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PEER INTERACTIONS IN THE LANGUAGE
CLASSROOM:
EXPERT-NOVICE-PRACTICES IN LEARNING
ACTIVITIES AT PRIMARY SCHOOL

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Peer interactions in the language classroom:

Expert–novice–practices in learning
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ABSTRACT

The present research focuses on peer interactions engaged with the accomplishment of learning activities in the primary classroom. It is driven by the interest and need to understand learning and social interaction taking place in peer group-s, and how the participants orient to the sequential organization of social interaction. The research draws on audio and video data stemming from the primary classroom in Luxembourg, and aims at 1) describing and analyzing the interactional organization of learning activities, 2) describing and analyzing the resources and methods, i.e. expert-novice-practices mobilized by young learners when orienting to the accomplishment of a learning activity, and 3) describing the opportunities for participation and for learning that may take place when learners orient to the accomplishment of a learning activity in peer interaction.

Peer interaction is depicted as one form of a community of practice within which learning is situated and observable as learners in and through the deployment of expert-novice-practices orient to, and adapt to micro-shifts in the participation framework when accomplishing a learning activity. Results point to the fact that not only are expert-novice-practices deployed when young learners work in interaction, but these practices are also found to be inextricably linked to the constitution of expert-novice identities - this again has implications for how the learners orient to the accomplishment of a learning activity.

Keywords: peer, conversation analysis, interaction, expert-novice-practices, identities, learning, primary school

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Part I

**Theoretical foundations: an interactionist approach
to peer interaction, expertise and learning**

1. Introduction and aims of the study

1.1. Peer interaction and group work in the primary school curriculum

Peer interaction is in the Luxembourg classroom a very common practice, and it is in fact common to see two or more peers in the primary classroom working together on a pedagogical task set by the teacher-s. This pedagogical practice is also a significant criteria of the primary school curriculum as defined by the Ministère de l'Education nationale et de la Formation professionnelle (MENFP) in Luxembourg. Even before primary school's provision, which is now called 'fundamental school' (MENFP, 2010), was being reformed and expanded by the MENFP (starting academic year 2009-2010), the documents on primary education published by the Ministry put a strong emphasis on the importance of organizing group and peer work in the primary classroom. This is illustrated for example by the following extract from the previous *Plan d'études*:

“A tous les niveaux, la priorité doit être accordée aux applications qui peuvent être insérées dans des projets qui font appel à une pédagogie active permettant l'exploration et la découverte et qui mettent en œuvre des stratégies favorisant le travail en groupes et la collaboration” (MENFP, 1989, p. 240).¹

To give just another example, we might refer to the more recent documents *Ouverture aux langues à l'école. Vers des compétences plurilingues et pluriculturelles*, or the new *Plan d'études* also published by the MENFP. In these documents the majority of the activities and competences, which are offered and depicted, focus on group work for all kinds of learning activities (writing, reading, sports, etc.) to organize with and for learners in the Luxembourg primary classroom. Consequently, group work and peer interaction in the Luxembourg primary, i.e. fundamental classroom is not only common practice, but it is also a

¹ Translation: “At all levels, the priority should be given to activities which can be implemented within projects appealing to an active pedagogical stance, allowing for exploration and discovery and which put into practice strategies supporting group work and collaboration”.

requisite and condition for fulfilling the curriculum which is set and prescribed by the Luxembourg Educational Ministry.

1.2. Research questions and aims of study

The research project is driven by the interest and need to understand learning and social interaction taking place in peer group-s, and how the participants orient to the sequential organization of social interaction. Peer interactions in the classroom then represent the most appropriate opportunity for the investigation of these interests.

Peer interaction is already at a very young age crucial for the socialization process into (Luxembourg) society. In the present study, we focus on young learners (aged 7-9) in cycle 2 of Luxembourg fundamental, i.e. primary school previously 1st and 2nd primary school year). In and through peer interaction young learners acquire how to participate in interaction, how to interpret and orient to each other's doings (verbal and non-verbal), as well as how to establish mutual attention and thereby conduct meaningful and joint activities with peers. Consequently, it is the young learners themselves which are responsible for deploying interactional practices (i.e. expert-novice-practices) which establish mutual understanding of each other to achieve meaningful interaction. Furthermore, we argue that learning is taking place in and through interaction, and that it can be observed when participants in interaction come together and collectively orient to a common goal, and thereby constitute themselves as members of a community of practice.

How young learners accomplish mutual understanding, i.e. intersubjectivity, as members of a shared community of practice, and which resources and methods they rely on, is at the main interest of the present research study. We therefore attempt to provide, from a micro-sequential and -detailed perspective, the description of the social actions, i.e. expert-novice-practices, that are put to use when learners in peer interaction orient to the collaborative accomplishment of a learning activity. We thereby hope to provide insights for researchers, teachers and student-teachers, into what we consider to be learning processes which are

occurring in peer interaction as well as to shed some light onto the sequential organization of face-to-face interaction.

The conversation analytic framework is used in the present study because it allows for paying particular attention to observable social practices and their sequential organization as well as participants' orientations to these practices in interaction. Through the intensive preoccupation with and investigation of the data, the following research leading question emerged:

How do young learners (aged 7 to 9) accomplish classroom interaction, and more specifically peer interaction within the multilingual primary classroom in Luxembourg?

To investigate the previous question, partial aspects are under scrutiny:

1. How do young learners accomplish the organization of peer interaction?
2. Which social practices do they employ in the organization of peer interaction?
3. Which resources and methods do young learners in the Luxembourg classroom draw on for constructing the accomplishment and organization of that peer interaction, and consequently also their immediate social reality?
4. How do learners learn in these interactions?

The study then aims at describing how young learners in peer interaction organize themselves in order to accomplish a learning activity. Learning activities are understood to be all kinds of activities that take place within the school and the classroom: reading, writing, having lunch together, etc. Interaction being an active accomplishment by and for the participants themselves, it is important to understand that each (peer) interaction is not only a coming together of two or more individuals, but also a meeting point of language, or more precisely

languages. We have observed that whenever young learners interact in peer interaction in the classroom they orient to each other as being able to provide missing and/or requested for information and knowledge which is relevant for the accomplishment of unfolding interaction and in order to gain access to this knowledge, they deploy a series of social actions (request formulations, negotiations of candidate writing segments, etc.) which we summarize under the notion of expert-novice-practices.

The analysis of specific interactions from the classroom demonstrates that not only language serves to organize the unfolding interaction. What is more, is that in the deployment of expert-novice-practices for the organization of the unfolding interaction and the accomplishment of a learning activity, participants also orient to roles and identities which in and through these interactions become relevant.

The learning activities under investigation are i) activities that are organized around a task set by the teacher-s and consequently are characterized by an “official”, i.e. pedagogical goal (cf. chapter 5 and 6), ii) as well as activities such as voluntary readings or drawings and group discussions over lunch (cf. chapter 7). The investigation of social practices, i.e. expert-novice-practices within the classroom also allow for investigating participation in interaction and which opportunities for participation are created when learners engage in peer interaction. We argue that change in participation allows for observing learning. Specifically, we demonstrate that micro-sequential shifts in learner’s participation allow for making visible, how in a socially and situated way, learners who do something together, are ‘learning’ and making meaning of their interaction. Participation is approached with the understanding that it is a mutually constituted unfolding process, during which a varied set of multimodal resources (gesture, gaze, body posture, etc.) come into play when participants perform, enact and produce specific social actions with and for each other. Recurrent phenomena under investigation which allow for observing micro-changes in participation frameworks are for example the formulation of requests, asking for help and assistance, and offering help or assistance.

The larger scope of the present study is to contribute to ongoing discussions of the benefits (or not) of peer interaction within the classroom. We discuss how the findings of the study are related to present discussions of learning from a micro-sequential, interactionist perspective. We also draw implications for teacher education programs as well as future research on peer interaction within the primary classroom.

1.3. Study outline

The study is organized into three parts. In Part I (chapters 1-2) we present the theoretical framework, in Part II (chapters 3-5) we describe the methodological framework and Part III (chapters 6-9) consists of the empirical analysis of the data.

In the first chapter we present the general aim of the study which explores the organization of peer interaction in learning activities in the primary classroom, and the ways in which the collaboration and unfolding interaction between young learners is influenced by their respective orientations towards the social practices, i.e. expert-novice-practices, which they deploy. We then present the research questions as well as the outline of the study. Finally, we situated the identity of the author.

In the second chapter, we approach *expertise* interactionally and propose a conceptualization of this notion for the present research project. We define what we understand by *expert-novice-practices* and outline how they are linked to the constitution of interactional, i.e. expert-novice identities. We discuss the notion of interactional competence, outline the most relevant social practices considered to be expert-novice-practice and depict how identity is to be approached interactionally and from an emic perspective.

In chapter three we outline our understanding of learning as situated. We draw on socio-cultural perspectives on learning and conceptualize it for the present research project. Furthermore, we situate and discuss the classroom and more

precisely peer interaction. Peer interaction is depicted as one form of a community of practice and we then discuss how shifts in the participation framework in peer, i.e. face-to-face interaction allow for observing learning processes. Finally, the different formats of peer interaction and their learning activities that are the focus of this study are set forth: the task-, i.e. goal-oriented peer interaction (i.e. writing activities set by the teacher) and the extra curricular activity which does not have a goal set by the teacher, but still is apt to complement the pedagogical concept of classroom interaction.

The fourth chapter is positioned as the transition between the theoretical framework of the research project and the analysis of the data: it represents the methodological framework, namely that of Conversation Analysis (CA) employed for the analysis of the deployment of expert-novice-practices in face-to-face-interaction in the Luxembourg primary classroom.

In the fifth chapter, we present the objective of the study, the data under investigation as well as the analytical procedures for analyzing the data. We describe the approach to the field of classroom interactions, present the corpus and the data under investigation. The procedures by which the data-set (i.e. episodes and more specifically extracts) for the present study has been selected is introduced and illustrated. The data and its context are depicted and transcription conventions and modalities are discussed before concluding with an overview on methodological issues in relation to the scope of the study.

Chapter six, seven and eight present the analysis of several sequences from the primary classroom. Chapter six investigates four episodes of two peers at each time accomplishing a free writing activity. These episodes have been labeled episodes of *conversational writing* because writing in a dyad involves a lot of conversation before any actual writing is taking place, even more so if two interactions share but one piece of writing paper and they need to agree on/ negotiate what is to be written down. Under investigation are the expert-novice-practices (offering candidate writing segments, formulating utterances with rising

intonation, etc) learners make use of when orienting to the accomplishment of the free writing activity. We demonstrate how the deployment of expert-novice-practices is inextricably linked to the interactional identities and how this then has implications for the organization and accomplishment of the learning activity.

Chapter seven investigates two sequences of requests for third party in the multiparty classroom: one example is taken from a student seeking the teacher's help, i.e. expertise oriented to as necessary in order to advance the accomplishment of a task. The second example demonstrates how the teacher formulates a request for help and expertise from one of his learners.

Chapter eight explores two sequences of extra-curricular (classroom) interaction which are organized, i.e. structured and pedagogically complement to curriculum activities. One sequence demonstrates that young learners who are engaged in a free reading activity also orient to each other as bearers of certain information or knowledge. The second sequence is taken from an episode where the young learners are having a conversation over lunch. Both episodes demonstrate that the formulation of a request and the use of the discourse marker 'na méi/schon méi' [once again] is a device employed by young learners in extra-curricular activities to seek information or knowledge they themselves display as lacking.

The study concludes with chapter nine and provides a summary of the research. We discuss the findings of the study and how they are related to present discussions of learning from a micro-sequential, interactionist perspective. We also draw implications for teacher education programs as well as future research on peer interaction within the primary classroom. Finally, we discuss the challenges of the present research study and draw to a close with considerations for future directions of our research.

1.4. Terminology and doing being the 'author'

At this stage it is important to point out that throughout the research study, we use the term of 'young learner-s' as opposed to 'pupils'. The reason for this lies within the conceptual as well as methodological approach of the research study. First of

all, we consider the young learners as being active agents of the constitution and organization of the learning activities they engage in. In this sense, they constitute the learning activities interactionally on a moment-by-moment basis. They are considered responsible of this constitution and organization of the learning activity because the learning activity is not something that is prearranged (by the teacher) and unchanging: it is the young learners that construct and develop it as they accomplish the activity. Secondly, the research aim of the present study lies within the investigation of expert-novice-practices in learning activities in the primary classroom: hence the focus lies on the process of how learning (activities) are organized. Consequently, the young learners as active agents, i.e. participants of this process are the main interest of the present research study as opposed to ‘pupil-s’ as an institutionalized term which also ascribes predetermined categories to the participants and which does not necessarily take into consideration what is actually going on when these participants interact in a learning activity.

Another important point to be made is about the discourse and writing style of the present research project. Thus, I - as Ph.D. candidate and person with an identity behind the name on the cover of this research project - have decided to use the personal pronoun ‘we’ throughout the dissertation. Although this present research study is submitted by me as a Ph.D. candidate to the University of Luxembourg, I have during the last four years been working, learning, teaching and interacting within a research team established at the University of Luxembourg, but also through networking with international universities. This work is due to all the meetings, discussions and arguments with national and international colleagues and not a product of my sole and individual doings. Furthermore, the data under investigation stems from a shared database established by the DICA team within the research unit LCMI at the University of Luxembourg and we have always worked, discussed as a team on this data, its exploitation, organization and analysis. Consequently, the ‘we’ is chosen as discourse and writing style for the present research study - it’s but a minimal reminder of the fact that in my opinion, ‘doing being a researcher’ only works if it is done *interactionally* with other

participants who are willing to learn in and through research activities with each other.

2. Expert and novice practices in peer interaction

2.1. An approach to the notion of “expertise”: some previous research

The term *expertise* is employed in the most various professional and private fields in everyday communication and is generally understood as great skill or knowledge in a particular field. However, if one wants to employ the term in a socio-interactionist perspective, the undertaking reveals itself as rather difficult: first of all, even though the term *expertise* is commonly used in an range of fields (research, business, media, education, private communication, etc.) it seems to evade a specific grounded definition and is generally used to refer to somebody’s knowledge in a specific field. Thus doctors are considered to be have expertise in their specific medical field. Secondly, although there has been research on expertise, experts and their specific skills, the methodological focus in these researches is mainly of cognitive nature (cognitive psychology and cognitive science, (cf. for example Ericsson & Smith, 1991)) and expertise is seen as located within the individual’s brain.

For the present research, which is informed by a socio-interactionist perspective, the definition and use of the term *expertise* reveals itself as difficult. Expertise has so far, and to our knowledge, no research tradition in empirical and socio-interactionist research. A reason for this could well be that *expertise* as such is not an easily graspable phenomenon, or “unit of analysis” in talk-in-interaction. Even though the term is employed by socio-interactionist and conversation analytic studies, none of the studies have come up with a definition of the term. Underlying this lack of definition is the fact that these studies do not understand *expertise* as a social action which is observable and analyzable per se. Rather, interactionist research has drawn on the understanding that “doing being an expert” (or not) is constituted in and through interaction and it is the social actions of participants as they orient to each other in talk-in-interaction that constitutes them as expert and novice.

In classroom interactions, the general ('by default') roles are that the teacher is seen as the expert while the pupils are considered as learners, i.e. 'non-experts' or 'novices'. The teacher organizes, manages and plans the classroom according to the national curriculum in order to 'transfer knowledge' to the learners. This means that s/he chooses form, format and content of lessons and classroom activities. In this constellation, the roles and identities as distributed between teacher-s and learners are asymmetrical. However, the present research is investigating interactions where these 'default' roles are reversed or shifted and at the same time the 'default' participation framework is shifted. Research inscribed to a socio-interactionist perspective of (language) learning has shown that competences (interactional and communicative) cannot be simply transferred by an isolationist way from the teacher to the learner. The development of interactional competence (cf. also section 2.8., p. 38 in this chapter) can only transpire if the learners are actively participating in classroom interaction. This implies that activities in the classroom need to be organized so as to open up for the creation of opportunities for participation for the learners. If the teacher remains 'expert' throughout all possible classroom interactions, the distribution of roles remains asymmetrical and opportunities for active student participation remain occasional or even absent. The present research subscribes itself to the socio-interactionist perspective on learning (cf. chapter 3) and therefore investigates interactions where such opportunities for participation are created and made available. Under scrutiny are peer-interactions, but also interactions between learners and teacher where the teacher visibly steps out of their institutionally related expert-identity. Interactional competence is then understood as the ways in which, during peer interaction, young learners not only use language appropriately (i.e. linguistic appropriateness), but also the ways in which language is used in sequential and socially situated appropriate ways.

We now give a brief overview of previous (socio-cultural and interactionist) approaches to expertise before moving on and situating the notion of expertise for the present research project. We briefly outline how it has been dealt with from a socio-culturally informed perspective and then move on to socio-interactionist

investigations of expertise and a definition of how expertise is understood and conceptualized for the present research project.

The first researcher who, for us, coined the term expertise is Ben Rampton, and we draw on his list of characteristics of expertise which is specifically situated in relation to language expertise. Rampton (1990, pp. 106-107), conceptualizing language expertise in relation to the predefined terms of ‘native’ or ‘non-native’ speakers implies at least the following five things:

1. “A particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with.
2. Inheriting a language means to be able to speak it well.
3. People either are or are not native/mother-tongue speakers.
4. Being a native speaker involves the comprehensive grasp of a language.
5. Just as people are usually citizens of one country, people are native speakers of one mother tongue.”

Rampton points out the different inherent functions and characteristics which implicitly come to one’s mind when talking about native and/or nonnative speakers. What is problematic, is that these terms of ‘native and/or non-native speakers’ categorize people and decorate them with certain characteristics (and expectancies) beforehand. Also, the formulations in his list (above) are cryptic, as it is difficult to define what it means to ‘inherit’ a language for instance. And what does this imply for children growing up bilingually? In Luxembourg it is nowadays common to find mixed marriages, i.e. where the parents have different nationalities and above all different so called “mother-tongues” and in such marriages children commonly grow up learning and speaking at least two languages at the same time. It is in such cases almost impossible (or unfair) to say that these children have only ‘one’ mother-tongue. The present study works from a

bottom-up perspective, and would only use identity terms such as native/non-native if the participants in interaction constitute themselves as such and make these identities relevant in and through talk-in-interaction.

Rampton then suggests that one should talk about participants in terms of *experts* rather than *native* speakers for the following reasons:

1. “Although they often do, experts do not have to feel close to what they know a lot about. Expertise is different from identification.
2. Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate.
3. Expertise is relative: One person's expert is another person's fool.
4. Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient.
5. To achieve expertise, one goes through processes of certification, in which one is judged by other people. Their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed. There is also a healthy tradition of challenging experts.”

We agree with Rampton that to use the terms of expert and non-expert, one manages to avoid the ascribed categories as enlisted by him above. These categories are mainly attached to the terms native and non-native speaker. By using the terms expert-s and/expertise, one manages on one hand, that the learners are not put under the constraints of having to adapt their language or speaker competence to the almost unattainable language competence of a native speaker. On the other hand, expertise can be applied to a broader field of knowledge and is not only constrained to language learning as such. Thus, one can be a language expert or an expert in math, but also an expert on cultural issues related to an ongoing topic discussion, or an expert in the sense of more knowledgeable participant in terms of spelling or writing a word for instance.

The sequences under investigation in the present research project stem from the most various kinds of learning activities, and include for instance learning activities such as reading, writing, copying from the blackboard, etc. . Furthermore, the learning activities stem not from one subject only, but come from German learning activities as well as learning activities related to math for example (see chapter 5 for a detailed presentation of the data under investigation). What's more, the ways in which the young learners display and orient to social actions relevant for accomplishing the learning activity range from knowing or being able to provide an appropriate 'candidate writing segment' (cf. Chapter 6), to being able to speak a language other is not (cf. Chapter 7), or also to being able to provide relevant 'cultural' knowledge important for a storytelling sequence (cf. Chapter 8). Depending on the activity in progress (language vs. math for example), different kinds or levels of 'expertise', or knowledge (Lehtinen & Kääriäinen, 2005, p. 438), are requested or offered and interactionally accomplished. Lehtinen and Kääriäinen argue along these lines when they claim that:

“[i]t has been shown in conversation analysis that entitlement to knowledge is important in all kinds of interactions [...] Pomerantz (1980), for example, has shown how conversationalists orient to two kinds of knowables: those that they are assumed to know through their own experience, and those that they can only know through being told by somebody” (Lehtinen & Kääriäinen, 2005, p. 438).

