating a consequence. By the end of her sojourn, Nina's uses of *also* were contributing to the *repair* of intersubjectivity by both addressing manifest troubles of understanding and also pre-empting possible troubles of understanding. My longitudinal analysis of Nina's use of *also* revealed a trajectory of IC development that included both the *growth* and *strengthening* of new functions and the *dropping* of other functions, a trajectory I label *pruning*.

I argue that by diversifying our analytic approaches, we can gain a more complete understandings of interactional competence and its development. In line with prior research on IC (see Chapter 2), I used the theories and methodologies of conversation analysis (see Chapter 3) to describe how my participants deployed linguistic resources in their everyday interactions in L2 German. Future longitudinal CA research on the development of IC that use linguistic resources as analytic starting points could reveal additional aspects of interactional competence and trajectories of its development. IC research could also be enriched by more studies that investigate L2 speakers' language use in interaction using mixed data collection methods. As Brown's (2013) mixed-method study of L2 speakers' use of Korean honorifics demonstrates, drawing on mixed-method approaches in the study of IC, such retrospective interviews and discourse completion tasks, can deepen our understanding of the experiences and sociocultural factors shaping L2 speakers' interactions. Advocating for mixed-method research on IC could also open the possibility for interdisciplinary collaboration between different fields of SLA research. For example, much IC research investigates L2 speakers' development outside of classroom learning contexts during sojourns to areas when the L2 is widely spoken (e.g., Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Ishida, 2009; Y. Kim, 2009; Masuda, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2018, 2019; Skogmyr Marian, 2021; and also the current dissertation). *Study abroad* research investigates similar immersive L2 learning contexts (e.g.,

Bae & Park, 2016; Diao & Trentman, 2016; the collected volume Kinginger, 2013, and Kinginger, 2016; McGregor, 2016; Wolcott, 2016) and has long advocated for mixed-method approaches and an understanding of L2 speakers and learners as whole persons (see Coleman, 2013). It could thus ignite new impulses in L2 IC research.

An important contribution that mixed method approaches could make to the study of IC and its development is the identification of L2 speakers' knowledge of, experience with, and attitudes towards specific linguistic resources and how those influence the work L2 speakers do with those resources. For example, retrospective interviews, like Brown's (2013), with my participants regarding their discourse marker use could reveal their attitudes towards discourse markers, their experiences using discourse markers, and the discourse marker use they (consciously) attend to in their interactions. Methods such as retrospective interviews, but also journaling (e.g., Allen, 2013), could also access L2 speakers' goals for their L2 development and the strategies (e.g., language courses, seeking out certain kinds of interactions or conversation partners) they use for to reach those goals. Quantitative methods could also deepen our understanding of the interplay between L2 speakers' experiences and their development of L2 IC. For example, Ranta and Meckelborg (2013) had Chinese graduate students at a Canadian university regularly complete computerized log to track the amount of time the L2 speakers spend exposed to and using Mandarin (their L1) and English (the local language and language of instruction). Ranta and Meckelborg (2013) found that the L2 speakers' predominantly used English in their studies in more receptive modes, such as reading academic texts or attending academic lectures. Their production of English was mostly limited to writing (which the authors note is not unexpected for graduate students) with only 10.9 minutes per day spent interacting with friends in English (Ranta & Meckelborg, 2013, p. 15). The computerized logs, however, also revealed there were significant individual differences between the participants, indicating such computerized logs are well suited for describing individuals' L2 exposure and use but not for generalizing to a population level. Regardless, combining longitudinal analyses of L2 speakers' interactions with such computerized logs of their L2 use could also contribute to our understanding of the interplay between L2 speakers' experiences in the L2 and how their achievement of interaction changes over time. In short, mixed methods can give analysts a window into L2 speakers' interactions and experiences therein that researchers did not record.

There is also potential to use analyses of recorded interaction data to describe how the local contingencies of L2 speakers' interactions shape how they develop their L2 IC. A potential avenue would be to take the longitudinal findings of L2 speakers' use of a specific linguistic resource and complement the findings with longitudinal analyses of the action environments to which the linguistic resource contributes. Such complementary studies could potentially identify the interactional motivations for the growth or dropping of functions from a linguistic resource. For example, a longitudinal analysis of Nina's reformulation practices over the course of her sojourn could illuminate the precise nature of *also*'s contributions to Nina's paraphrase and correction reformulations at the end of her sojourn (see Section 7.4.5) and the other resources that develop alongside *also* to make Nina's reformulations more account-able. Longitudinal studies of action environments and of linguistic resources that are complementary to one another would provide a more complete picture of the development of interactional competence in an L2 and the role interaction plays therein.