Knowledge, or knowables, is then something participants in interaction orient to and thereby make this orientation available not only to their co-participants, but also to us as analysts. A third important aspect of 'expertise' is that, unlike the native/non-native categories, it is neither attached to, nor assumes any relevant identity or social group identity categories, thus avoiding “the stereotypical understanding of what it means to be a native speaker” (E. Zimmerman, 2009, p. 604). As Rampton points out, “the notion of expert shifts the emphasis from 'who you are' to 'what you know'” (Rampton 1990:108). This means that one can

constitute oneself as expert when being a teacher or adult or more-advanced-speaker-of-x, but also when being a pupil or learner, or less-advanced-speaker-of-x but more-advanced-speaker-of-y, and the other way round (cf. for example Chapter 6 for an instance of a teacher constituting himself as learner). Fourth, expertise is not situated within the individual (mind), or as Zimmerman, also drawing on Rampton (1990), puts it,

“[e]xpertise implies that the expert’s knowledge is not innate; rather participants can acquire or demonstrate expertise through interactions with others.” (Zimmerman 2009:604).

Expertise is situated not as existent within the participants, but as something that occurs and is established in interaction with other participants. Expertise is something that is being done by the participants in interaction. Rampton’s definition of “expertise” for the conceptualization of “expertise” for the present research project is relevant because it opposes, and at the same time ‘advances’ the more traditional SLA (second language acquisition) researcher’s use of the terms native and non-native speaker (Cook, 1999; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kasper, 1997, 2004; Long, 1983; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002). These studies categorize participants into native and non-native speaker(s) and assume that the ‘norm’ for L2 competence is to attend the same language proficiency as a native speaker, in other words L1 competence. The problem with this theory is that, on the one hand even native speakers’ proficiency and competence differ from one speaker to the next, and it is difficult to define what is the ultimate ‘native / L2 competence’ to achieve. On the other hand, it ignores that participants, or learners become and are ‘do(ing) being (non-)experts’ in and through interaction and (might) shift their roles and identities on a moment-by-moment basis. This means that one might be ‘an expert’ during one interactional moment, but a ‘novice’ or ‘learner’ in the next.

Similarly, recent CA studies reject the use of terms such as non-native/native speaker because, as pointed out by Ben Rampton, it pigeonholes participants into

categories, identities and roles which might not necessarily be made relevant in, or oriented to by the participants in and through the interaction. Rather, working from a conversation analytic informed perspective, one adapts an emic perspective. In other words, only what is being made relevant and oriented to by the participants in interaction is considered observable and noteworthy of analysis (Antaki & Widdicombe, 2006; Boden & Zimmerman, 1991; Carlgren, 2009; Drew & Heritage, 2006; C. Goodwin, 1981a; C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Heritage, 1997a; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; A. J. Liddicoat, 2007; Psathas, 1995; H. Sacks, E.A. Schegloff, & G. Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007b, amongst others). However, before we move on to the interactionist studies on “expertise”, we would like to refer to Barbara Rogoff’s concept of ‘apprenticeship’, because she also investigates relationships between experts and novices and its implications for learning and development.

Barbara Rogoff, also in 1990, has coined the term of ‘apprenticeship’ which she suggests to use

“as a model for children’s cognitive development [...] because it focuses our attention on the active role of children in organizing development, the active support and use of other people in social interaction and arrangements of tasks and activities, and the socioculturally ordered nature of the institutional contexts, technologies and goals of cognitive activities. Although young children clearly differ from older novices in the extent to which they can control their attention and communication and in their general knowledge, there is a useful parallel between the roles of young children and the roles of novices in general apprenticeship. [...] [T]he model provided by apprenticeship is one of active learners in a community of people who support, challenge, and guide novices as they increasingly participate in skilled, valued sociocultural activity” (Rogoff, 1990, p. 39)

Arguing from a socio-culturally informed perspective, Rogoff's notions of apprenticeship and 'expert', similar to Rampton's definition of 'expert and novice', underline that being an expert, or 'doing being the expert' does not mean that the one who is doing the expert work, does not develop his skills and understanding while guiding others through the process. As the analytical chapters of this dissertation demonstrate, experts are never only experts, and learners, i.e. novices, are never only learners. To be an expert or a novice is understood as being an interactional identity (see below for a definition) and interactional identities and roles are constantly shifting and renegotiated in and through the unfolding interaction and adapted to the this interaction. Experts might only be experts for a few turns (or even less), but even if they are experts, they still actively engage in, and orient to the accomplishment of the learning activity.

Rogoff's concept of 'apprenticeship' is relevant for the present conceptualization of "expertise" because it illustrates first of all, that expertise is something that is organized and established between participants. This means that it is co-constructed by participants as they engage in interaction. Second, Rogoff's conceptualization highlights that becoming an expert' through apprenticeship, learning and development - in terms of learning or becoming an expert - is taking place as activities are being accomplished. Hence, for Rogoff as for us, expertise and consequently learning, are not situated in the individual's mind solely. Even though Rogoff uses 'apprenticeship' in relation to children's *cognitive* development, it is interesting to note that she describes it as something that participants do together "in social interaction and arrangements of tasks and activities". Secondly, the roles of expert and novice are not seen as static, and expertise is not seen as a unilateral transferral of knowledge from expert to novice. On the contrary, they are described as influencing each other and it is possible to be both at the same time, i.e. one can be expert and still 'learn' in and through the interaction as "the expert too is still developing breadth and depth of skill and understanding in the process of carrying out the [learning] activity and guiding others in it" (Rogoff, 1990, p. 39). The participants in interactions are then seen as participants who function as resource for each other in and through the accomplishment of the learning activity.

For the present research study then, expertise is not something that is existing in the participants' minds, but on the contrary, something that is co-constructed in and through the interaction the participants are engaged in - in our case that of accomplishing a learning activity. Expertise is in fact a very helpful notion when investigating classroom peer interactions because, as it is co-constructed in and through interaction by the participants in interaction, and because it can 'shift' from one participant to the next, it allows us to refrain from using pre-ascribed categories to the participants in the interactions under investigation. Vasseur, investigating interlingual interactions (Vasseur, 2005, p. 71), also maintains that the notion of expertise is for such an undertaking particularly helpful because it is a *neutral notion*. Interlingual interactions are in fact similar to our interactions, because the participants are all multilingual speakers and all of them, even at this young age, speak more than one language (cf. chapter 5). Vasseur then claims that for these interactions ²:

“la notion d'*expertise* est particulièrement utile parce qu'elle permet de prendre des distances vis-à-vis du symbole d'identification social qu'est la langue et qu'elle semble offrir l'avantage d'efficacité. Or, bien que ailleurs reconnue par certification, elle est aussi variable, re-évaluable, très dépendante de la situation d'interaction. Les éthnométhodologues montrent que la catégorie d'expert, comme toute autre catégorie (Mondada 1997, 1999), se co-construit dans le dialogue. Dialogiquement parlant, l'expertise est ce que nous appellerons [...], une place que l'un des locuteurs assume dans le dialogue. La paire *expert-novice* est le résultat d'une construction complémentaire où chacun, à travers ses conduites discursives, se fait

² Translation: “the notion of *expertise* is particularly useful because it permits to take a distance with respect to the social identification symbol which is the language and because it seems to offer the advantage of effectiveness. Now, although elsewhere recognized by certification, it is also variable, re-evaluable, very dependent on the situation of interaction. Ethnomethodologists show that the category of expert, as any other category (Mondada 1997, 1999), is itself co-constructed in dialog. Speaking dialogically, expertise is what we will call [...], a place that one of the speakers assumes in the dialog. The pair of *expert-novice* is the result of a corresponding construction where each, through its discursive moves, makes him/herself recognizable (or not) as such by the other” (Vasseur, 2005, p. 73, original emphasis).

reconnaître (ou non) comme tel par l'autre" (Vasseur, 2005, p. 73, original emphasis).

Expertise is then not only something that is co-constructed in interaction, but also something that is constructed dialogically, that is through talk as much as through any other resources and modalities (gesture, gaze, embodied actions, etc.). Furthermore we argue that expertise becomes observable when learners in interaction orient to each other's knowledge: they might display lacking knowledge and being in need of other's, i.e. expert's knowledge (cf. chapter 7 and 8), or they might orient to collectively constructing certain forms of knowledge (like a text for example) and thereby orient to each other's different levels, or kinds, or forms of knowledge (chapter 6) in order to do so. Expert and novice roles or identities are (see Vasseur, 2005) inextricably linked to the notion of expertise, and it is important to note that, like expertise, they are not pre-ascribed to the participants, but are first of all constructed in and through interaction. Secondly, they can shift from one moment to the next, and third, it is possible to be both expert and learner (novice) at the same time.

2.2. Towards an interactionist approach of “*expert-novice-practices*”

It must by now be clear that interactionist, and particularly CA studies, reject to assign any category or identity to participants in interaction before the data and the talk are not closely examined. Interactionist approaches ergo argue for observing and analyzing how participants in talk-in-interaction construct and orient to identity. Accordingly, CA studies reject the use of terms such as native and non-native speakers, as they assume that “because the speaker is a non-native speaker, s/he will behave in interactions in a certain way such as making grammatical and pragmatic errors” (E. Zimmerman, 2009, p. 604), thereby making this ‘non-nativeness’ observable and possibly accountable. However, the use of the term native and non-native do remain problematic, because even though L2 speakers might make linguistic or grammatical errors, and they themselves (through self-initiated repair for instance) or co-participants (through other-initiated or other-initiated self-repair) might orient to it, it does not necessarily

mean that it is the native or non-native identity of the speaker that is being oriented to (for an extended discussion on 'repair' see: Brouwer, 2004; Joan Kelly Hall, 2007; Hellermann, 2009; Hosoda, 2006; Kasper, 1985; McHoul, 1990; Schegloff, 1979, 1987b, 1992, 1997b, 1997c, 2000b; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977b; Waring, 2007). Kasper (2004) points out that participants in interaction, although 'externally' constituted as native and non-native speakers, do not constitute each other as such in interaction. Moreover, when orienting to linguistic or grammatical trouble, they do so i) by constituting each other as expert; ii) this identity construction is each time initiated by the 'learner', i.e. 'non-native speaker', and iii) they orient to repair initiations as interactional functions relevant for advancing the activity they are engaged in, and not as an orientation to the learner's target language use per se.

Furthermore, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, we want to point out that numerous (socio-)interactionist and CA studies employ the terms of expert, and/or expertise, but do not offer a specific definition of the concept. Brouwer (2003) for example, discusses expertise as referring to knowledge, detectable in participants' orientations to co-participants' expertise offered in word-searches. Similarly, Cekaite argues that the "ability to recruit participation of expert others is crucial for language learners" (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 2). Cicurel (2005), investigating classroom interaction and the development of foreign language in interaction, also uses the terms experts (*participant-expert*) and learners (*participants-apprenants*). Nevertheless, investigating plenary classroom interaction (as opposed to peer-interaction), the expert identity in Cicurel's study remains reserved to the teacher who employs certain strategies to initiate repair, or to focus learner's attention on linguistic troubles for example. Thus, her use of the term is not linked to a learner-centered classroom perspective. To give another, similar example, we could refer to He and her article (2004) on Chinese language classroom interactions. She also investigates the expert-novice relationships and identities as they emerge through interaction, but like in Cicurel's study, here the role and identity is solely used in relation to the teacher. However, although the expert identity is enacted by the teacher only, it is created in and through

interaction and the role of the expert does not exist as a readily admitted identity all throughout the interaction.

Although we have named but a few, there are many more CA and socio-interactionist studies which refer to or even analyze expert-novice relationships and identities (Antaki, 2009b; Hutchby, 1995; Isaacs & Clark, 1987; Markee, 2000a; Sutherland, 2002; Tin, 2003; Vehviläinen, 1999; Waring, 2005a, 2005b; Wells & Claxton, 2006; Ziegler & Meyer, 2008, amongst others) but none of the studies offers a definition or conceptualization of *expertise* or *expert*, and if they do, expertise is usually related to a person due to her profession (the teacher as language/subject expert, or the doctor as medical expert, etc.) and/or supposed knowledge related to that profession.

The present research project, situating itself within a socio-interactionist perspective, then adopts the terminology of *expert-novice-practices* when participants in learning activities orient to the accomplishment of the (learning) activity. The main reasons for this are the following:

1. The expert-novice terminology, or expertise is not bound to context (education, business, etc.) but can be found in any situation and any kind of participant constellation (teacher-learner, but also learner-learner for example),
2. The expert-novice terminology is not assigning pre-defined categories to the participants before talk (as in talk-in-interaction) analysis. Expertise is thus not an analyst's resource.
3. Expert-novice-practices are constituted in and through talk-in-interaction through the participants' mutual orientation to and displayed understanding. (Expertise and expert-novice-practices are not innate.)

4. Expert-novice-practices are constituted on a moment-by-moment basis. One can be an expert or more knowledgeable peer at one interactional moment, but a learner in the next, or both at the same time.
5. Expert-novice-practices are not related to subject (i.e. French, German, math, etc.) nor to activity (reading, literacy learning, etc.).

When talking about *expert-novice-practices*, we are referring to the social practices (request formulations, repair initiations, etc.) as deployed by young learners engaged in a learning activity. It is important to note that for us *practices* not only entail what is being said, and how (in terms of prosody for example), but also *how it is being performed and enacted*. This means that how and what is being said and performed is considered as a ‘whole’, or, to use an activity theory term, it is seen as one ‘unit of analysis’. On one hand, one can argue that all these different modalities (verbal language, non verbal language, embodied actions, gestures, prosody, facial expression, etc.) can be scrutinized to some extent separately, but on the other hand, these modalities are ultimately not separated when participants orient to them, and display their interpretation of them in and through interaction. In addition, these practices, as our analysis (chapter 6, 7 and 8) will demonstrate, these expert-novice-practices are inextricably linked to the constitution of identities and more often than not, learners display an orientation to these identities which then has implications for the unfolding activity and the accomplishment of the learning activity. Expert-novice-practices is in the present research project used as an umbrella term which summarizes the different resources, methods and modalities learners deploy and orient to when for example formulating a request during a learning activity, as well as the implications (identity-constructions and implications for the accomplishment of the learning activity) this has for the organization and unfolding of the interaction.

2.3. Interactional competence

Here we briefly comment on the notion of competence as it is widely used in recent CA studies, specifically if related to learning and to situate how the present study conceptualizes this notion of language competence.

‘Competence’: from methods to interactional competence

We have already noted that the main objective of CA is to describe the social practices as organized and oriented to by participants in interaction, and how, through the application of certain ‘methods’ (Garfinkel, 1967), they thereby establish social order, mutual understanding and intersubjectivity. The ‘methods’ employed by the participants in interaction are what is called the

“instruments for accomplishing intersubjectivity and for establishing and maintaining social order; they are systematic procedures (of turn-taking, repairing, opening or closing conversation, etc.) by which members organize their behaviour in a mutually understandable way – and they use language as a central resource to do so” (Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.)).

The sum of these methods is what has been described by Heritage, drawing on Garfinkel and ethnomethodology, as competences:

“Conversation analysis – like the other research streams of ethnomethodology – is concerned with the analysis of the competences which underlie ordinary social activities. Specifically it is directed at describing and explicating the competences which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversational interaction”. (Heritage, 1984b, p. 241)

In this sense, the methods linked to turn-taking practices in interaction (here expert-novice-practices), as well as the social means employed to establish social order and intersubjectivity are part of what is here called ‘competence-s’. In recent

research there has been an ongoing discussion around the term of competence (cf. amongst others Carroll, 2005; Cekaite, 2007a, 2007b; Dings, 2007a; Dings, 2007b; Firth & Wagner, 1997; R. Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Hymes, 1972; Mondada, 2002; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, 2002; Pekarek-Doehler & Ziegler, 2009; Rumpel, 1996; Savignon, 1972; Wagner, 2004), and three conceptions of the term competence (linguistic competence, conversational competence and interaction al competence) have been defined (for an overview, cf. Fasel Lauzon, 2009). Situating ourselves within the socio-interactionist approach to competence, we adapt the definition of interactional competence as offered by Fasel Lauzon (original emphasis):

*“La compétence d’interaction désigne l’ensemble des méthodes que les participants d’une interaction sociale déploient dans une épisode interactionnel donné”.*³

Interactional competence is then the sum of the methods (practices, resources) employed by participants in interaction to establish and maintain social order as well as to make mutually understandable their interpretation and comprehension of the unfolding interaction. Finally, another important aspect of interactional competence, and relevant for the present research project, is that interactional competence, like learning and expertise, is not something that is situated in the mind of the individual, but is it observable in and through interaction as participants orient to the accomplishment of the unfolding interaction, or in our case, the accomplishment of the learning activity. Thus, when talking about interactional competence in the present research project, we understand it as the methods and observable social practices participants in interaction deploy in order to accomplish the activity they are engaged in and thereby also constitute meaningful interaction.

Language competence is for us in fact part of interactional competence and they should not be isolated from each other. One can describe language competence as

³ Translation: Interactional competence refers to the sum of the methods employed by the participants in social interaction in any interactional sequence.

the capability for using language appropriately. However when talking about ‘appropriate use of language’ it becomes already apparent that this does not only mean that one should use the appropriate language (code) but also how to interactionally use it appropriately - the latter point highlighting that language competence is inextricably linked to the notion of interactional competence. Appropriate language use then does not only refer to using it for particular social practices and routines in the particular context of the classroom and/or peer interaction, but also potentially for similar interaction in other contexts. Furthermore, language competence does not only refer to the interactional and situational appropriate use of language, but it can also refer to the appropriate language, i.e. linguistic form of language use in talk-in-interaction (Hellermann, 2008, pp. 5-6).

Having conceptualized the notions of expertise, expert-novice-practices and interactional and language competence, we now outline how the concept of identity is understood and why it is relevant to the present research project.

2.4. Social practices for the constitution of expert-novice-practices and - identities

Expert-novice-practices are related to expert-novice roles, and consequently to membership and identity, but also socialization processes within the schooling context and thus it appears to be inevitable to situate the notion of identity in previous research but also and above all for the present research project. In this section we will conceptualize the identities of expert and novice or learner. First, however, as *expert* and *novice* are considered to be one specific form of membership identities, we approach the notion of identity from a more general perspective.

We are aware that the concept of identity “carries a heavy theoretical burden” (Widdicombe, 2006, p. 206). Dealing with the concept of identity interactionally, one might encounter some methodological and conceptual

problems. However, there are ways and methods a conversation analytical inspired perspective can deal with this (cf. Widdicombe, 2006).

We consider identity as something that participants do in and through interaction and as something participants orient to in interaction. Consequently, we situate ourselves along the ethnomethodological and conversation analytic understanding and perspective of identity. We want to analyze how identity “is *used* in talk: something that is part and parcel of the routines of everyday life, brought off in the fine detail of everyday interaction“ (Antaki & Widdicombe, 2006, p. 1). In and through our analysis in the empirical chapters we want i) to show *that* participants in interaction orient to and make identity/-ies relevant, ii) to demonstrate *how* participants in interaction orient to and constitute themselves and/or others into certain identities, and ii) to thereby demonstrate that identity is first of all a resource for participants, and only then for the analyst (cf. Widdicombe, 2006 original emphasis) (for a more detailed discussion and literature review see Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Widdicombe, 2006).

Before moving on to the elaboration of interactionist perspectives on identity, we first offer a brief review of how the concept of identity has been dealt with within other scientific fields. The reviews on the use and construction of the concept of literature are innumerable and for reasons of clarity and space, we will focus on how identity has been used in social sciences.

In psychology, the concept of identity is linked primarily to the image, i.e. mental or cognitive perception, one has of oneself (self) as well as in relation to others (Leary & Tangney, 2005; Stets & Burke, 2005). In sociology, the concept of identity has mostly been used as an analytical tool, used for putting people into categories and used to explain social phenomena. Thus, identity is in this perspective “a useful tool for diving up the social world and for saying something about those divisions” (Widdicombe, 2006, p. 192). Furthermore, in the sociological approach, social identity and the relation of person and society are two parts of the same coin, and the individual and the collective tend to get

intermingled. Thus in sociology, identities are seen to influence society and society is considered to influence individual and collective identities (cf. for example Du Gay, Evans, & Redman, 2000; Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte Jr., & Cain, 1998; Jenkins, 1996). Furthermore, for example, identities such as social class (upper, middle, lower), professional identities (doctor, lawyer, teacher etc.) are “treated as corresponding to an independently existing social structure, and researchers aim to specify the criteria which define class” (Widdicombe, 2006, p. 192). However, identity is also understood as having an explanatory factor for social behaviour as well as for the way people think of themselves as belonging to a group of people (group membership, and social identity theory) (for a broader discussion of identity within psychology see for example Haslam, 2004). An individual’s identity is thereby understood to reflect his or her position within a particular structure in society, and in terms of group membership, people are seen to not only think of themselves as belonging to a certain group, but also as clustering themselves into meaningful groups. A problem with this sociolinguistic understanding and conceptualization of social identity is that people are put into prescribed categories on the one hand, and on the other hand, it leads to the denotation of stereotypes.

Within sociolinguistics, which is studying the relationship between language and society, social identity is linked to the use of language. Sociolinguistics is a scientific field that is also inspired by ethnography as methodology, and in recent years identity tends to be seen as something that people do in interaction, rather than something they are before they even engage in interaction. Thus researchers within sociolinguistics have tried to deconstruct and destabilize the notion of identity as something internal as well as fixed in and within the individual. A famous study in this perspective is Lave and Wenger’s concept of “communities of practice” (1991b) which is defined as “a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice” (Lave & Wenger, 1991b, p. 98). In this context, Lave and Wenger reestablish identity to talk and to social practice, thereby rejecting the essentialist idea of identity. For that reason, they

“conceive of identity as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice. Thus identity, knowing, and social membership entail one another” (Lave & Wenger, 1991b, p. 53).

A significant difference to previous conceptualizations of identity, is that here the methodological focus lies in observing the ‘how’ of identity. Ben Rampton for example coins the sociolinguistic term *crossing* which refers to how the selection of using one language over another is able to project an identity (Rampton, 1999, 2005). He argues that this selection of language “reveals a great deal to the analyst about (1) how individuals negotiate their group alignments and (2) how the meanings of group identity are themselves ratified or redefined” (Rampton, 1999, p. 55).

This leads us then to the discursive approach of identity, which sees identity as something that is constructed or performed in discourse, and thereby in interaction. As reviewed by Benwell and Stokoe, a discursive identity

“can be realised in two ways: as a discursive performance or construction of identity in interaction, or as a historical set of structures with regulatory power upon identity” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 29).

The historically informed accounts of identity are above all influenced by the theories of Althusser, Gramsci and Foucault, and, to put it in a very simplified way, they see identity as a product of the dominant or controlling discourses, and the production of this identity is tied to social practices and arrangements. In the Foucauldian perspective on identity, identity is also linked to power, but not as something that is owned or possessed, but as done through discourse. Thus, identity is no longer seen as simply innate and fixed, but as something that is constituted in and through culture and social practices. Along these lines we want

to mention another very prominent researcher who dealt with the concept of identity: Judith Butler defined identity, and especially in relation to gender, as *performativity* (Butler, 1990). Thus,

“Butler’s basic premise is that identity is a *discursive* practice, a discourse we both inhabit and employ, but also a *performance* with all the connotations of non-essentialism, transience, versatility and masquerade that this implies” (Benwell & Stzokoe, 2006, p. 33 original emphasis).

Butler argues that sex and identity are biologically given, or innate, but that they are eventually social and political constructs.

Herbert Mead, an American Pragmatist, observes identity in everyday life as he sees identities as being constructed in the interactions people have with society (Mead, 1934). Goffman, drawing on Herbert Mead, also uses the term performance as he sees identity as something the individual develops as a function of interaction with others, through the conversation and exchange of information (Goffman, 1959; Lemert & Branaman, 1997). Goffman’s major method for researching face-to-face interaction, was that of observation, and more specifically observing how people conduct themselves in interaction.

What is now problematic about the previously mentioned theories about identity is that even though there is a tendency to understand identity as something established in discourse, or even interaction as in Goffman’s case, empirically based investigation of this tends to be rare if not non-existent. These theories are apt to neglect the interactional situated details of language use in its immediate sequentially relevant context. The present research project therefore aims at filling this deficit.

A familiar critique of the previously mentioned sociological approaches to identity is that, contrary to the present research study, these approaches do not take into

account the participants' interpretations and orientations to identity in interaction, but mostly rely on the analyst's interpretations (Schegloff, 1997d, 1998b). CA and ethnomethodology connect identity to language and interaction. Within these research perspectives, identity is seen as something constituted by the participants in and through interaction. Conversation Analysis developed in the 1960s and 1970s and finds its origins in the work of Harvey Sacks, as well as Gail Jefferson and Emmanuel Schegloff (Sacks, 1992b; H. Sacks, et al., 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973b). CA studies consider conversation, i.e. talk-in-interaction as the primordial site of social life and sociality (Schegloff, 1998a, 2006b) and aims at describing the social actions participants in interaction engage in, i.e. CA is "occupied with the analysis of the sequential organization of interaction" (Heritage, 1995a, p. 397). In doing so, CA takes on an emic perspective, i.e. the participants' own perspective. CA thus only treats as relevant what the participants orient to as being relevant in and through interaction. Thus, as Heritage advocates, when analyzing identity, analysts must first accomplish

"the basic CA tasks of analyzing the conduct of the participants, including their orientations to specific local identities and the underlying organization of their activities. [...] CA researchers cannot take the context for granted nor may they treat it as determined in advance and independent of the participants' own activities. Instead, context and identity have to be treated as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed, and, by extension, as transformable at any moment" (Heritage, 1998, p. 111) (for a detailed discussion of CA and its basic aims and assumptions cf. Chapter 5).

Heritage's claims links back to our previous argument that expertise, expert-novice-practices and consequently, as they are inextricably linked, identities are not prescribed, but co-constructed by the participants in interaction. We now move on to the next section, where we will outline in more detail the major assumptions of interactionist perspectives on identity.

Interactionist perspectives on identity

Zimmerman (1998), drawing on Goffman and his concept of interaction order (Goffman, 1983), elaborates on the notion of *identity-as-context* and makes out different types of identity (for a more extended discussion on Goffman, see chapter 4). Zimmerman defines *identity-as-context* as referring “to the way in which the articulation/alignment of discourse and situated identities furnishes for the participants a continuously evolving framework within which their actions, vocal or otherwise, assume a particular meaning, import and interactional consequentiality” (D. H. Zimmerman, 1998, p. 88). In fact, Zimmerman proposes three types of identities that are important for interaction:

Discourse identities. These are “integral to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction. Participants assume discourse identities as they engage in the various sequentially organized activities: current speaker, listener, story teller, story recipient, questioner, answerer, repair initiator, and so on” (D. H. Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90).

Discourse identities are thereby closely interlinked with the sequential development of talk as it gets interactionally organized turn-by-turn.

Situated identities. As the label indicates, situated identities are relevant in certain situations which “are effectively brought into being and sustained by partly engaging in activities and reselecting agendas that display an orientation to, and alignment of, particular identity sets” (D. H. Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90).

In the present research project, situated identities would correspond to the teacher and learners within the classroom.

Transportable identities. This type of identity travels “with individuals across situations and [is] potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction” (D. H. Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90) Transportable identities are thereby the most easily ‘discernible’, as these identities “are usually visible, that is, assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization” (D. H. Zimmerman, 1998, p. 91).

However, even through more ‘visible’, transportable identities, in order to be analyzable, still need to be made relevant by and oriented to by the participants in interaction.

Zimmerman’s model of identities is different to the previously mentioned approaches in that he understands identities as related to the immediate situated context as well as constructed in and through the interaction. Even though transportable identities are ‘visible’ it is important that they are only relevant if oriented to by the participants in interaction. Consequently, it is possible to argue that transportable identities are only relevant for analysis if they become discourse identities, i.e. identities constructed in and through the moment-by-moment organization of and by the participants in interaction.

Richards (2006), investigating discourse identities and its relation to the development of talk in the classroom, draws on Zimmerman’s identity types and offers a

“refinement of Zimmerman’s model by proposing the concept of a ‘default’ identity and associated discourse identities. A default identity derives entirely from the context in which the talk is produced and applies where there is a generally recognized set of interactional expectations associated with that context, to the extent that there are

recognized identities to which participants in talk would be expected to orient, other things being equal” (Richards, 2006, p. 60).

In this sense, the present study offers yet another implementation of Zimmerman and Richards’ models and offers the term ‘*interactional identities*’ as an umbrella term, because *all* identities, whether situated, discourse, or transportable, need to be made relevant by the participants in interaction in order to be analyzable from a CA perspective.

For the present interactionist conceptualization of identity, which, as we already mentioned, situates itself within an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic inspired perspective, we need of course to point out that the ethnomethodological understanding of identity is inspired by Harold Garfinkel’s conceptualization that social life is made up of people’s continuous demonstration to each other of their local understandings of what is going on in everyday common-sense activities. More specifically, ethnomethodology is interested in the “actual *methods* whereby members of society [...] make the social structures of everyday activities observable” (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 75 our emphasis). In other words, it studies everyday activities as members’ methods for making those same activities visibly-rational-and-reportable-for-all-practical-purpose, i.e. accountable (Garfinkel, 1967). Garfinkel was thereby criticizing a top-down approach to the investigation of people’s methods applied in everyday social activities to establish meaningful interaction and to make sense of social life. Schegloff investigates this ‘problem of relevance’ and what is accountable and points out that whatever characterization one applies to participants in interaction, these characterizations have

“to be grounded in aspects of what is going on that are demonstrably relevant *to* the participants, and at that moment - at the moment that whatever we are trying to provide an account of occurs” (Schegloff, 1993, p. 50 original emphasis).

Antaki and Widdicombe (2006:3 *emphasis in original*) present five principles of what it means to have an identity, and in particular of what an ethnomethodological approach to identity should take into consideration:

1. “for a person to 'have an identity' - whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about - is to be cast into a *category with associated characteristics or features*;
2. such casting is *indexical and occasioned*;
3. it *makes relevant* the identity to the interactional business going on;
4. the force of 'having an identity' is in its *consequentiality* in the interaction; and
5. all this is visible in people's exploitation of the *structures of conversation*.”

These five principles, firmly positioning identity as mutually constituted by the participant in talk-in-interaction, inform the present research's understanding of how identity and identity work (as doings in talk-in-interaction) is being done in interaction and therefore, and therefore only, becomes available to us as analysts. Drawing on Widdicombe, we also want to point out that we as analysts should focus on the way identities are used and put into action by the participants and that the focus is on how these identities are being made relevant and consequential for the instantaneous context, i.e. the interaction which is unfolding on a moment-by-moment basis between the related participants. CA is in this respect a very compelling tool for analysis, because it

"provides in rich technical detail how identities are mobilized in actual instances of interaction. In this way, conversation analysis avoids the problem of 'how subjects are positioned' or come to be incumbents of particular identities without the need for a theory for self. That is,

instead of worrying about what kind of concept of self we need to explain how people are able to do things, conversation analysis focuses on the things they do" (Widdicombe, 2006, pp. 202-203).

The basis for Antaki and Widdicombe's identity principles (see above), and actually most socio-interactionist approaches to identity, is the Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) which was developed by Sacks (1992a). MCA is analyzing the processes in and through which participants constitute and reconstitute themselves and co-participants interactively into certain 'categories' such as 'wife', 'girl', 'mother', etc. Such 'categories are 'inference rich', indexical and context sensitive resources which participants in interaction deploy and draw on to make available social relationships and to do interactional work. Hester and Eglin (1997 in: Powell, 2006:267) point out that MCA 'directs attention to the locally used, invoked and organized "presumed common-sense knowledge of social structures" which members are oriented to in the conduct of their everyday affairs'. What is relevant to consider then in relation to MCA, is that social relationships are not only constituted interactionally, but, as in Antaki and Widdicombe's principles of identity, they are indexical and occasioned, they come with certain expectancies and associated characteristics, and they have consequences for the sequentiality and structures of the unfolding talk-in-interaction. Also, what is interesting about membership categories is that they are not exclusive, and we can all be members of an inexhaustible number of categories, and

[t]his categories are culturally available resources which allow us to describe, identify or make reference to other people or to ourselves" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 35).

Another research strand not to be missed in our conceptualization of a socio-interactionist informed perspective on identity, are Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin. Charles Goodwin (1987), working from an ethnomethodologically

informed CA perspective and working on social identities in at least some of his works, notes that

“an analyst can not conceptualize social identities and context as static attributes of settings and participants. Rather it is necessary to look at them as dynamic phenomena and change as the talk in progress unfolds” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 120).

Also, Marjorie Harness Goodwin points out that identities in peer interaction are negotiated in and through talk-in-interaction (M. H. Goodwin, 2006, p. 3). However, she also argues that

“*[u]nlike the identities of expert-novice, judge or plaintiff, or identities inherent in many institutional or work-related settings, roles are achieved rather than ascribed. Participants come to inhabit particular and ever-shifting positions in the local social organization of situated activity systems through interactive work*” (M. H. Goodwin, 2006, p. 3, our emphasis).

We would like to contradict here, because expert-novice-practices and consequently expert-novice identities are not only linked to professional expertise or knowledge, but as the present research project advocates, these identities are constituted in and through interaction /see below).

Interactional identities: “expert” and “novice”

The present section aims at defining the interactional roles of “expert” and “novice” and how they are constituted in and through expert-novice-practices. For that purpose we draw on Jacoby and Gonzalez (1991) who, in their study on the constitution of expert-novice identities in scientific discourse, offer a definition of these interactional roles. We situate ourselves within the CA approach illustrated above, as well as within Jacoby and Gonzalez’s perspective and understanding of interactional identities.

Learners in interaction need to communicate in order to be able to work together, i.e. to collaboratively organize and accomplish the tasks or activities they are engaged in. For the present research project, we focus mainly on interactions between learners, i.e. peer interactions (two or more learners working within a dyad or group). The teacher might at moments be asked for help or information, or the teacher might ask the learners for help and language expertise as well (cf. Chapter 7). Still, our main focus lies with peer interactions and how the deployment of expert-novice-practices appears to be inextricably linked to participants' orientation towards identities and/or interactional roles (expert or more advanced peer vs. novice or less advanced peer) and how this has implications for their orientations towards the accomplishment of learning activities. We then argue that interactional roles and identities, such as expert and novice, are constructed interactionally by the participants in and through talk-in-interaction on a moment-by-moment basis (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991).

It becomes obvious from data observation and analysis that whenever participants deploy expert-novice-practices for the accomplishment of learning activities (cf. Chapter 6, 7 and 8), they also appear to engage in the constitution of interactional identities. More precisely, our data shows that whenever participants deploy expert-novice-practices, one of the participants is oriented to as being the more 'knowledgeable' interactant. This participant is oriented to with the expectancy of providing (requested, asked or invited for) some form of expertise, and thereby, we argue, constituted as candidate expert. These identities of expert and novice are then dialogically constructed (Vasseur, 2005) in and through the deployment of expert-novice-practices.

Conversation analytic work is distinctive for analyzing and answering the 'how' as well as the 'why that now' question: how do participants in peer interaction "accomplish what they accomplish, for their purposes [...]" (Vehviläinen 1999:49)? In the present study, the question of what is accomplished is a bit more difficult to ask and define because, as stated above, it is clear that expertise as

such is not an easily graspable CA phenomenon, because there is more than one way of ‘doing expertise’. However, it is this very doing in which we are interested and below we attempt to define how, and in which situations expertise occurs.

In order to further define the interactional social roles of “expert” and “novice”, we will draw on the definition as established by Jacoby and Gonzales (1991, pp. 152-153). They underline that often the “bipolar dichotomy” between expert and novice are ignored and that the complex fluidity of these roles as they are constituted in interaction and ‘influence’ each other is too often being ignored. Individuals are marked by personal experiences, histories, and knowledges; they know certain things and know how to do certain things and not every individual has the same knowledge, personal history or experience (see also Vasseur, 2005). Still, it is only in and through the interaction that the participants display to each other their differences in knowledge-s as well as their beliefs and expectations about the knowledge, skills, competences or expertise of the other participant-s (Lehtinen & Kääriäinen, 2005).

“Indeed, since all talk-in-interaction is oriented to some particular recipient(s) at some particular point in the talk, the distribution of expertise in ongoing talk has to be seen as a jointly constructed achievement between participants (Schegloff, 1989). And thus, while knowledge and social identity for an individual may cognitively derive from the processes of socialization and training as well as experience, their status relative to other participants’ knowledge and social identity must be collaboratively achieved as interaction unfolds. For, like all intersubjective meaning, social identities, including “expert” or “novice,” in some sense do not exist outside the mind on an individual without an Other to recognize them and ratify their meaning” (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991, p. 152).

It is the joint, i.e. interactional construction of identities and expert-novice practices which lies at the heart of the understanding social identities and roles.

When one participant formulates a request for knowledge or information addressed to another participant, the one who requests constitutes him-/herself as less-knowing versus the other who is then constituted as the more-knowing. The participant who addresses a request to another participant also displays the assumption that the addressed participant is capable of providing a relevant answer or response, and thereby constitutes the addressee as the more-knowing - without necessarily positioning that participant as all-knowing or fully-fledged expert (compare: Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991, p. 152). The ‘levels’ of knowing, even though there might be a difference in years of experience or knowledge, is established interactionally and might shift from one interactional moment to the next. Furthermore, as already pointed out at the beginning of this section, it is the next turn in the interactional moment then, which will either ratify or challenge that candidate identity constitution (expert and/or novice) as established through the formulation of a request for example (see below for a more detailed discussion on request):

“To illustrate this hypothetically [...], if a speaker evaluates something a recipient has done, offers advice, or delivers a directive to the recipient, this act is a candidate constitution of the speaker as the one who, at that interactional moment, is knowledgeable enough to evaluate, give advice, or command, and, simultaneously, it is also a candidate constitution of the recipient as the one who, at that interactional moment, is in need of evaluation, advice, or direction. However, in the very next interactional moment, certain utterances could be produced by either the speaker or the recipient which may or may not ratify the candidate expertise and candidate novicehood presupposed in the speaker’s original utterance. The recipient, for instance, may design his or her uptake to reject the speaker’s evaluation or to refuse to fulfill the directive”. (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991, p. 153)

Finally, this perspective of distributed expert-novice-practices and the constitution of expert-novice identities in interaction is helpful when analyzing peer interactions because the participants in peer-interaction in the primary classroom cannot simply be divided in the one who knows and the one who does not know ,or is not able to do something. Similarly, we cannot categorize the learners in the interactions into the one who knows how to write and the one who does not (cf. chapter 6). First of all, we cannot say which ones of the young learners in interaction knows how to write, or read, or tell a story ‘better’, or both, at all and it is not the aim of the analysis. What is under investigation is how the learners interactionally constitute themselves as certain social beings acting within the classroom and thus manage to orient towards the accomplishment of the learning activity. The constitution of “expert” or “novice” is in fact something which is constantly changing and adapted by the participants to the unfolding interaction (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991, p. 154). We would like to add Ochs’ wording and his understanding of the expert-novice terminology, because he reasons that

“any social interaction can be examined for what transpires between a less and a more knowing party in terms of constituting knowledge and/or skills. In all of our interactions, we sometimes act as the knowing party (expert) and sometimes as the unknowing party. Or as my research colleague phrased it, there is an expert and a novice in all of us (Taylor 1991). Depending on topic and circumstance, we linguistically index/constitute ourselves as either one or the other” (Ochs, 1996, pp. 431-432).

This conceptualization of expert and novice as mutually achieved dynamic interactional constructions will be investigated and demonstrated through the analysis of empirical data in chapters 6, 7 and 8. When investigating how learners deploy expert-novice-practices when accomplishing a learning activity, we must not ignore that when learners orient to interactional identities, these identities provide and constitute the immediate context within which the participants interact. The dynamic construction of expert-novice practices (and related

identities, i.e. more knowledgeable peer versus less knowledgeable peer) is closely related to how the development of the ongoing talk-in-interaction is shaped and organized.