In line with my discussion in Section 4.2, I caution against making determinations of causality (i.e., that some factor caused L2 speakers' somehow L2 interactions to change in a particular manner). Even with using mixed methods, our study participants lead full, complex lives in which several factors, such as education, personal history, linguistic knowledge, as well as their experiences (both in the L2 and in general) interact with each other in unpredictable ways. While using mixed methods could describe how different factors in an L2 speaker's life potentially shape their development of L2 IC, they would have limited (if any) predictive value. I do not claim that my analytic findings regarding Rachel's use of *achja* and Nina's developing use of *also* apply to all (or, in fact, any other) L2 speaker of German.

But it was not my goal to extrapolate my analytic findings to other German L2 speakers. My goal in this dissertation was to demonstrate what analyses of discourse markers can reveal about what it means to interact in an L2 competently. My analysis of Rachel's use of *achja* showed that L2 speakers can be innovative with L2 linguistic resources, that L2 speakers can successfully perform interactional work by using strategies that differ from their L1 counterparts; that is, that L2 speakers can interact competently without interacting like an L1 speaker. And my analyses of Nina's development of *also* show a complementary way in which we can understand the development of interactional competence (as the ability to contribute to the organization of interaction) when recognizability is inaccessible to the analyst. Together the analyses contribute

to a rethinking of the methods interactants deploy in service of some action or project in interaction, the relationship between membership and accountability, and L2 speakers' task in becoming competent interactants in the L2.

We humans live out our social lives through our interactions with one another. The way we deploy verbal and embodied resources to compliment, complain, make requests, tell each other about our days, and engage in a variety of joint projects have consequences for our social relationships and identities, regardless of the language we are using. However, our social relationships and identities also influence the ways in which we engage in interaction. Diversifying the analytic objects of study can give us a more complete picture of interactional competence, its development, and what it means to competently interact in another language.

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Appendix A GAT-2 transcription notation used in dissertation

Conventions taken from Selting et al. (2011, pp. 22, 37-39).

Sequential structure	
[ ] [ ]	overlap and simultaneous talk
=	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
In- and outbreaths	
°h/h°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
°hh/hh°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
°hhh/hhh°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
Pauses	
(.)	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
(-)	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
(--)	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
(---)	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
(0.5)/(2.0)	measured pause of appr. 0.5/2.0 sec. duration (to tenth of a second)
Other segmental conventions	
and_uh	cliticizations within units
uh, uhm, etc.	hesitation markers, so-called "filled pauses"
:	lengthening, by about 0.2-0.5 sec.
::	lengthening, by about 0.5-0.8 sec.
:::	lengthening, by about 0.8-1.0 sec.
?	cut-off by glottal closure
\	Cut-off without glottal closure
Accentuation	
SYLlable	focus accent
sYllable	secondary accent
!SYL!lable	extra strong accent
Pitch jumps	
↑	smaller pitch upstep
↓	smaller pitch downstep
↑↑	larger pitch upstep
↓↓	larger pitch downstep
Intralinear notation of accent pitch movements	
`SO	falling
´SO	rising
¯SO	level
^SO	rising-falling
ˇSO	falling-rising
Laughter and crying	
haha hehe hihi	syllabic laughter
((laughs)) ((cries))	description of laughter and crying
<<laughing> >	laughter particles accompanying speech with indication of scope
<<:-)> so>	smile voice

Continuers

hm, yes, no, yeah etc.	monosyllabic tokens
hm_hm, ye_es, no_o	by-syllabic tokens
ʔhmʔhm	with glottal closure, often negating

Final pitch movements of intonation phrases

?	rising to high
,	rising to mid
-	level
;	falling to mid
.	falling to low

Loudness and tempo changes, with scope

<<f>	>	forte, loud
<<ff>	>	fortissimo, very loud
<<p>	>	piano soft
<<pp>	>	pianissimo, very soft
<<all>	>	allegro, fast
<<len>	>	lento, slow
<<cresc>	>	crescendo, increasingly louder
<<dim>	>	diminuendo, increasingly softer
<<acc>	>	accelerando, increasingly faster
<<rall>	>	rallentando, increasingly slower

Changes in voice quality and articulation, with scope

<<creaky>	>	glottalized
<whispery>	>	change in voice quality as stated

Other conventions

<<surprised>	>	interpretive comment with indication of scope
((coughs))		non-verbal vocal actions and events
<<coughing>	>	...with indication of scope
( )		unintelligible passage
(xxx), (xxx xxx)		one or two unintelligible syllables
(may i)		assumed wording
(may i say/let us say)		possible alternatives
((unintelligble, appr. 3 sec))		unintelligible passage with indication of duration
((...))		omission in transcript
=>		refers to a line of transcript relevant in the argument
word		refers to a word in the transcript relevant in the argument