Towards an emic and interactionist approach of “expert-novice-practices”

In this chapter we have argued that *expertise* is part and parcel of *expert-novice-practices*, which again is linked to the constitution of *expert-novice-identities*. Expert-novice-practices are not understood as a participants’ phenomenon in that it can be oriented to as such (like orientation to a repair or an overlap for instance) by the participants in the interaction. Rather, what we are observing is how participants orient to certain social practices, such as calling/asking for help (of peers and/or the teacher, chapter 7 and 8), collaborative word/letter searches (chapter 6 and 8), asking for proper names (of objects, artefacts, representations in books, etc., chapter 8), formulating requests, rejecting assistance/help and advice, as well as testing each other’s knowledge. In and through these sequences, we notice that identity work is at stake. Below now we outline which social practices are for the present research considered to be part of expert-novice-practices. Note that the list is not exhaustive, but at present limits itself to social practices observed in the data and sequences analyzed for the present research project.

Figure 4.1. summarizes the main social practices deployed by young learners in peer interactions as observed from our data. It is these very practices that are under investigation in the analyses in part III of the present research project. These social practices are not only very common in peer interaction, they are also inextricably linked to the constitution of interactional identities.

Figure 4.1.: overview of social practices deployed in peer interaction in primary classroom

- **Expert-novice-practices observed in peer interaction:**
 - ➔ trying out candidate writing segments
 - ➔ giving/providing writing segments
 - ➔ requests
 - ➔ for information
 - ➔ for help, assistance, i.e. expertise
 - ➔ for candidate writing segments
 - ➔ for confirmation
 - ➔ using specific request formulas: [written text read outloud] + [interrogative ‘wat’] + [rising intonation (?)] or [letter] + [wi/wei] + [noun]
 - ➔ repair suggestions
 - ➔ of lexical and/or grammatical nature
 - ➔ of ‘aesthetic’ nature in relation to the writing
 - ➔ Offering candidate information
- **Negative expert-novice-practices:**
 - ➔ ordering, telling other to write

Below we then give a more detailed account of two of these different social practices because they are in fact the most relevant for our analysis of peer interactions in the primary classroom.

2.4.1. Candidate writing segments in conversational writing activities

A social practice relevant for the investigation of sequences of conversational writing is what Olsher has labeled *trying out candidate draft segments* (Olsher, 2003), which make “relevant a range of next-turn responses, such as *repetition*, *yes-type acceptance*, and *alternative formulations*.” (Olsher, 2003, p. 257). These

candidate draft segments are in particular under investigation in chapter 6. As for the definition of this practice of offering candidate writing answers, Olsher defined the *trying out candidate draft segments* as

“the practice of forming a potential draft segment of the target text and saying it aloud in a way that is not only hearable by others, but that furthermore engages addressees as ratified recipients, primarily through the use of gaze direction and body orientation. This is crucial for the function of trying out candidate draft segments as a sequence-initiating move, a first pair part that makes some particular range of responses relevant” (Olsher, 2003, p. 262).

The negotiation of candidate draft writing segments is then one kind of expert-novice-practice which learners use and orient to when engaged in the accomplishment of a learning activity, especially because it makes the recipients' next action conditionally relevant (cf. chapter 4). As the analysis demonstrates, it also allows for re-structuring the participation framework (cf. chapter 3). Thus we observe that when a candidate writing segment is being offered, it invites the peer to react to that (assess, repair or reject it) and thereby invites the peer to actively engage into the accomplishment of the learning activity (chapter 6).

2.4.2. Requests

Another social practice used by young learners engaged in peer interaction is the formulation of requests and we might already point out that it is the most prominent expert-novice-practice deployed by the young learners. The formulation of requests is a powerful device and practice for controlling the sequential relevance of the next interactional action (Jefferson, 1983) as well as a powerful device for controlling the knowledge of somebody else (Becker-Mrotzek & Vogt, 2001, p. 60). Moreover, it also allows for establishing intersubjectivity and mutual understanding-s of the unfolding interaction. Requesting is a socially as well sequentially organized practice which is co-constructed, that is interactively managed by the participants in interaction. The formulation of a

request being the first pair part of the adjacency pair part structure (cf. chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on the sequential organization of adjacency pairs and its implications for the unfolding interaction), it allows for controlling to a certain extent what action is to come next. Requesting is thus seen as a contextually-shaped practice. Requests are seen as 'sequences of social interaction' where interactional and language competence can be developed and put to work. Thus the formulation of a request involves for example the need for coordination with someone else, accounting for a problem as well as establishing a shared course of action (and relevant actions within that).

It is important to note that the requests under investigation are not simple requests for factual knowledge such as for example the request 'do you have the time?' which can simply be answered with a straightforward and fact-oriented answer ("three thirty"). The requests which the learners deploy in learning activities are generally oriented to knowledge. They are therefore more more complex in that they create opportunities for scaffolding work to occur. A request like 'mee wat muss daniela=s hand =dat muss *EM=*dreinen (.) gell?' creates the opportunity for negotiating whatever answer is going to be offered (cf. chapter 6): multiple answers are possible in relation to such a request and because of this multiple forms of actions and reaction, hence scaffolding work can occur. Negotiations involve interactional work with generally more than one or two turns-at-talk and consequently, such requests create opportunities for language use.

3. Peer interaction as a community of practice for learning

3.1. Situated learning

Analyzing classroom peer interactions, it is important to not that we understand learning as an aspect which is part and parcel of social practices as they are deployed in and through talk-in-interaction. Thus, our conceptualization of learning is that it is something that is taking place as participants co-construct social reality in and through interaction. While cognitive psychology and traditional linguistics focused on learning as something that is taking place in the individual mind, we oppose this argument and situate learning within interaction, thereby taking it ‘out’ of the individual mind. Furthermore, we argue that learning is not linked to one single context, but that knowledge acquired in one context can also be applied (in and through interaction) in another. Similarly, Hellerman also promotes a situated perspective on learning and points out that a “situated approach to learning looks for ways that learners improve in the way that they participate in processes or systems that are integrated across contexts” (Hellermann, 2008, p. 15). Thus, learning is understood to be a process of development, i.e. a “process of becoming” (Hellermann, 2008, p. 7) rather than a standard set or package of knowledge which is considered as the outcome of some (learning) activities and which is eventually compared against some ‘normative’ (i.e. native if compared to language competence) or standardized knowledge.

Most CA studies on learning refer to Chaiklin and Lave’s much quoted argument saying that

“there is no such thing as ‘learning’ sui generis, but only changing participation in the culturally designed settings of everyday life. or, to put it the other way around, participation in everyday life may be

thought of as a process of changing understanding in practice, that is, as learning” (Chaiklin and Lave (1993, pp. 5-6), quoted in Martin, 2009; Sahlström, 2009).

The importance of the context is underlined through the idea of learning as a situated practice and the idea how the interactionally constructed details shape the context as much as the context is shaped by the interactional details of the unfolding interaction. At the same time, participants’ doings in interaction are shaped by the context but the context in which the interaction is taking place is also shaped by the participants doings. A classroom does thus not exist as ‘a classroom as such’ but is enacted into being by its participants. Martin, referring to Lave (1993), comments on the reciprocity of the creation of interaction-s and participants’ development:

“Context is not an entity that someone is put into or something only embedding a learning event. People contribute to the creation of cultural processes, and situations in turn contribute to the development of people, making people and cultural processes mutually constituted rather than defined separately from each other (Lave, 1993).” (Martin, 2009, p. 134)

It is then in and through the interactions, and more precisely face-to-face interactions, that take place in the classroom, that we we aim at depicting the social practice learners deploy as well as how these practices shape and enact the ‘context’ in and through which learning is situated.

3.2. Socio-cultural perspectives on (language) learning

We now give an outline of how learning, and in particular language learning is referred to in socio-interactionist research studies. A number of microanalytical studies claim that learning is linked to the creation of learning opportunities. This means for example that language can be learned when there are opportunities for participants to use, i.e. put the language they are learning into practice. One

example is then Hellerman's study on how dyadic task openings can be opportunities for language use (Hellermann, 2008). Studies like this one highlight how language learning opportunities are inextricably linked to learner's active participation in language practices in the classroom, and how this participation is collaboratively constructed between learners (and teachers) in the classroom. Through active participation, learners are able to co-construct (with the teacher) the classroom discourse (Cekaite, 2008b; Joan Kelly Hall & Verplaetse, 2000; Mondada & Doehler, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004b). Drawing on these studies, Cekaite argues that for example "the ability to recruit participation of expert others is crucial for language learners. Managing to secure the teacher's attention forms a part of a student's interactional competence in the social ecology of the classroom (cf. Markee, 2004; Hugh Mehan, 1979). However, little is known about how children at an early stage of L2 learning are able to bring about the teacher's attention and conversational involvement (Cekaite, 2008b, p. 2). In the present study we however investigate an instance where a learner attempts to solicit the teacher's attention and thereby shed some more light on which interactional competences (see section 2.4., below) are necessary for doing so (cf. chapter 7).

Learning is inextricably linked to classroom practices and learning activities and we argue that because of this, expert-novice-practices are related to 'learning'. Most CA studies on learning refer to Chaiklin and Lave's much quoted argument saying that

"there is no such thing as 'learning' *sui generis*, but only changing participation in the culturally designed settings of everyday life. or, to put it the other way around, participation in everyday life may be thought of as a process of changing understanding in practice, that is, as learning" (Chaiklin and Lave (1993, pp. 5-6), quoted in Martin, 2009; Sahlström, 2009).

We position ourselves along these lines because we believe that learning can be 'observed' when changes or shifts in participation framework can be observed.

CA, investigating people's doings and embodied actions (Charels Goodwin, 2007; Sahlström, 2006), including participation, "in the first instance" (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 165) offers a way to address and investigate people's participation through their turns at talk.

Still, we must not ignore that CA has been criticized for not providing a theory of learning (Rasmussen Hougaard, 2009). Nevertheless attempts have been made to analyze learning from a CA perspective, and to provide empirical evidence that learning is taking place and situated in and through interaction (Carlgren, 2009; Emanuelson & Sahlström, 2008; Hellermann, 2009; Martin, 2009; Marton, 2009; Melander & Sahlström, 2009b; Piirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2009; Sahlström, 2009; Steensig, 2003b; Vehvilainen, 2009). So although learning has never been at the core of CA research, it has recently become an area of interest within CA research and one could even argue that there are two main groups of CA studies on learning. First, there is a smaller group of studies who see learning in the fact that someone has learned something (Melander & Sahlström, 2008, 2009b; Sahlström, 2006, 2009; Wootton, 1997) and a larger group of studies which investigates learning as changing participation (Björk-Willen & Cromdal, 2009; Cekaite, 2006; Sahlström, 1999a, 2002; ten Have, 2002).

Sahlström and Melander's work is at the core for the argument for learning as changing participation (Melander & Sahlström, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Sahlström, 2009). Their argument is based on the sociocultural perspective on learning and the emphasis on the "human being as a social being acting within different contexts" (Martin, 2009, p. 133; Sahlström, 2009, p. 109). The acting within different context-s goes under the more general context of participation and as Sahlström points out, leads to what Sfard (1998) has labeled the participation approach to learning where

“ “Participation” is almost synonymous with “taking part” and “being a part,” and both of these expressions signalize that learning should be

viewed as a process of becoming a part of a greater whole” (Sfard, 1998, p. 6).

Young and Miller (2004), drawing on Lave and Wenger’s (1991b) theory for situated learning, also define learning as changing participation and more specifically from peripheral participation towards a more active or fuller participation framework as well as “growth of identity” (Young & Miller, 2004, p. 519).

Can learning then be defined and is there an answer to the question ‘what is learning?’? Is it the acquisition of something, or is it the development of something? What exactly is the difference between the two? Conversation analytic work comes across some problems when describing learning and CA is likely to be accused of only observing and analyzing language usages, because it does not have a model or conception of learning. CA is not interested in cognitive concepts, hence the lack of a model for learning. However, even though, or maybe because of working from a micro-analytic perspective, we are going to conceptualize learning and thereby outline how it is understood for the present research study.

We focus on how peers organize social interaction, and by doing so, look at how learning opportunities are created in and through these social actions. This means that for us, learning is in the first place perceived as an interactive event and not something that occurs in the individual mind in isolation. Learning takes place in and is facilitated by talk-in-interaction as learners actively engage in peer interaction and thereby gradually become members of a community of practice and eventually active agents of society. For the present study then, learning is a process, a way of becoming which takes place whenever young learners engage in peer interaction, actively participate in the organization and accomplishment of the learning activity. More precisely, we argue that learning can be observed from learners’ moment-to-moment adaptations to shifts in the participation framework, as well as the active co-construction of expert-novice-practices which allow for these shifts to occur.

3.3. Institutional interaction: situating the classroom community of practice

The classroom is generally understood to be a place for schooling and for learning, independent of the subject and independent of the age of the learners. Recent studies have taken this into account and focused on the participants, i.e. students/pupils who as learners ought to be considered as the main focus of attention, because classrooms after all are organized for them to learn. These researchers have thereby provoked a shift from the interest of the teacher as the focus of investigation to the learner as a(n active) participant in classroom and peer interaction (Mortensen 2008, 2009; Cekaite 2008). The issue at stake then is how to analyze learner's perception of, and participation in, classroom practices and more precisely learning activities. As resumed by Mortensen (2008:6), one way of doing so is to interview students for example about their own participation in the classroom and learning activities, through for example *stimulated recall* (Gass and Mackey 2000). This is a self-analyzing method in which learners are confronted with video or audio data and then asked to comment on their participation in the classroom. The problem with this is that these recall situations create yet again social situations per se, which are different from the recorded situations which are commented on and can be in fact be analyzed in their own right (Mortensen 2008:6). Researchers then need to study how participants in classroom interaction interact *in situ*. If we accept this, then a possibility to get access to how learners interact by analyzing them not through follow-up interviews, but through micro-sequentially studying their social interactions in the classroom because

“social interaction is the primordial means through which the business of the social world is transacted, the identities of its participants are affirmed or denied, and its cultures are transmitted, renewed and modified. through processes of social interaction, shared meaning, mutual understanding, and the coordination of human conduct are achieved” (Goodwin and Heritage 1990:283).

It is in this perspective that young learners' actions and displayed orientations to these actions (such as the formulation of requests for example) in the classroom are understood as social actions and expert-novice-practices: it is through talk that classroom interaction emerges and actions are performed by the participants in classroom interaction.

The classroom has been described “as much a social context as any other ‘real world’ context” (Walsh 2006:16) and we adopt this perspective for the present thesis. The classroom is made up of interactions between its participants and does not stand on its own as a fixed context in which learning takes place. It should seem obvious by now that it is the participants, the learners in the classroom which talk and enact the classroom and its learning opportunities into being, and not the other way round.

The classroom is of course an ‘institutional’ environment and a characteristic of the classroom’s institutionality is the fact that there are special constraints to the interaction: there is for instance a certain limitation as to what can be ‘produced’ (verbally as well as by gesture) within the classroom. Of course, not everything that is produced within the classroom is ‘classroom talk’ (Markee, 2000), but those stretches of talk which are not immediately relevant to the ongoing activity ‘side sequences’ (Jefferson, 1972)] are “often marked as digressions and quickly abandoned” (Waring 2005:142). Conversations within the classroom are however not completely different to mundane conversations. Classroom conversations are similar to other speech exchange systems like tutoring conversation, doctor-patient conversations, interviews, courtroom investigations, etc. organizationally and systematically limited forms of conversations in which certain rules for turn-taking are either limited or pre-allocated to a certain extent. In a courtroom for instance, witnesses are only invited to take a turn when explicitly invited to do so by a lawyer or a judge. Were a witness to self-select within the courtroom, it would be considered a breach of courtroom discourse rules and practices. Mehan (1979) also argued that

“there are many important points of similarity between discourse in lessons and discourse in everyday life. First of all, a classroom lesson is an everyday situation of interaction in which people address each other for a period of time, communicating something about themselves and their knowledge of certain academic matters in the process. In this sense, classroom lessons are a member of the family of “speech events (Hymes, 1974): routinized forms of behaviour, delineated by well-defined boundaries and well-defined sets of behavior within those boundaries.” (Hugh Mehan, 1979, p. 190).

Classroom conversations and everyday conversations are of course not exactly alike, as a number of rules apply to the educational context which do not apply to mundane conversations. This holds true also for the constitution of interactional identities, because, within the institutional context

“considerations of social identity and task reconfigure the interpretive “valence” that may be attached to particular actions in institutional contexts by comparison to how they are normally understood in ordinary conversation” (Paul Drew & John Heritage, 1992, pp. 24-25).

Thus, as demonstrated in chapter 7, social identities within an institutional context can (but do not necessarily have to) be made relevant and oriented to in and through interaction. In our present setting, the institutional, i.e, situated identities which seem to be ‘obviously’ linked to the classroom are the identities of learners and teachers. In the analytical chapters we however demonstrate that these identities are not necessarily made relevant in peer interaction (chapter 6) and that even in learner-teacher interaction these identities can be reversed (chapter 7).

Drew and Heritage (1992) have focused on how the interactional organization is linked to the institutional aim or goal of that interaction as well as in which ways this organization differs from the guiding principles of ordinary conversation. Heritage (1997a, p. 167) has pointed out six systematic levels on which to analyze

the institutionality of interaction: turn-taking organization, overall structural organization of the interaction, sequence organization, turn design, lexical choice, epistemological and other forms of asymmetry. More precisely, drawing on Heritage (1995a, 2005) and other CA researchers (Heritage, 1984b, 1995a, 1995b, 1997a, 1998, 2005, forthcoming; Markee, 2000b; Markee & Kasper, 2004; ten Have, 1999) we can point out several relevant aspects which observably constitute institutional interaction. Heritage labeled these aspects *fingerprints*: Classroom interactions can thus be analyzed according to the previously enumerated aspects. Investigation classroom interactions then also involves investigating the context of the classroom as constituted mutually in and through participants' organization of the unfolding interaction. Of specific interest for the present research study is then the deployment of expert-novice-practices which also take into account the fingerprints and the institutional character of the interaction.

Drew and Heritage (1992, pp. 21-25), furthermore pointed out that institutional talk, hence also classroom talk has three distinct characteristics: it is goal-oriented, it constrains certain contributions by its participants, and it has distinctive features of interactional inference. Applied to the classroom context investigated for the present research project, we can argue the following three points. First, the activities the learners in our data engage in, are goal-oriented in that the learners want to, or have to produce for example a written end-product which will be evaluated at some point by the teacher (cf. chapter 6 and 7). A larger, but maybe not the learner's immediate personal goal, is of course to achieve a certain competence level in literacy. In other activities (such as free reading activities and discussions over lunch for example, cf. chapter 8), the learners might not have to produce an 'end-product' which will be evaluated by the teacher, but the learners are nevertheless engaged in activities which are goal-oriented and rational. Even though these activities are not necessarily taking place during a lesson, they are still unfolding within the school, i.e. institutional context (P. Drew & J. Heritage, 1992, p. 22; Seedhouse, 2004c, p. 96). As opposed to everyday conversation, in institutional interaction at least one of the participants orients to a "core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in

question” (P. Drew & J. Heritage, 1992, p. 22). Generally speaking, all institutional interaction is, as already pointed out, goal-oriented, and in classroom interaction that goal is that of learning. A consequence of this is that classroom interactions are organized in such a way so as to accomplish that goal (see also: Walsh, 2006, pp. 51-53).

Having outlined which constraints and implications interaction within the classroom as an institutional environment has, we want to add, and with this we want to conclude the present section, that the classroom is a community of practice. Participants become members of the classroom in and through various social actions they deploy and orient to in and through social interaction in the classroom. Moreover, the general aim of classroom interaction is learning, and it is this shared and situated goal which members of the classroom community of practice orient to and of which they thereby become active participants - thereby making it a community of practice. The classroom community of practice is shaped by its members’ social actions and members’ social actions are shaped by the classroom community of practice.

3.4. Participation frameworks in the classroom

There’s is always a complexity about a classroom and there will always be different understandings of what is going on: the more participants there are, the more likely it is that there are different orientations to, different understandings of what is going on and of what needs to be accomplished during a lesson, or as in our case, peer interaction (Hellermann 2007; Walsh 2006).

Along with previous research (Walsh, 2006), we then address the question of how different participation frameworks might provide the classroom participants with different opportunities for participation. We focus on how young learners orient to the accomplishment of a learning activity, and how within this they need to draw on interactional competences (cf. chapter 2) in order to constantly adapt to shifts in the participation framework. Most previous research has focused on the role of the teacher, or the teacher him/her-self (see for example Paoletti and Fele 2004,

Richards 2006, Cazden 1986) and how teachers organize classroom interaction. The focus has been on how teachers control the classroom and thereby organize the participation framework: they control classroom discourse, the topic of classroom discussion, who is to speak and when, etc. (Cazden 1986; Johnson 1995; Walsh 2006; McHoul 1978:188) One result of this is that teachers are seen the sole controllers of classroom interaction, or, as Markee puts it

“in teacher-student talk, teachers have privileged rights not only to speak but also to distribute turns to learners, whereas students have much more restricted participation rights” Markee 2004:68).

In this sense, teachers are not only believed to be in control of the content of classroom interaction, but also of the structure of classroom communication (compare Walsh 2006:6) and consequently the participation framework of the classroom. Another aspect is of course how students respond or act according to teacher's moves and organization in the classroom (Pitsch 2005, 2007a, 2007b), thus also assuming that students have at least similar, if not identical, understandings of the unfolding classroom interaction and its organization (Coughlan and Duff 1994; Ohta 2001) as well as of who is allowed to take turns and when (Hellerman 2005; Cekaite 2008, Drew and Heritage 1992). In the present research project we do however focus on peer interactions and how, here, they are the main controllers of the unfolding interaction and consequently also of the participation framework and the opportunities for participation which are created within that structure.

3.5. Face-to-face, i.e. peer interaction

Goffman, studying face-to-face interaction, had as basic aim to observe and describe the structure and organization of social interaction. In his essay *Footing* Goffman (1981 [1979]) describes the roles of speakers and hearers in their various forms in conversation in non-institutional settings. He speaks of participants' status which he describes as participants' alignment to each other and how they present themselves to each other. This alignment is likely to be changed as

participants change their footing. He describes interaction as a *social encounter* throughout which participants are constantly obliged to be in a *state of talk* (Goffman, 1981 [1979], p. 111). According to Goffman, the roles participants take in these *encounters* are not fixed but likely to change as the interaction unfolds. *Hearers* can be fully addressed hearers (ratified participants), but also bystanders (non ratified participants) who might overhear a conversation and consequently, but not necessarily, take an active part and for example become an addressed or ratified hearer or even the next speaker (cross-play). Ratified participants might not be listening to what is being said and non ratified participants, or bystanders might be listening (eavesdropping bystanders), or overhearing (overhearing bystanders). Ratified participants might start a new interaction (by-play) and non ratified participants might also start a conversation (side-play). *Speakers* are also likely to change roles and be *authors*, *animators* or *principals* according to how a speaker self-identifies her-/himself in a certain context as being active within a certain social identity or role (see Goffman, 1981 [1979], pp. 144-146). Goffman's analysis point out how complex the participation structure or framework of such a social encounter (i.e. interaction) can be.

Although Goffman has talked to some extent about paralinguistic features which are relevant to interaction, such as gaze or even touch for what Goffman later labels the establishment of reciprocity (C. Goodwin, 1984a) (on the establishment of reciprocity see also Mortensen, 2009), it is above all Charles and Marjorie Harness Goodwin that have illustrated that participation in face-to-face interaction cannot be isolated to the verbal utterances of the participants, but that participation in interaction is a continuously developing process between verbal and non-verbal features.

3.6. Peer interaction: a community of practice for learning

Peer interaction as investigated in the present research project obviously takes place within the classroom community of practice and the general aim or object is that of learning. Also, when learners come together to work in peer interaction, they also use social practices which constitute them as members of that peer

interaction and consequently we argue that peer interaction is also a community of practice for learning, only on a slightly smaller level. This means that the classroom community of practice is, when learners engage in peer interaction, constituted out of multiple dyadic or group communities of practices for learning:

“A community of practice is a group of individuals, usually physically co-present, who come together under the auspices of a common interest or goal and co-construct practices for the interaction that, in turn, constitute the community of practice - their reason for coming together” (Hellermann, 2008, p. 7).

It is then in and through the participation in this community of practice that learners engage and orient to shifts in the participation framework, thereby creating opportunities for learning: in and through these shifts they need to draw on complex interactional skills in order to collaboratively maintain social order and meaningful interaction.

Participation frameworks within dyadic or group communities of practices for learning change according to different factors such as the number of participants within peer interaction, language competence of the participants, organization and type of the learning activity, but also the infrastructure and seating order within the classroom. Learning from our social-interactionist perspective is related to how learners actively change the participation framework in and through talk-in-interaction (Hellermann, 2008; Young & Miller, 2004) and how they move from a less active, to a more active or central engagement in interaction. Thus, it has also been argued by Lave and Wenger that when learners move from a more peripheral (or less active) participation framework into a more active, i.e. central or expert framework, it can be argued that this change in participation is evidence for learning as the ‘novice’ has demonstrated to be able to move from a non-active and novice position to a more central and expert position:

““Legitimate peripheral participation” provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a sociocultural practice. This social process includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills” (Lave & Wenger, 1991b, p. 29)

Hellerman for example demonstrated how learners in language learning activities observed during several weeks, display competence and more language proficiency in task openings in later weeks than in earlier weeks (Hellermann, 2008). In the present research study we also focus on how learners adapt to changes in the participation framework, however we have already pointed out that we focus on shifts which occur on an even more micro-sequential level: more precisely shifts in the participation framework within a a group or dyadic community of practice for learning engaged in the accomplishment of a learning activity. We illustrate how learners adapt to these changes in the participation framework within a learning activity. This can for example be a shift from individual writing to offering or requesting candidate writing segments (chapter 6), as well as shifts which occur as participants collectively engage into pursuing lacking information (chapter 8).

Learner-learner interaction is different to student-teacher interaction as the relationship between the participants (in who has more rights to speak for instance) is not as unambiguous as teacher-student interaction and learner in peer interaction have the opportunity, through the deployment of expert-novice-practices to establish interpersonal relationships. This is also possible because and similar to Waring’s tutor-tutee interactions, the learners do not have any “consequential power” (Waring, 2005a, p. 411) over each other’s activities in that they do not have to grade or evaluate each other at the end of their learning activity. Peer interaction, or small group interaction is considered to have several

benefits: it allows learners more time to practice speaking in a/the target language, it avoids shy students the anxiety of speaking in front of the whole class but to practice speaking in smaller groups, it provides more interactional space for students to talk and interact instead of listening (actively and/or passively) to teacher instructions and it also allows more interactional space for the teacher to engage with learners on an individual and small group basis (cf. Foster, 1998). Markee argues that in ordinary conversation "participants are peers and therefore have equal rights to speak. [...] Similarly talk that occurs between student peers during small group work is typically much closer to the practices to which members orient during ordinary conversation" (Markee, 2004, p. 68). What Markee is referring to here is that in peer interaction, where the teacher is generally not, or at least less present, interactants all have the same rights to take turns as opposed to plenary, i.e. teacher-guided classroom interaction, where it is traditionally the teacher who has more rights to speak and is also the one who generally allocates turns/rights to speak.

We then argue that when peers interact in a learning activity, they thereby also constitute themselves as members of a community of practice, and at the same time, they constitute that community of practice which allows them to constitute learning opportunities. Learners in peer interaction then are "active participants, both in the shaping of the learning activity situated within their community of practice, as well as of their process of learning" (Hellermann, 2008, pp. 6-7) What is more, we argue that when looking at peer interaction, we must look at how it is organized during the accomplishment of learning activities in the classroom, but also 'outside' the classroom, such as peer interaction during lunch breaks for example (chapter 8).

As mentioned in chapter 1, group interaction in the classroom has nowadays become more and more prominent. During the moment these lines are being written, the ministry has made public a week ago, that there will also be a huge reformation of the secondary schooling system within Luxembourg. Curriculum change-s and changing expectations on the teacher's profession are on the daily

menu of schooling everyday practices at the very moment. Small group work and pair interaction represent a considerable part of what is going on in classrooms, not only in Luxembourg, but all around the world.

Unfortunately our collection of peer interactions in (language) learning activities is not large enough⁴ to show change in participation from a ‘longitudinal’ perspective on young learners’ development of language and other interactional competences. However, by analyzing longer, i.e. more substantial sequences of peer interaction we will show how learners adapt and change their status as members of a community of practice in and through the deployment of expert-novice-practices. We will investigate how within these communities they adapt to micro-shifts in the participation framework and how these shifts are seen sites for analyzing and seeing (language) learning development.

3.7. Learning activities in peer interaction

We have been mentioned that we focus on how in peer interaction participants orient to accomplishing a learning activity. We here present the two main kinds of learning activities in focus for the present research project. We will conceptualize the notion of what is classically labelled as tasked-peer interaction before situating the notion of extra-curricular interaction.

3.7.1. Task-based peer interaction

Classic studies such as Mehan (1979) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have described classrooms as being constructed in and through rather homogeneous entities of interactions. More recent studies have shown that the underlying frames for participation within the classroom are far more complex and that participation frameworks are likely to shift according to several characteristics of the classroom such as for example the number of participants (learners and teacher-s), the pedagogical goal or task or teacher-s’ practices and ways of organizing classroom activities (Joan Kelly Hall, 1997; Walsh, 2006).

⁴ See chapter 5 for the presentation of the data.

The classroom and what is going on within the plenary, i.e. whole classroom, is generally organized by the one single person, namely the teacher, who organizes the classroom and the classroom activities according to her/his understanding of how to put the national curriculum into practice. The institutional order of the classroom brings along that there are certain rules which teachers and students have to respect. Students are not supposed to talk whenever something comes to their mind and teachers are supposed to come to help when students display that they are in trouble (cf. Cekaite, 2008a). Thus, the “teacher as a person is responsible for the students’ classroom work, conduct and emotional status.” (Cekaite 2008:14) Moreover, the teacher’s organization and task-s which are set for the learners on the other hand are put into practice by several actors, namely the group of students. Even though teachers attempt to bring the *task-as-workplan* and the *task-in-process* (Seedhouse, 2004c, 2005b) as close to each other as possible, the difference between both remain considerable and also observable (Bailey, 1996; Joan Kelly Hall, 2004).

As we have seen, the classroom can be divided and organized according to several factors or levels. However, aspects which remain ‘constant’ to classroom interaction is i) that interaction take place within a specific place, i.e. the classroom, and ii) that interactions are constrained by time (academic school year, but also the time frame of a lesson for instance). In the ‘classic’ sense, we mainly analyses task-oriented (Michael Breen, 1987; Michael Breen, 1989; Seedhouse, 2005b) interactions between 7-9-year-old learners as they are accomplishing tasks or activities within schooling. We understand task as *task-in-process* as opposed to the *task-as-workplan*. Breen (1989) coined the terms *task-as-workplan* and *task-in-progress* which was later taken on by many studies, most notably of which Seedhouse (2004c, 2005b) (but see also: Dausendschön-Gay & Krafft, 2002; Ellis, 2000; Kasper, 2004; Mori, 2002b) Coughlan and Duff (1994) use *task* vs. *activity*. There is a significant difference between the two concepts of task-as-workplan and task-in-process as the task-as-workplan consists of the pedagogical task set by the teacher for the students and what is intended to happen, while the task-as-workplan is focusing on what is actually happening while the learners

interactionally orient to the organization of the accomplishment of the task, and this is very often different to the teacher's intended pedagogical focus. In task-oriented activities the teacher usually sets the task for the learners: he explains what they are supposed to do and then normally withdraws, leaving the space for the learners to organize and accomplish the task themselves (see Seedhouse, 2004b, pp. 119-120). Of course there are also instances during this kind of classroom context where learners ask the teacher for help in case they encounter some difficulties. But mostly students are here working without the teacher's help or guidance. Because learners are then orienting to the accomplishment of an activity (goal) and thereby making use of expert-novice practice, we decided to label these 'task-oriented' activities as *learning activities*, thereby considering not only the goal of the interaction, but also how the participants organize and accomplish this activity interactionally.

In the following we outline the basic patterns of peer interaction under investigation for the present study. We first conceptualize what is meant by *conversational writing*, then give an overview of what is meant by extra-curricular learning activities.

Conversational writing

Conversational writing is understood to be one specific form of an activity in peer interaction in the fundamental classroom. 'Activity' from a CA perspective is the interactional accomplishment of the task between the interactants in talk-in-interaction:

“When students interactionally accomplish academic tasks in peer groups, their talk-in-interaction often occurs *in* activity, where activity encompasses the students' conversational interaction with other group members, as well as their individual reading and writing action as well as their use of paper, pencil, books, etc. When a speaker talks as he engages in an activity, his talk is coordinated with his activity” (Maragaret H. Szymanski, 2003, p. 537).

When we talk about activity then, we refer to the detailed, i.e. micro-sequential organization between talk, gaze, gestures and embodied action, the use of ‘tools’ as well as the organization of the ‘social writing space’. The activity as a whole, including all the previously mentioned modalities and characteristics is what we refer to as “conversational writing” which is further discussed below and which is based on Dausendschön-Gay et al.’s concept of “konversationelle Schreibinteraktion” and “*rédactions conversationelles*” (Dausendschön-Gay, Gülich, & Krafft, 1992; Dausendschön-Gay & Krafft, 1996; Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 1999, 2000).

On the most basic level, when talking about a conversational writing activity (cf. chapter 6), we refer to activities during which peers “carry out the social activity of working together to write a sentence” (Olsher, 2003, p. 256). In other words, a conversational writing activity is taking place when two peers are working together (or collaborating) to produce (parts of) a written text or sentence. Krafft and Dausendschön-Gay refer to similar situations as “*rédactions conversationelles*” (Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 2000, p. 199) or “konversationelle Schreibinteraktion” (Dausendschön-Gay, et al., 1992) which they define as situations where two or more people sit together to write a common text. We draw on this in order to specify the characteristics of such interactions which we henceforth name “conversational writing (sequences)”. First of all, it has been pointed out that, in order to collaboratively write a common text, interactants have to submit to the constraints of working with each other. This means that they are not free to do what they ‘want’, or at least less ‘free’ as when engaged in an individual writing activity. The participants have to discuss, i.t. *talk* about (hence ‘*conversational*’ who writes what down), how and when. Secondly, the interaction is goal-oriented (see also below where we discuss the concept of *task-as-workplan* as coined by Breen and later developed by Seedhouse) because it aims at producing an end-product, that of the written text. Third, there is a time-limit imposed on the activity (either by the teacher or due to the length and time available in a classroom lesson). Fourth, each dyad-partner, whether s/he actually ‘produced’ some writing onto the paper, bears the same responsibility for the

common text (compare: Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 2000, p. 199). Summarizing, conversational writing activities are characterized by certain constraints, are goal-oriented and limited in time.

The interactants organize their social writing space so as to have all the necessary tools (paper, picture, pens, pencil case) at hand. The tools are positioned in the middle between the two interactants and their upper bodies, gazes etc., generally work within this half-circle form. (Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 2000). This ‘social writing space’ is constituted through the situated sequential organization of the learners in and through the unfolding interaction. Thus, their upper bodies are orienting towards the paper on which they are writing, and the paper is generally positioned so as to lie more or less on the table in the middle between the two participants. The writing tools, the pencil case and the picture are also lying within reach on the table. The moving in and within, or away and out of this space, i.e. half-circle can display the learners’ (dis)engagement with the task. Thus the learners’ bodies as well as other resources or material in the environment shape and influence this moment-by-moment organization (C. Goodwin, 2000) of the social writing space in a conversational writing activity.

3.7.2. Extra curricular peer interaction

Extra-curricular (classroom) interactions are interactions which are not necessarily taking place *in* the classroom. Extra curricular activities might take place within the classroom, but they are free choice activities which are not necessarily set by neither the curriculum nor a pedagogically set task by the teacher. Examples of such activities are for example when learners have accomplished the ‘official’ task, they are free to choose a book to read, or to draw something. Another kind of extra-curricular activities are conversations or discussion over lunch. These extra-curricular activities, although not necessarily directly linked to the official curriculum, are however organized, i.e. structured and we argue that they pedagogically complement to curriculum activities. Accordingly, extra-curricular peer interactions are not “pedagogically empty, but are intricately linked to the pedagogic agenda [...] [and] make relevant the pedagogic agenda”. In this way,

extra curricular activities and interactions are understood to orient towards an aim, hence they are goal-oriented.

PART II

**Conversation Analysis as a method for
understanding expert-and-novice-practices in the
primary classroom**

4. An interactionist approach of expertise: conversation analysis

4.1. Conversation Analysis as a methodological framework for studying interaction

Conversational Analysis (CA), originating in ethnomethodology (EM), provides the most applicable framework for studying the participants' socially constructed realities, because it works from an *emic* perspective (see below): it draws on members' continuous and active accomplishment of how they construct and orient to their social realities, as well as how they maintain intersubjectivity in and through the unfolding interaction. This chapter describes the main aims and underlying assumptions of CA as well as the origins of CA within sociology and above all ethnomethodology. We discuss methodological implications for the ways in which we do our analysis and offer a description of the data collection and a discussion about transcription with respect to verbal as well as multimodal aspects.

Nowadays there are innumerable introductions and books about CA, its origins and its basic assumptions (cf. for example Antaki, 2009a; Antaki & Widdicombe, 2006; Heritage, 1995a, forthcoming; A. J. Liddicoat, 2007; Markee, 2000a; Psathas, 1995; ten Have, 1999; Wooffitt, 2005). For the present research study, which employs CA as a methodological tool, we will enumerate but the most basic assumptions which are relevant to the present study.

CA is a method of analysis whose main aim is to uncover the underlying architecture of conversation and it aims at explaining the essential "organization of meaningful conduct of people in society" (Emanuelson & Sahlström, 2008, p. 3). CA looks at interactional phenomena which have several characteristics: they are recurrent and happen over and over again. They are recognizable in interaction and they are systematic in how they are done. Moreover, they are interactional in the sense that they do not only happen interactionally, but that they happen AS

interaction (Brouwer, 2008). To illustrate the last point a bit more, one could look at how appointments are being done: one cannot do an appointment by oneself, but one has to do it with someone else. One of the main founders of CA, Harvey Sacks has argued that, in conversations there is “order at all points” (Sacks, 1992a) no matter how chaotic a conversation looks at first sight. Another important principle formulated by Schegloff and Sacks (1973b) was the question which should lead actually all data-driven analysis “*why that now*” and the idea that nothing in conversation is superfluous or unimportant. These points will be investigated in more detail below.

CA’s origins are sociological and it “emerged not as an attempt to come to terms with language, meaning or communication but rather as an approach to the study of social action” (Heritage, 1995a, p. 391). CA understands social reality not as something that is just ‘there’, but, based on ethnomethodological principles as established by Harold Garfinkel, CA understands social reality as something that is being produced and created in and through interaction. Interaction is, according to Schegloff “the primordial site of sociality” (C. Goodwin, 2000; Schegloff, 1992, 1998a, 2006a) and the best site for observing and analyzing human action and interaction and how it is constituted in and through language. As Hanks remarks:

“The sheer diversity of contexts in which communicative practice takes place requires that any human language be flexible enough to *adapt* to widely disparate and changing circumstances. It must also combine in systematic ways with gesture, gaze, physical contact, the spatial and perceptual field of talk, background knowledge, and other modalities, which codetermine the referents and conveyed meanings of utterances (Hanks 2005)”. (Hanks, 2009, p. 299, original emphasis)

CA studies investigate primarily the underlying order of social action in talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1987a) and the aim of CA is fundamentally sociological, rather than linguistic. This is relevant for CA analysis because CA investigates

participants' *doings* rather than what they say. What is more, the social relationships as established by participants in interaction are not seen as external, but as being shaped, performed, constituted and accomplished by the participants' doings in and through interaction on a moment-by-moment basis (cf. chapter 2 for a discussion of how CA sees the constitution of interactional identities). Thus, as already mentioned in chapter 2, social identities (i.e. situated identities) such as 'teacher' and 'learner' are not assigned to the participants prior to the analysis, but are constituted and referred to in and through interaction as the participants' orient to each other's doings and social actions (cf. Sacks, 1984b).

Intersubjectivity and reciprocity

The participants in interaction need to establish mutual understanding as a basis for their conversation. In ordinary conversation participants in their turns-at-talk generally address themselves in their ongoing turns

“to prior talk, and most commonly, to immediately preceding talk. In doing so, speakers reveal aspects of their understanding of the prior talk to which their own speech is addressed” (Schegloff, 1992, p. 219).

In talk-in-interaction, each turn, each TCU and also embodied action, in its sequential placement as well as its design, functions to establish participants' interpretation and understanding of prior talk, of the context, of the nature of the interaction (institutional and task-based, goal-oriented or mundane, formal, informal, etc.) as well as their mutual understanding of each other (identities, roles, emotions, etc.). Intersubjectivity is what is necessary for meaningful interaction to occur: it refers to how participants in talk-in-interaction orient to and display understanding to each other in a specific context.

In order to establish mutual knowledge and understanding, i.e. intersubjectivity and reciprocal perspectives of what is going on in interaction, people in conversation, or more specifically, talk-in-interaction, need to draw on each other's knowledge (Isaacs & Clark, 1987). Participants achieve for instance

mutual understanding by letting the next contribution to be accomplished without interruption (Isaacs & Clark, 1987). This establishment of reciprocal perspectives is in CA terms labeled as intersubjectivity, or more recently also as situated cognition (Fasel Lauzon, 2009; Melander, 2009; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2001, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.)). In talk-in-interaction, each turn in its sequential position provides an understanding and interpretation of the previous turn, i.e. prior talk as well as embodied actions, the context, and the nature and goal of the interaction. Consequently, the meaning of interaction is, in CA terms, built on the understanding that participants share and create understanding on a moment-by-moment, turn-by-turn and action-by-action basis. Prior talk and any other actions that have come before are oriented to by participants and in this sense current talk is not only referring back to prior talk, but prior talk also shapes possible next actions and talk. CA then focuses on how talk is embedded in prior talk, i.e. turns but also ensuing talk, i.e. turns (Heritage, 1984b; Schegloff, 1992). Finally, drawing on Schegloff and his discussion of intersubjectivity, it is important to note that “intersubjectivity is *locally managed*, *locally adapted*, and *recipient designed*” (1992, p. 1338, original emphasis).

4.2. Aims and basic assumptions of CA (and EM)

Studying the orderliness (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973a) and underlying structure of talk and social actions, CA observes how people construct the social world they live in. It is through the social actions people do, perform and accomplish together that they display their understanding of the local unfolding interaction to each other. Furthermore, it is by these means and methods that people define, construct and re-construct the situation they are in, but also the interactional identities they occupy at each new interactional moment. As mentioned before, the aim of CA is not of linguistic nature, but rather of sociological nature. Drawing on Psathas introductory book to CA, we might provide his useful summary of CA's characterization and its basic underlying assumptions:

1. “Order is a produced orderliness.
2. Order is produced by the parties in situ; that is, it is situated and occasioned.
3. The parties orient to that order themselves; that is, this order is not an analyst's conception, not the result of the use of some performed or preformulated theoretical conceptions concerning what action should/must/ought to be, or based on generalizing or summarizing statements about what action generally/frequently/often is.
4. Order is repeatable and recurrent.
5. The discovery, description, and analysis of that produced orderliness is the task of the analyst.
6. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be set aside in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the *structures*, the *machinery*, the *organized practices*, the *formal procedures*, the ways in which order is produces.
7. Structures of social action, once so discerned, can be describes and analyzed in formal, that is structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstract, terms.”

(Psathas, 1995, pp. 2-3)

Accordingly, there is order at all points in interaction and this ‘order’ of talk-in-interaction is constructed by the participants in interaction on a moment-by-moment basis (points 1 and 2, see also below). It is not the content of talk-in-interaction that is the main focus (cf. point 7), but the organization of talk-in-

interaction, the *how* of interaction, and how, as analysts, we might describe and analyze this. Points 3 and 6 refer to CA's critique of using pre-established definitions and/or categories when analyzing talk-in-interaction. In other words, here we find the advocacy of CA for applying an emic perspective when analyzing talk-in-interaction. Analysts should provide an account of participants' perspective of talk-in-interaction and not their own (C. Goodwin, 1984b; ten Have, 1999). Finally, point 4 refers to CA's assumption that there are regularities, or systematics (H. Sacks, et al., 1974) in the organization of talk-in-interaction.

We also want to point out that CA is not to be understood as a theory, but rather as a methodology. CA is

“like an inventory of tools, materials and know-how from which practicing research analysts can draw for their analytic undertakings because practicing *interactants* draw on them in concertedly constructing and grasping what transpires in interaction” (Schegloff, 1995, p. 415).

Or to borrow Hutchby and Wooffitt's words, “CA can be accurately described as a research programme, whose aim is to describe the methodic bases of orderly communication in talk-in-interaction” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 40). Using CA, it is possible to show that the detailed sequential organization of conversation is not achieved accidentally, but that there then really is ‘order at all points’ (Sacks, 1992b) (cf. also Psathas, 1995). How this order is achieved and how the participants in interaction make recognizable their understanding of the order of an unfolding interaction is one of CA's main investigations. Previous CA research has shown that some of the underlying practices in talk-in-interaction such as turn-taking practices and their organization are at the origin of this order. Participants also orient to these practices to organize themselves and their situatedness in interaction, on a moment-by-moment basis, thereby making mutually recognizable their understanding (of each other and of the interaction) and thereby establishing what in CA terms is labeled as *intersubjectivity* (see

above). In the following we describe turn-taking practices, and discuss CA researchers' findings of the architecture, or function and structure of adjacency pairs, and in particular, question and answer sequences, preference organization, and the application of deviant case analysis in CA research because they constitute “basic unit[s] of sequence construction” (Schegloff, 1990, p. 59).

4.2.1. Order at all points

Conversation is the main way of communication between people and consequently it is inherent to interaction. Conversation is “the way in which people socialize and develop and sustain their relationships with each other” (A. Liddicoat, 2007, p. 1). CA, as illustrated above, is a strong tool for analyzing talk-in-context and the underlying structures of social action in everyday as well as in institutional interactions (for the discussion of using CA in institutional interaction cf. chapter 3). As Drew and Heritage have pointed out,

“the initial and overriding CA focus is on the particular actions that occur in some context, their underlying social organizations, and the alternative means by which these actions and the activities they compose can be realized” (Drew & Heritage 1996:17).

CA thus offers a rigorous method for bringing to the fore the underlying systematicities and patterns of social practice through the analysis of talk-in-interaction. It is these systematicities and social action participants orient to in order to construct meaningful social interaction.

Sacks et al. (1974) have described the *simplest systematics* of face-to-face interaction in their seminal article. A principal argument of their article is that in all conversation there is *order at all points* and that nothing in conversation is put randomly or in a chaotic way. What looks chaotic at first sight is, when analyzed micro-sequentially, actually organized in a very structured and complex way. In their article entitled *A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation*, the authors describe the *rules* which organize the construction of turns in conversation, speaker-selection and the organization of turn-taking (cf.

section 4.3., below). Rules are not meant to be understood in the strict sense of ‘laws’ which dictate what participants in interaction must do. Rather the rules function as ‘rules for interaction’ which participants orient to in order to organize their interaction and to establish intersubjectivity. The change from one speaker to the next is one of the main underlying questions in interaction and is most likely to occur at *transition-relevance places (TRP)* or *possible completion points (PCP)*. Current speakers, through *turn allocation component techniques* indicate upcoming TRPs or PCP which allow the hearers to grasp when speaker change is imminent. Speaker change does not happen randomly, but is organized according to rules which are inextricably linked to the unfolding context and interaction and which keep overlaps and gaps between speakers to a minimum .

4.2.2. Interaction order

Goffman’s work and his prosperous work on face-to-face interaction have also influenced the works of CA as he “provided legitimacy for the study of the details of everyday interaction” (Psathas, 1995, p. 10) (see also Heritage, 2005, pp. 393-394). Goffman argues that whenever people meet, at least one of them starts to talk, and that it

“is a fact of our human condition that, for most of us, our daily life is spent in the immediate presence of others; in other words, that whatever they are, our doings are likely to be, in the narrow sense, *socially situated*” (Goffman, 1983, p. 2, original emphasis) (but see also Goffman, 1967).

He further argues that the most prominent way to study these conversational face-to-face encounters is through microanalysis (Goffman, 1983, p. 2). By this, Goffman coined the term and concept *interaction order* (Goffman, 1983), opening up for the study of analyzing what people do, how they manage and what they orient to when engaged in face-to-face interactions. Goffman argued that we ‘perform’ our social selves, and thereby manage how other people perceive us and orient to us. Hutchby and Wooffitt draw on this and argue that the

“originality in Goffman’s thinking came from his view that this domain of everyday interpersonal interaction, which was seen as a deeply trivial and arbitrary by mainstream sociology, was a site of social order and should be the subject of structural sociological investigation” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 24).

Although Goffman’s urge for empirical evidence when studying the systematics and rituals of face-to-face interaction (Goffman, 1981a), influenced CA to a certain extent, Sacks’ work differed from Goffman’s approach as he was being criticized for mainly relying on observations through which he then developed his descriptions of face-to-face interaction (Schegloff, 1988). CA researchers thus claim that in order to analyze order in talk-in-interaction, detailed audio (and later also video) recordings are necessary and need to be described in minute detail. Only then it is possible to describe what participants orient to as being relevant in interaction. Thus, CA

“remained indifferent to [Goffman’s] various broad scale conceptualizations and general theories, in the interest of studying interaction itself and discovering its orderliness” (Psathas, 1995, p. 11).

4.2.3. Micro-context

CA (and EM) do not see language as representing ,or being part of, social reality, but actually as creating it. The function of language - a point made by Sacks et al. 1974 - is that it not only adapts to the most various contexts, but that the contexts are also formed in and through the use and function of language, i.e. in and through talk-in-interaction. Accordingly, social contexts are, from a CA perspective, not understood as static and fixed, but are persistently being formed and re-formed by the participants through their use of language, their orientation towards turn-taking practices, openings, closings and the sequentiality of their interaction etc. which are all locally managed on a moment-by-moment basis:

“In fact, CA embodies a theory which argues that sequences of actions are a major part of what we mean by context, that the meaning of an action is heavily shaped by the sequence of previous actions from which it emerges and that social context is a dynamically created thing that is expressed in and through the sequential organization of interaction” (Heritage, 1997b, p. 223).

Interaction is then seen as *context-shaped*, as well as *context-renewing* (Seedhouse, 2005a, p. 2). Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson argue thus that the structural resources applied in conversation are *context-sensitive* and *context-free* at the same time (H. Sacks, et al., 1974). In other words,

“the same techniques or resources might be used by different participants in different situations (context-free). Still, at the same time, the application of those resources is context-sensitive in the sense that, on each specific occasion, these participants in particular are designing their talk in the light of what has happened before in this conversation, and possibly also in their relationship as a whole, among other contextual specifics” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 31).

Contributions to talk-in-interaction are on the one hand context-shaped because their meaning cannot properly be grasped without “reference to the sequential environment in which they occur” (Seedhouse, 2005a, p. 2). On the other hand contributions are “context-renewing in that they inevitably form part of the sequential environment in which a next contribution will occur” (Seedhouse, 2005a, p. 2), (see also Seedhouse, 2004c, p. 42 for a more detailed discussion). In this sense, CA has a very dynamic, complex and empirically based perspective of context.

4.2.4. Sequentiality

The most basic ‘unit of analysis’ of major interest from a CA perspective is the sequential analysis of turns, i.e. the analysis of the sequential organization of interaction, and in particular adjacency pairs (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974,

Schegloff, 2007). The idea of sequentiality which is at the centre of the CA approach is based on the belief that one thing can lead to another. Conversations, then, are being analyzed sequentially, with the 'turn' being the so-called unit of analysis, or guiding principle in the sequential analysis. Conversations are not to be understood as 'chaotic' or as an accumulation of dis-associated elements. Rather, they are produced by the participants as 'ordered' structures during the developing interaction. This is done on a moment-by-moment basis, as interactants orient to each other in producing their next turns for example. CA also does not bring pre-set or pre-defined concepts and ideas to the analysis such as 'this is a question, complaint, answer' etc. CA is rather adopting an emic perspective analyses how the interactants themselves orient to each other's utterances:

"CA projects may seem to start on loose ground, as the starting point is to collect and transcribe data before any specific research hypotheses or questions are formed. However, hypotheses will emerge and be systematically tested during transcription and analysis (this is a trait shared to a large degree with ethnographic approaches) [...] CA work is based on an assumption that the phenomenon studied will be found widely or even generally within the community of speakers, as practices of talk must be shared if conversationalists are to attain intersubjectivity - as they clearly do, for most of the time" (R. Gardner & Wagner, 2004, p. 5).

A turn is thus, at all times, to be investigated in its immediate sequential context, and not in isolation. CA research thus strongly links the constitution of meaning to the concept of sequentiality:

"CA embodies a theory that argues that previous actions are a primary aspect of the context of an action, that the meaning of an action is heavily shaped by the sequence of previous actions from which it emerges, and that social context itself is a dynamically created thing

that is expressed in and through the sequential organization of interaction” (Heritage, 2005, p. 105).

Turns in conversation, i.e. turns-at-talk are always organized sequentially and thereby linked into specific sequences, and it is this order and sequentiality which CA aims to reveal and discuss. One fundamental notion of this sequentiality is for example “nextness” (Schegloff, 1972, p. 77): Thus, ‘next’ turn or speaker reveals where interactants display their interpretation and understanding of the prior’s turn possible completion. In this sense, current talk displays how the speaker understands and orients back to prior talk. In other words,

“the relationship between turns reveals how the participants themselves actively analyze the ongoing production of talk in order to negotiate their own, situated participation in it. Moreover, a second important dimension revealed in speaker’s next turns is their analysis and understanding of the action the prior turn has been designed to do” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, pp. 41-42) (see also Sacks, 1987; Sacks, 1992b; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973b).

Finally, the sequential order of interaction, not only allows the participants in interaction for organizing their own participation and positioning in interaction, but also for inferring what kind of action the other participant is orienting to and engaged in (Heritage, 1995a, pp. 397-398; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, pp. 41-42).

Finally, we might conclude this section with noting that all these factors are linked together and, to borrow Heritage’s words, that

“CA analyses are thus simultaneously analyses of action, context management and intersubjectivity because all three of these features are simultaneously, if tacitly, the objects of actors’ actions. Finally, the procedures that inform these activities are normative in that actors can be held morally accountable both for departures from their use and for

the inferences which their use, or departures from their use, may engender” (Heritage, 1995b, p. 398).

4.3. The systematicities of talk-in-interaction

Turn taking techniques / practices

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson’s 1974 seminal article outlines the underlying structures and systematicities of everyday conversations. In their analysis they rely on everyday conversation which, as opposed to institutional, i.e. classroom conversations, are barely subject to any limitations (cf. chapter 3 for a discussion on using CA in institutional contexts). They define the underlying turn-taking system of everyday conversation and are interested in the function of language as a means for social interaction. The turn-taking system is according to them “a basic form of organization for conversation” (Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 700) which is organized situatedly and interactionally by the participants in relation to and despite of the context. They outline in meticulous detail how turns are constructed, designed and allocated and how the organization of turns has significant sequential consequences for the unfolding interaction. The turn-taking system has a “proof procedure for the analysis of turns” (Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 728) which not only allows the participants to orient to each others’ turns, but because participants are obliged to orient to each other’s turns in the turn-taking organization of interaction, these orientations and understanding of others’ turn(s)-at-talk became available for the analysts as well:

“The display of (conversationalists’) understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns - resources intrinsic to the data themselves” (H. Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 729).

Sacks et al. thus describe turn-taking practices in conversation as something that is achieved jointly by the participants in interaction. They note that turns are constructed out of one or more turn constructional components, or turn

constructional units (TCU) which can be identified through four different unit types: “sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical - i.e. syntactically” (Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 720). To put it in other words, TCUs can be constructed out of a word, phrase, clause or sentence. The different ends of these units are described as projectable in that the participants in interaction can determine which kind of unit is being produced and consequently they are able to project what it will take to come to an end of a turn in progress and to project the first possible point of completion, or transition relevant place, i.e. when speaker change can occur. Initially, every speaker is only assigned one turn constructional unit (Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 703) and hence speaker change might, but does not necessarily have to occur at the first possible point of completion or transition-relevance places. Finally, we might add that

“this ‘system’ of conversational turn-taking has a number of interesting properties, including that it is ‘locally managed’, as well as ‘interactionally managed’ or ‘party administered’. This involves that the system works ‘again and again’ at each next possible completion point, after the production of each TCU, and that this management is an interactional one, involving all the parties in the interaction” (ten Have, 1999, p. 128).

The turn allocation component techniques

The turn allocation component techniques are what allows the organization of the allocation of turns in interaction between the participants, and they are divided into two groups

“(a) this in which next turn is allocated by current speaker’s selecting next speaker [i.e. current selects next]; and (b) those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection” (Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 703, resp. p. 716).

However, the turn allocation system is organized according to preference organization which is organized sequentially (adapted from Harvey Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 704):

- (i) The current speaker selects another speaker at the end of his turn.
- (ii) If no other speaker is selected by the current speaker, then another participant can self-select at the first transition-relevance place.
- (iii) If neither (i) nor (ii) occur, the current speaker can (but need not) self-select to continue his talk unless another participant self-selects. At each successive transition-relevance place rules (i) and (ii) are applied recursively .

Sacks et al. point out that these rules are not only applicable for interactions between two participants, but that they are applicable to all kinds of interactions with various numbers of interactants. Furthermore, pre-allocation techniques are in particular used in institutional settings such as in the classroom or the courtroom for example (cf. chapter 3 for a discussion on turn-taking organization in institutional settings, and specifically the classroom).

The *turn-constructural component* allows for identifying, according to the structure and architecture of the utterance, which kind of utterance is being produced (sentence, clause, phrase or word) and to determine appropriate moments of speaker change. The *turn-allocation component* allows to organize and to determine the next speaker.

Transition-relevance place (TRP) and possible completion point (PCP)

It is important to note that transition-relevance places and possible completion points are not necessarily equivalent. In fact, often it is not necessary to change speaker at the end of a turn-constructural-unit (TCU) (Selting, 2000). Different activity types (Levinson, 1998 (1992)) require different organizations of talk, and

there are activity types of which certain sequences or subparts are made up of multi-unit turns, such as case presentations in court rooms for example, or presentations by lecturers in university lecture halls.

The expectancy operating in adjacency relationship is based upon people's ability to be able to project the possible ending (TRP) of a turn in progress. There are several factors which allow for this projection of the end of somebody's turn. We have already noted that clause, word, phrase and syntax are some of these factors. Other factors include change of speed or intonation in the delivery of the turn, as well as conversational pre-closing forms and starters (Schegloff, 2007a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973b). So, as

“a speaker approaches the possible completion of a first TCU in a turn, transition to a next speaker can become relevant; if acted upon, the transition to a next speaker is accomplished just after the possible completion of the TCU-in-progress. Accordingly, we speak of the span that begins with the imminence of possible completion as the “transition-relevance-place.” Note: it is not that speaker transition necessarily occurs there; it is that transition to a next speaker becomes *possibly relevant* there” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 4, original emphasis).

The basic sequential structure: adjacency pairs⁵

Adjacency pairs are another form of organization which permits to organize sequentiality in talk-in-interaction. Adjacency pairs are basic units of organization in talk and ideally they are produced next to each other. They are paired utterances into first and second pair part and the production of a 1st pair part requires a more or less instantaneous response or production of a second pair part. An invitation thus either expects an acceptance or a rejection, a question an answer, greetings follow greetings etc. So any of this first pair parts makes the production of a second pair part conditionally relevant. If the second pair part is not produced or is produced not in appropriate relation to the first pair part, its very absence or

⁵ For a very detailed discussion of the adjacency pair “as the unit for sequence of construction”, it is useful to have a look at Seedhouse (2007c, especially chapter 2).

inexactitude becomes accountable in the interaction. The producer of the second pair part has the chance and obligation in the production and design of his second pair part to display his/her understanding of what kind or type of first pair part was produced. Schegloff and Sacks (1973b, p. 295) described the basic rules for adjacency pairs and argued that

“given the recognisable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type the first is recognisably a member of”. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973b, p. 295)

Adjacency pairs have a backwards, as well as a prospective function: next turns, i.e. second pair parts thus display the speakers' understanding of the first pair part, and a first pair part, such as an invitation also constrains the next possible action, i.e. s second pair part, which in the case of an invitation is likely to be either an acceptance or rejection. Thus, a

“first pair part projects a prospective relevance, and not only a retrospective understanding. It makes relevant a limited set of possible second pair parts, and thereby sets some of the terms by which a next turn will be understood - as, for example, being responsive to the constraints of a first pair part or not” (Schegloff, 2007c).

Of course, even though first and second pair parts should ideally be positioned next to each other, they are not always produced in a strict sequential order. As will be discussed below, it is possible and legitimate to have insertion sequences between first and second pair part.

The adjacency pair as a ‘unit of analysis’ and the most basic unit for construction sequentiality is also the most prominent concept for studying how mutual understanding is accomplished, displayed and oriented to in talk. As Schegloff and Sacks (1973b, pp. 297-298) comment:

“What two utterances produced by different speakers can do that one utterance cannot do is: by an adjacency positioned second, a speaker can show that he understood what a prior aimed at, and that he is willing to go along with that. Also, by virtue of the occurrence of an adjacently produced second, the doer of a first can see that what he intended was indeed understood, and that it was or was not accepted. Also, of course, a second can assert his failure to understand, or disagreement, and inspection of a second by a first can allow the first speaker to see that while the second thought is understood, indeed he misunderstood.”

Participants in talk-in-interaction can make use of the adjacency pair structure and mechanism to display to each other how they understand and make sense of the unfolding interaction and thereby then also make it available for the analyst.

Insertion sequences

In case a relevant second pair part is not produced immediately, it is very common to have an insertion sequence which does not stop the normal flow of the conversation. Rather, an insertion sequence generally attends to some kind of problem (of misunderstanding or hearing for example) which needs to be repaired before the appropriate second pair part might be produced and the mainstream conversation either continues or is reset from the start. Insertion sequences are very often designed by a motivation for repair of the ‘damaged’ conversation. Causes for the need of repair can be of the most various kinds: it can be based on mishearing or misunderstanding, or on the failure of not having enough information beforehand (such as asking ‘how’s your cat?’ when it actually got hit by a car the day before). Schegloff defines insertion sequences as “sequences occurring between the two parts of an utterance pair, i.e. between two utterances the second of which is conditionally relevant given the occurrence of the first” (Schegloff, 1972, p. 106)

In our case, trouble is defined as anything which hinders the participants’ accomplishment of their unfolding activity. Seedhouse, focusing on task-oriented

contexts, defined trouble as “anything [in this context] which hinders the learners’ completion of the task, and repair is focused on removing any such hindrances” (Seedhouse, 2004c, p. 153). There are two kinds of repairs: self-initiated repair and other-initiated repair with self-initiated repair being preferred.

Preference organization

Another important aspect which is tied to the adjacency pair mechanism is that certain first pair parts make the production of a second pair part or action relevant. An invitation is either followed by an acceptance or rejection, and an assessment or evaluation can either be agreed or disagreed with. What is interesting about this is that the negative alternatives (rejection, disagreement, refusal, etc.) are systematically produced differently than the positive counterparts (acceptance, endorsement, agreement, etc.). This difference in how the turns are designed has been labelled ‘preference organization’ in CA terminology. Agreement is labeled as ‘preferred turn shape’, while disagreement is labelled as ‘dispreferred turn shape’ (cf. Pomerantz, 1984a). It is important to note that preferred and dispreferred do not refer to the content of the turns, or the inner or personal motivation of speakers. Rather, it refers to the actual shape and design of the turns. Pomerantz has for example demonstrated that dispreferred answers or turns are marked by ‘dispreference markers’ (Pomerantz, 1984a) right at the beginning of the turns, i.e. second pair part. Examples of such dispreference markers are for example hesitation markers such as ‘well’, ‘um/hm’ or (micro-)pauses marking delay at the beginning of the turn. And this dispreferred markers “can provide a source for a first speaker to revise the original first pair-part in such a way as to avoid disagreement or rejection (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 48). Preferred actions, in opposition then, are characteristically produced immediately and without delay.

Overlap

Even though at first sight overlap might be considered as a failure to understand when current speaker has finished talking, previous research has demonstrated that even overlap is produced in an orderly and systematic fashion and that it is for

example very likely to occur near transition-relevance-places. (Jefferson, 1984; Lerner, 1989; Schegloff, 2000a). In fact, it has been argued that overlap is one systematic mechanism which illustrates that participants in interaction are in fact orienting to the rules of turn-taking as established by Sacks et al. (1974). In an influential study, Jefferson (1986) demonstrated that overlapping talk is by no means chaotic, but on the contrary that overlapping talk (or what even looks like interruptive talk) is by no means a violation of the rules of turn-taking, but in fact an empirical and viable demonstration of how closely participants in talk-in-interaction orient to the rules of turn-taking. Overlap can in fact be understood as a consequence of participants' close orientation to the rules of turn-taking.

Repair

A related concept to that of overlap, is in fact repair which is understood in relation to the turn-taking systematicities as well. In fact, this

“is a generic term which is used in CA to cover a wide range of phenomena, from seeing errors in turn-taking such as those involved in much overlapping talk, to any of the forms of what we commonly would call ‘correction’ - i.e., substantive faults in the contents of what someone has said” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 57).

Not all repair, however, actually involves an error on the speaker's part and a second sense of repair actually involves “the suspension of ongoing turns or sequences in order to attend to some trouble that has become apparent” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 57). Considerable numbers of CA studies have focused on ‘repair’ (Brouwer, 2004; Drew, 1997; Drew & Heritage, 2006; Joan Kely Hall, 2007; Hellermann, 2009; Kasper, 1985; Macbeth, 2004; Schegloff, 1979, 1987c, 1992, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000b; Schegloff, et al., 1977b; Seedhouse, 2004c), and all of these studies demonstrate that, like overlap, repair is a demonstration of how closely participants in interaction orient to the rules of turn-taking.

A particularly influential study is of course again Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's seminal article in which they outline the sequential organization of repair (H. Sacks, et al., 1974). They argue that "repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations" (H. Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 721), and more specifically they outline four types of repair sequences: i) self-initiated self repair, ii) other-initiated self-repair, iii) self-initiated other-repair, and iv) other-initiated other-repair (cf. H. Sacks, et al., 1974 for a more detailed discussion). Furthermore, a bit later it was demonstrated that not only is there a preference for self-initiated repair over other-initiated repair (Schegloff, et al., 1977a), but Schegloff (1992) also demonstrated that the greatest part of

"troubles are identified and dealt with within these structural repair positions: that is, during the TCU containing the trouble source, and in the next turn following the turn containing the trouble source" (Seedhouse, 2005a, p. 63).

Finally, according to Schegloff, repair is a central conversational mechanism to (re-)establishing and managing intersubjectivity in talk-in-interaction (Schegloff, 1992). Repair might be necessary in case the conversation breaks down due to participants' failure to maintain intersubjectivity.

4.4. Interaction and multimodal resources

The technological development of the last decade-s nowadays allows for a detailed observation and analysis of the most various settings. While the early seminal Conversation Analysis studies have mainly focused on audio data and hence on the verbal resources for organizing talk-in-interaction (Heritage, 1984a; Lerner, 1991, 1995, 2004; H. Sacks, et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996b), more recent CA studies base their empirical analysis on video data, allowing not only for a detailed analysis of the verbal interaction, but also for a detailed analysis of the multimodal aspects (such as gaze, body postures and gestures for example) of interaction (Berger, 2008; C. Goodwin, 1981b, 1986, 2000, 2003; Charles Goodwin, 2007; Melander & Sahlström, 2009a; Mondada, 2004, 2006a; Lorenza

Mondada, 2007; Mondada, 2008; Mondada & Doehler, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Mortensen, 2008; Pitsch, 2007a, 2007b; Pitsch & Ayaß, 2008; Schmitt, 2005; Ziegler & Meyer, 2008). Goodwin's work for example, shows how the beginning of a turn is inextricably linked to the establishment of reciprocity through gaze for example. Restarts, which are recognizable through hesitation markers such as repeats, phrasal breaks and pauses are in fact complex interactional work which work to secure the recipient's gaze at turn-beginning (C. Goodwin, 1980, 1981b). Furthermore, Goodwin also shows how the design and internal organization of a turn is linked to the participant(s)'s embodied action. A speaker might restart a formulation or repeat a question if the recipient is not gazing to the speaker. An illustrative example of a speaker restarting his/her formulation is the following:

Example 3.1.: *wivill* huet der *gewonnen?

- 01 Max: *wivill* huet der *gewonnen?
 how high did you win?
 *max *gaze to bill*
 *bil *turning gaze and upper body*
 to left away from max
 *max *touching tim's elbow*
 with right hand
- 02 Max: *wiv(u)ll hu:et dier <<acc> ge(.)wonnen>?
 how much did you win?
 *bil *gaze to max*

Max is producing a request which through gaze selects Bill as the potential next speaker. However, as Bill is gazing into another direction, Max touches Bill's arm to establish his gaze, i.e. reciprocity. At the precise moment Bill gazes to Max, Max repeats his question. Max's repeat is of his question is the result of the interactional establishment of reciprocity which he orients to.

One principal view of this research project then, and in line with Lave and Wenger (1991a) is the understanding that "interaction is the most basic site of experience, and hence functions as the most basic site of organized activity where learning can take place" (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004, p. 502). We have outlined that learning is understood as a situated practice which takes place in and through

interaction. What is relevant for us in order to analyze interaction, are then not only the verbal utterances produced by the participants in interaction, but also the multimodal resources (gaze, body posture, gestures etc) as well as the tools and objects (pens, keyboards, erasers, pencil-cases, etc. which they employ in order to accomplish their learning activity. Moreover, when talking about interaction, we do not only consider what the participants do collaboratively, but also what they do and how they display their understanding of the interaction to each other. The participants in interaction are active agents of their doing and of the interactional organization of the unfolding activity. It is this ‘doing’ (verbal and para-verbal) in interaction that we are focussing on. Henrici’s definition of interaction-s is in fact quite helpful for the present dissertation and sums up our previous argument:

“Unter **Interaktionen** sollen [...] sprachliche und nichtsprachliche Handlungen verstanden werden, die zwischen mindestens zwei Gesprächspartnern stattfinden und mindesten einen Beitrag (“turn”) der jeweiligen Partner umfassen, der inhaltlich an den jeweils anderen gerichtet ist ([...] “meaning focused instruction)” (Henrici, 1995, p. 25 original emphasis).⁶

Talk-in-interaction not only entails verbal interaction, but also all kinds of other non- and para-verbal features participants orient to and draw on in order to organize the activities they engage in as well as for establishing intersubjectivity. How this multimodal features are relevant for participation is discussed in the next section.

Multimodal aspects are especially relevant for multi-party and face-to-face interactions, because as our findings demonstrate, young learners often employ non-verbal features (such as gaze, but also touching the other’s arm, etc.) in order to establish reciprocity or/and mutual attention and to actively participate in interaction. Only a number of recent studies working from a CA perspectives have

⁶ Translation: Interaction includes verbal and non-verbal actions/doings which take place between at least two interactants and where at least on the interactants produces a turn which is oriented to the other participant.

also actively included non-verbal features of interaction into their analyses (Melander, 2009; Melander & Sahlström, 2008; Sahlström, 1999b, 2002; Margaret H. Szymanski, 2003). The present dissertation situates itself within this framework and argues that also non-verbal features of talk-in-interaction are oriented to and made relevant by participants when deploying expert-novice-practice. Multimodal aspects under investigation are thus for example gaze, gesture, and body (body postures and movements). Gaze, gesture and body are thus considered a resources drawn on by the participants and made relevant in talk-in-interaction in order to establish social order and accomplish the learning activity. Moreover, they are also understood as analytic tools which display the way participants themselves interpret and understand, or display an understanding of the situation.

In this chapter we have described CA, the methodological framework for the dissertation. We have described the underlying assumptions as well as the major aims of CA as these are applied and taken into consideration in and through the analysis in part III of the research project. In the analyses in part III, we do not investigate only one kind of resource as employed by the participants in interaction, but we try to adapt an integrated perspective of all possible resources employed by and oriented to by the participants. The social practices employed by the participants are established through the detailed structure of talk-in-interaction, taking into account talk, participants' bodies, gestures, but also material resources as well as the organization of space.

5. Presentation of research: objectives, data, analytical procedures

5.1. Data presentation

5.1.1. Approaching the field

In order to describe peer interaction and analyze expert-novice-practices in the primary classroom as well as how these practices are linked to identity constructions, it appears to be reasonable to work on and investigate conversational data. As we have pointed out previously (cf. chapter 2 and 3), the deployment of expert-novice-practices is co-constructed by the learners as they orient towards the accomplishment of a learning activity. Consequently, only the detailed and sequential investigation of young learners' performances and participation in such an environment can shed light on how expert-novice-practice are being accomplished and oriented to by the participants in classroom interaction. Furthermore, as conversation (verbal and non-verbal) is the outcome of a constant arrangement and re-arrangement between the young learners as a result of the organization between constant shifts in the participation framework, it is the young learners' respective interactional practices that inform us as analysts of their doings in that very specific setting only, namely that of the primary classroom.

In line with the previously established methodological framework of CA (chapter 4), the present study investigates authentic data stemming from the primary classroom in Luxembourg. The data is 'authentic' in that it is naturally occurring data and has not been planned or provoked by the researcher-s. In relation to the classroom context, one might question the notion of 'authentic' interaction and/or conversation (a reason why we put it between quotation marks here), especially if compared to everyday conversation (within the family, or with friends for example): in the classroom almost any learning activity is generally organized, set up and influenced by the teacher-s and/or the institutional goal of the context, i.e.

to form social and responsible human beings. Nevertheless, conversations taking place in the classroom are considered to be 'authentic' and naturally occurring because the recorded conversational practices in the Luxembourg classroom are practices which are routinely taking place everyday in the Luxembourg primary school context. It is a setting within which young learners interact on a daily basis.

In order to get access to such classroom conversational practices, it seems to be imperative to collect or get access to video and/or audio data from such a specific setting. The use of recorded data allows the researcher to keep returning to the data and to watch the unfolding of the interactions over and over again, even in slow motion or without sound, if desired or necessary to pay attention to all kinds of details. Thus, the repetitive investigation of recorded data allows for studying episodes of human interaction in great detail and the sequential development of the talk-in-interaction is being conserved - for the researchers collecting the data as well as for other researchers who might either test the findings or for other future research studies that want analyse the data maybe from a different analytical perspective. Video recorded data allows others to review and look at what is going on in the classroom, and thereby possibly challenge an analyst's observation and understanding of events.

Along this line, it is important to note that even the most exhaustive method of note-taking (as for example employed in the field of ethnomethodology) during data collection within a classroom would not allow for reconstructing all sequential and observable details of such human interaction. The interactional space in front of the camera is preserved more or less in its entirety (Mondada, 2006b). Nevertheless, we must not ignore that even video and/or audio data is not able to uphold and maintain the full and inherent context under investigation. Video data is always limited by the angle of the camera (we cannot see what is going on 'behind' the camera for example) and audio data will not be able to record everything what is being said beyond a certain distance for example. As video and audio data collection relies on technical support, it is not impossible that an audio recorder might be in need of changing batteries. Also the camera will

have to be fed with a new tape more or less every 60 minutes: this might of course entail that, during these technical implementations, short sequences of interaction are not recorded. Finally, we want to add that any video or audio data only preserves what is going on at *that* very specific interactional moment and consequently, whatever happens once the audio or video recorder is switched off, is not accessible to the researcher, and thus not analyzable - even though the interaction does go on once the technical devices have been switched off.

5.1.2. Plurilingual Children in Luxembourg: the PluChiLu database

All the episodes analyzed for the present study stem from a large database named PluChiLu (Plurilingual Children in Luxembourg). The database is up to present date constituted out of 17 different corpuses, out of which 8 focus on primary classroom interactions in Luxembourg. The present study draws on two corpuses as will be outlined in more detail below.

When embarking upon the present research project, we had the opportunity to investigate existing primary classroom data, i.e. naturally occurring interactions of primary school settings, which had already been collected by a research team of the University of Luxembourg. The data available was organized and structured into a corpus (*Corpus_CM*) and allowed for elucidating our personal interest and focus in classroom interaction, namely that of peer interaction. Once this interest and focus was a bit clearer - without of course having a pre-conceptualized hypothesis of research question and thereby following the CA methodology, we then collected an explorative corpus during one week within another primary school in Luxembourg (*Corpus_AM_RG*).

5.1.3. Presenting the data

The data for this dissertation is based on video (and audio) recordings in a Luxembourgish primary school. The recordings consist of +/- 30 hours of one week of explorative data collection in a fundamental school in Luxembourg which advocates learners' autonomous learning practices (*Corpus_AM_RG*). It is thus important to note that not only the methodology of teaching practices, but also the

set-up of the classroom-s in which the recordings were collected are innovative. As the school only opened its doors 9 months prior to our visit, we had been informed that the children were used to visitors who regularly came to visit the school. Being at the origin of a new and innovating project, the school is the first of its kind in Luxembourg. Many people have welcomed the idea, but many have also opposed the idea, and visitors to the school have been numerous and of all kinds.

Let us present the school then: the school has only six classrooms one of which was not used full-time at the time of our visit. There are three “cycles”: cycle 2 which consists of 1st and 2nd graders, cycle 3 which consists of 3rd and 4th graders and cycle 4, which usually consists of 5th and 6th graders, but not during the academic year 2006/2007 as the teachers decided that they preferred to get used to the new school system for a year before having to evaluate learners which move on into secondary school the following.

As already mentioned above, learners are not divided into classes but into cycles and so one always has two different ‘levels’ in one classroom, interaction, i.e. working and learning together. We did thus not only focus on filming one ‘classroom’ or cycle but were free to move around the whole school, from cycle to cycle and record whatever we deemed to be ‘interesting’ at that very moment.

Each learner had an individual ‘week plan’ of which s/he was also responsible. When the learners were working for example on the individual week plans, the groups were mixed and one could see children a year older than their peers helping the smaller ones and vice-versa. The school is organized in such a way that the children are being trained in taking over a lot of responsibility: for themselves, their learning development and their peers. Classrooms are not divided by doors (as there are no doors) but by shelves and cupboards. This might increase the noise level (as there were not many walls either) which might be a constraint on the side of data recording. Learners were free to move between ‘classrooms’ and thus were likely to surprisingly either move out of, or show up in

front of the camera frame. The school is an all-day-school which means that learners can come to school at 7 a.m. and leave at 6 p.m.. In other words, if parents desire to, their children can stay on at school after the regular lesson plan in order to participate in workshops and/or homework supervising sessions for example. All learners eat at school every day.

Children in this school were also used to being filmed, because educators and teachers filmed them on regular intervals. There was a school party each term and for each party they produced a DVD to be sold to parents, family and friends on that day. So teachers and educators filmed the learners during certain activities in order to have material for the DVD. Nevertheless we might add that whenever video and/or audio recordings are being done in a classroom environment, even without necessarily 'changing' the ongoing interactions, it is very likely that at various moments young learners orient to the video or audio recorders - even though the learners in this particular environment were used to being filmed. Thus, especially in peer interactions learners did actually orient to the camera, however these 'excursions' were brief and the learners tended to 'forget' the presences of recorders most of the time. What is more, however, is of course the presence of two researchers in the classroom and the learners did make efforts at certain moments to actively engage in interactions with the researchers. For the present research study these excursions were not the focus of investigation, however, they are represented in the complete transcript in appendix I.

5.1.4. Recording and analyzing classroom interaction

The recordings were made with the use of three cameras, which at times were placed on tripods, but most of the time were either hand-held or placed on the table in front of the learners. We decided to use above all hand-held cameras because it provided us with more flexibility, given that quite often learners moved from one table or from one group to the next, either out of free choice or because being told to do so by a teacher (cf. chapter 7 for example). The hand-held camera allowed us to follow the learners from one table or 'situation' to the next, in case of such an occurrence. We are aware that a camera fixed on a tripod would

have guaranteed a more stable image and the selection of the framework would also have been more stable. However, as our major interest was in group work and peer interaction, and not in what was going on in the whole classroom, the choice for hand-held cameras came logically in order to be closer to what is going on between the learners.

A total amount of approximately 30 hrs of video recording were collected and constitute the major database for the present dissertation (*Corpus_AM_RG*). This database was then integrated into the larger database PluChiLu (Plurilingual Children in Luxembourg) of the DICA-working group at the University of Luxembourg.

One of the strengths of CA is to try to explain social practices from an emic, i.e. the participants' own perspective. As Seedhouse points out, the emic perspective is not "merely the participants' perspective, but the perspective from within the sequential environment in which the social actions were performed" (Seedhouse, 2004a, p. 3). CA's analyses are answerable only from the data and does not approach the data with a priori, i.e. pre-conceptualized ideas by the researcher. In this sense, the present research was respecting CA's concept of *unmotivated looking* (Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Mortensen, 2008; Psathas, 1995; H. Sacks, et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996a) and the social practices that participants employ and orient to then become the focus of investigation.

Accordingly, we want to point out that we (amongst other CA researchers) recognize that, "like transcription, any camera position constitutes a theory about what is relevant within a scene, one that will have enormous consequences for what can be seen in it later, and what forms of subsequent analysis are possible. A tremendous advantage of recorded data is that it permits repeated, detailed examination of actual sequences of talk and embodied work practices in the settings where practitioners actually perform these activities" (C. Goodwin, 1994, p. 3). Nevertheless, we are aware that there are those limitations as for example people moving in and out of frames, technological issues with the recording

material or also the ‘noise’ level in a classroom where several simultaneous interactions are taking place.

5.2. Data analysis and transcription

CA places a great emphasis, not only on naturally occurring data, also on the use of detailed transcription of video (and/or audio) recorded data. What CA people do is to describe the social practices the participants in conversation (talk-in-interaction) use and in order to be able to analyze these social practices and phenomena, you need a good (!) transcript, a transcript that is pretty accurate in sequentiality (i.e. overlaps, pauses, etc.). The transcription procedure is in fact at the centre of CA analysis, but at the same time transcriptions alone are not considered to be the ‘data’ to be analyzed (Mondada 2007; ten Have, 1999). CA advocates a constant return to the recordings, and the possibility of being able to watch them over and over again (Sacks, 1984a). The process of transcription is thus part of the analysis itself. Transcription makes available for analysis not only *what* is said, but also *how* it is said (prosody, i.e. rising or falling intonation, pitch, accent, etc.). Furthermore, as advocated by Mondada, transcripts should include not only a detailed transcription of the temporality and sequential development of talk, but also of gestures and non-verbal features (Mondada, 2006b, 2008) thereby also containing *how* what is said *is being enacted and performed* (embodied actions, gestures, body positionings, but also facial expressions, etc.).

We have already mentioned that an important aspect of CA is the process of transcribing and consequently the production of detailed transcripts, relevant for the analysis of data. However, we want to add to this that one must not ignore that also transcripts are but a representation of the data and they are likely to be changed again and again (Jefferson, 1996; ten Have, 1999). When transcribing, the researcher has to take a number of decision on certain levels, such as how to transcribe, i.e. according to which transcription system for example as well as how to organize the transcript spatially as well. Whatever decisions the researcher takes, it will have an impact on what will eventually be available for analysis as the selection of certain elements to be represented might disfavor other elements.

Still, as pointed out by Ochs (1979), selectivity is for the readability of the transcript desired, but one must pay attention that the criteria for selectivity remain enduring and consistent. Furthermore, Ochs has also pointed out that transcriptions always are the “researcher’s data” (Ochs, 1979, p. 45) and therefore it is important not to forget that ultimately not the transcript, but the recordings themselves are to be considered as the *primary source* of data and a researcher should always go back to this primary source of data.

The transcripts in this research project are done according to the GAT - system as developed by Selting et al. (1998), and only a slight modification as to how non-verbal and visual features are transcribed has been developed for the present study (see Appendix II). The identities of the participants in interaction have been anonymized and thus names have been changed. Standard orthography has been selected to represent talk in order to facilitate the reading of the transcripts, and thereby ‘mispronunciation’ of a word or letter is only marked when oriented to and made relevant by the participants. This choice has been made on the basis that in our data all interactants are multilingual and all of them are more experienced in one language or another. Furthermore, as most participants, with the exception of the teachers, are children and still in the full process of learning languages, one has to bear in mind that the grammatical competence of children is not to be compared to that of adult speakers (cf. Ochs, 1979 for a more detailed discussion on children's grammatical competence and transcription issues). Consequently, ‘mispronunciations’ or ‘grammatical errors’ are common. However, the participants themselves rarely orient to those and consequently they are not marked in the transcript. Another comment is to be made on the second line in the transcripts which is a gloss translation of the 1st line, which is generally either produced in Luxembourgish or in German, such as for example the production of candidate writing segments in Chapter 6. Which language, i.e. ‘code’ is being used by the interactants is not marked in the transcript and only pointed to in the analysis if oriented to by the interactants themselves. Also, ‘linguistic’ errors which are produced in the original language are largely ignored in the gloss transcription for reasons of readability. As with language use, they are only

marked if relevant to the unfolding interaction. Finally, the present research project uses an abundance of figures: they have been glossed with a photo editor so as to enlighten too dark frame graphs, or get rid of too many shadows in too illuminated frame graphs. The frame graphs have been saturated and de-noised so as to appear a bit surreal, however faces have not been blurred for the following two reasons. First of all, permission to film the learners had already been obtained by the school itself because they regularly filmed their pupils and produce DVD to be sold to the parents with the recorded material (cf. section 5.1.3. in this chapter). Secondly, as already noted above, this research study also takes into consideration how what is said is being enacted and performed and consequently facial expressions and the like are not only relevant for the participants in interactions, but consequently also for analysis.

As mentioned above, for the present research study, transcriptions have been done in accordance to the GAT system, and the transcription modalities are such as to pay attention to rendering as much details as possible. The sequential deployment of the interactions is rendered so as to stay as closely as possible to the authenticity of the interaction and the ways in which participants orient to and display to themselves how they interpret the sequential development of interaction. Consequently, utterances are marked by hesitation markers, repetitions, glottal stops and, as already mentioned above, ‘ungrammatical’ structures and formulations in order to represent as much as possible the ‘authenticity’ of the interaction..

5.3. Analytical procedure for selected episodes

The data collected, i.e. *Corpus_AM_RG* can be summarized in the following table (table 5.1., below). As the present study focuses on peer interaction between young learners of cycle 2 only, these episodes were determined and selected (table 5.2., below). How cycles are organized within the new system of fundamental school is represented in table 5.3. (also below). (Tables are represented in their entirety on the following pages.

Table 5.1.: General overview of Corpus_AM_RG

Cycle/Class	Date recorded	Project saved as	Tape n
cycle 3 & 4	18/06/2007	20070618_JJ_T01	1
cycle 3 & 4	18/06/2007	20070618_JJ_T02	2
cycle 1 & 2	19/06/2007	20070619_JJ_T03	3
mixed (all)	19/06/2007	20070619_JJ_T04	4
mixed (all)	20/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T05	5
cycle 3 & 4	20/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T06	6
cycle 3 & 4	21/06/2007	20070621_JJ_T07	7
mixed (all)	21/06/2007	20070621_JJ_T08	8
mixed (all)	22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T09	9
mixed (all)	22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T10	10
cycle 3 (3rd + 4th graders); 18 learners (7 girls and 11 boys)	18/06/2007	20070618_JJ_T16	16
1) cycle 3 (3rd and 5th graders) 2) cycle 4 (5th graders); 18 learners (10 girls and 8 boys)	18/06/2007	20070618_JJ_T17	17
mixed (all)	18/06/2007 & 22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T18	18
mixed	23/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T19	19
1) cycle 4: fifth graders 2) cycle 2: 1st graders	18/06/2007 & 19/06/2007	20070618an19_JJ_s_T20	20
cycle 2: 1st and 2nd graders	19/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T21	21
1) cycle 2: 1st and 2nd graders 2) cycle 4 (5th graders)	19/06/2007 & 20/06/2007	20070619an20_JJ_T22	22
1) cycle 3 (3rd and 4th graders) 2) mixed as learners inscribe themselves into the different workshops	20/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T23	23
cycle 4 (5th graders)	21/06/2007	20070621_JJ_T24	24
cycle 4 (5th graders)	21/06/2007 & 22/06/2007	20070621_22_JJ_T25	25
1) cycle 3 (3rd and 4th graders) 2) all 3rd graders with all their teachers 3) mixed	22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T26	26

Table 5.2.: Selected recordings from cycle 2

Cycle/Class	Date recorded	Project saved as	Tape n
cycle 1 & 2	19/06/2007	20070619_JJ_T03	3
mixed (all)	19/06/2007	20070619_JJ_T04	4
mixed (all)	20/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T05	5
mixed (all)	21/06/2007	20070621_JJ_T08	8
mixed (all)	22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T09	9
mixed (all)	22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T10	10
mixed (all)	18/06/2007 & 22/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T18	18
mixed	23/06/2007	20070622_JJ_T19	19
1) cycle 4: fifth graders 2) cycle 2: 1st graders	18/06/2007 &/ 19/06/2007	20070618an19_JJ_s_T20	20
cycle 2: 1st and 2nd graders	19/06/2007	20070620_JJ_T21	21
1) cycle 2: 1st and 2nd graders 2) cycle 4 (5th graders)	19/06/2007 & 20/06/2007	20070619an20_JJ_T22	22

Table 5.3.: Cycle 1-4 and previous (pre-) primary school years

	Cycle 1	Cycle 2	Cycle 3	Cycle 4
Previous primary classroom	Pre-primary (kindergarden) 1 + 2	1 + 2	3 + 4	5 + 6

As the data collection was explorative, and the main aim at that moment was to simply focus on collecting naturally occurring interactions in the classroom, we recorded whatever was going on in the classroom, i.e. the school, and did not ask the teachers to set up particular activities for us. A consequence of this is that each tape in general contained several (learning) activities of the most various kind. From the recordings stemming from cycle 2, a further selection was then made, more precisely that of determining instances where peer interaction was going on. These interactions were then defined and organized into sequences (and later on sub-sequences, i.e. henceforward ‘extracts’), roughly defined by the beginning and ending of each new or different activity. These sequences were imported into

the transcription programme *transana*⁷, and were then transcribed according to the GAT system by ourselves as well as by a group of student assistants of the DICA working group at the University of Luxembourg. The data-set selected for initial investigation is represented in table 5.4. below. The sequences analyzed in the present research study are rendered in **bold**. These sequences were retained on the basis of being peer interactions between young learners aged 7 to 9.

Table 5.4.: Selected episodes and vignettes

original tape	Episode
20070619_JJ_T03	20070619_jj_t03_am_20091223 20070619_jj_t03_write_it_20090604 20070619_jj_t03_write_it_am_thesis 20070619_JJ_T03_write_it_Pit_Hugo 20070619_JJ_T03_writingpicturestory2_ella_mia_part1
20070619_JJ_T04	0070619_JJ_T04_vous_parlez_combien_des_langues_md_2 0070314
20070620_JJ_T05	no peer interaction
20070621_JJ_T08	no peer interaction
20070622_JJ_T09	20070622_jj_to9_jason_diogo_maths_am_20081214
20070622_JJ_T10	no peer interaction
20070622_JJ_T18	no peer interaction
20070622_JJ_T19	20070622_jj_T19_loa_cutsmeat_am_20081029
20070618an19_JJs_T2 0	not usable due to sound problems
20070620_JJ_T21	20070607_jj_t21_nan_nor_part1
20070619an20_JJ_T22	20070619an22_jj_t22 20070619an20JJ_T22_ella_mia_part2 20070619an20JJ_T22_Nan_Nor 20070619an20JJ_T22_max_bill

Finally, a sequence was selected and chosen from *Corpus_CM* for chapter 8. The episode was chosen because, like in episode 20070622_jj_T19_loa_cutsmeat_am_20081029, young learners are making use of

1. see www.transana.org

the same device, i.e. the discourse marker ‘schon méi / na méi’ when formulating a request for information and expertise (table 5.5.).

Table 5.5.: Selected episode from Corpus_CM

original name of episode	Episode
20040414_nilton_buch	20040414_nilton_buch_spannwaaser_20090601

The sequences (and selected extracts) analyzed are numbered separately in each chapter. In chapter 6, they are numbered according to each case (cf. chapter 6 for a detailed representation). In chapter 7 and 8 the extracts are numbered chronologically throughout the chapters, however starting with 7. for chapter 7 and 8. for chapter 8.

5.4. Analytical issues: case analysis and generalizability

CA, aiming at describing specific social actions as employed by participants also aims at building collections of specific interactional phenomena. Deviant cases are important because they confirm the systematicities of turn-taking organization as oriented to by participants in interaction. CA is a qualitative method of analysis, and generalization is not a major aim of CA. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Schegloff and Sacks (Sacks, 1984b; Schegloff, 1993), analyses can be generalized in a very specific way:

“The gross aim of the work I am doing is to see how finely the details of actual, naturally occurring conversation can be subjected to analysis that will yield the technology of conversation. The idea is to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims (a collection of terms that more or less relate to each other and that I use somewhat interchangeably) that can be used to generate the orderly features we find in the conversations we examine. The point is, then, to come back to the singular things we observe in a singular sequence, with some

rules that handle those singular features, and also, necessarily, handle lots of other events” (Sacks, 1984b, p. 413).

In other words then, CA deals with the social practices participants employ and orient to in and through talk-in-interaction. Thus, CA aims at describing the rules, i.e. systematicities of talk-in-interaction made relevant by the participants and which are relevant in order to construct meaningful social interaction. CA is not aiming at pulling together statistics in terms of quantification. As ten Have (1999) points out:

1. “The ultimate ‘results’ of CA are a set of formulated ‘rules’ or ‘principles’, which participants are demonstrably oriented to in their natural interactions.
2. The way to arrive at such results is to analyse singular instances, formulate rules, and ‘test’ these with comparable other instances” (ten Have, 1999, p. 150).

The present dissertation situates itself within this understanding and aims at investigating several case analyses of learning activities in the Luxembourg primary school context in order to reveal and discuss the social practices , and more precisely expert-novice-practices, made use of by young learners in peer interaction as well as how the unfolding interaction and its organization are influenced by the deployment of these practices. What is more, and as CA is employed mainly as methodological framework in the present study, we argue however that the findings of the present research study are open to reasonings and discussions beyond the discovering of detailed interaction patterns and systematicities and that our findings can have an impact on debates about (future) teacher education programs for example (cf. chapter 9).

Case analysis

As the present dissertation focuses on several different groups or dyads of learners in a very specific setting, the findings reveal the specific practices employed by

these very learners on this particular occasion, and hence do not allow for providing claims about how peer interaction in school, such as for example during a conversational writing activity (cf. chapter 5), is accomplished in general. Still, the analysis of different cases or learning activities provides

“empirically based descriptions of actual and particular practices that represent at least some part of the range of interactional resources through which such collaboration is carried out, a substantive step toward a broader agenda of describing the broad range of speaking practices used to carry put collaborative writing as a social action more generally” (Olsher, 2003, p. 257).

In the last decade, there have been numerous discussions about CA and the analyses of single cases versus the building of collections that illustrate some kind of interactional phenomena (see Mori, 2004 for a more detailed discussion). We position ourselves along Mori’s argument and the need for single case analysis for the following reasons: first of all, we aim at giving a detailed sequential insight into instances of peer interaction in the Luxembourgish primary school context. To our knowledge-to-date, there has not been a conversational analytical study investigating this specific set-up in this specific context. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that in Luxembourg there are innumerable primary schools in which learning activities, such as conversational writing practices or learners having lunch together for example, are, if not on a daily, then at least on a weekly schedule taking place. Of course, we do not assume that these learning activities which are investigated in the present research study are the same in every Luxembourgish primary school. However, our study is nonetheless of interest to primary school teachers and their language/literacy teaching practices because

- i) it portrays regularly incorporated peer interactive learning activities in the Luxembourg school curriculum;
- ii) specifically in relation to chapter 6 where we investigate 4 different, but nonetheless comparable case analyses, we argue that the analysis of these 4 cases illustrates the extent to which learners autonomously interpret and organize the learning activity as set by the teacher differently on some levels, but similarly on others (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2002a);
- iii) the analysis demonstrates how in peer interaction the deployment of expert-novice-practices are inextricably linked to the constitution of expert and novice identities and how this can have implications for the accomplishment of the learning activity.

Deviant case analysis

We want to add that related to case analysis is of course what has been labelled deviant case analysis and that the simple “pattern and deviant case” analysis has generated some of the strongest results in conversation analysis: results that deal with central topics such as turn-taking, sequence organization, repair, etc., but also with the organization of gaze (Goodwin 1981; and this volume), gesture (Goodwin 1986; Goodwin and Goodwin 1986), aspects of the production of speech (Local 1992a, 1992b, Local and Kelly 1986, 1990) and conduct in institutional settings (Heritage and Greatbach 1991)” (Heritage, 1995b, p. 399). Thus, deviant case analyses (i.e. the observation of sequences which do not confirm to the generally observed pattern of turn taking) are to be understood as actually confirming the initially established formal description and can serve to explain the underlying organization observed in all other selected cases in the data (Schegloff, 1968) (see also ten Have, 1999, pp. 150-151).

In the present chapter we have up to here presented the objectives and empirical intentions of the present research project. We described how we approached the field of classroom interactions and collected the data, we presented the corpus and the data selected for investigation. The procedures by which the data-set for the present study has been selected was introduced and illustrated. The data and its context were depicted and transcription conventions and modalities were discussed before concluding with an overview on methodological issues in relation to the scope of the study. We now move on and present the object of this study which is also a transition between the methodological (part II) and the empirical part of the research project.

5.5. The objectives of study: social actions for task/activity accomplishment in peer interaction related to learning

Having presented the theoretical framework and basic assumptions relevant for the present research project (chapter 2 and 3), as well as the methodological research tool (chapter 4), and the data under investigation (this chapter), we now want to summarize the main objectives of the present research project. First of all, the focus of the present research project lies in investigating how participants in peer interaction in the primary school context orient to organization as well as the accomplishment of the learning activity they are engaged in. More specifically, the study aims at outlining the various social practices, i.e. expert-novice-practices, as made use of by the learners when orienting to this organization and accomplishment of the learning activity. The study demonstrates how learners deal with candidate writing segments in conversational writing activities (chapter 6) as well as how different kinds of requests (as an expert-novice-practice) allow for accomplishing the learning activity by requesting for example assistance or expertise from a third party in slightly different kinds of peer interaction (chapter 7 and 8). What is more, we point out to what extent the orientation towards the accomplishment of these learning activities can be considered as learning because these activities are accomplished by what we framed as expert-novice-practices which allow for observing and describing participants' changes (on different levels) in the participation framework, as well as how these activities can be seen

as classroom communities of practice for learning during which language competence (on the linguistic, social and interactional level) can be observed and described. The upcoming analyses thus describe practices used by young learners to accomplish social actions as they materialize in and through language learning activities in peer interaction in the classroom, and how these practices are likely to change as the interaction unfolds. We argue that these expert-novice-practices are best observed at moments where a change in the participation structure occurs or where it is being restructured and where, in and through the learners' displayed engagement in talk-in-interaction within peer interaction, it becomes apparent that they are constituting each other as members of the same learning activity, i.e. community of practice.

PART III

Analysis of expert-and-novice-practices in learning activities

6. Expert-novice-patterns, identities, and task-accomplishment in conversational writing.

6.1. Introduction

Applying the previously established methodological principles of CA and situated theory of (language) learning, this chapter investigates how young learners organize and accomplish one specific kind of peer interaction. More specifically we investigate how peers engaged in a writing activity, and more specifically that of a free writing activity, deploy social practices in and through talk-in-interaction oriented to the accomplishment of the writing activity. In other words, we want to investigate how young learners engaged in a peer interaction during a language learning activity, negotiate and organize their social interaction in and through their language-learning (or language-writing-learning) performance (Mori, 2002a). The free writing activity is a task which has been set by the teacher-s and thus the learners are engaged in a goal-oriented activity. The specific classroom context, or community of practice under investigation is that of *conversational writing* (cf. chapter 3) and the analysis is driven by the interest of describing the different resources and social practices young learners employ and orient to when accomplishing the task, including during off-task talk (Markee, 2005) (especially in case 4), as well as how the participants as members of this specific community of practice orient to each other while constituting this community of practice as well as displaying orientation towards the eventual accomplishment of the learning activity.

The focus is on four dyads of young learners (aged 7 to 9) who are working together in and through talk-in-interaction to accomplish the writing of a text. The groups were selected for analysis because, first of all, all four groups are engaged in peer interaction within the classroom. Secondly, they are engaged in a task, i.e. goal oriented activity and fourth, the activity of each group is the same. In other words, the groups are exposed to the same conditions and are orienting towards the same goal and consequently we argue that it is possible to compare the interactional processes, and more specifically the social practices put to use by the

groups as the participants orient towards the sequential organization and accomplishment of the task.

6.2. Task background for the conversational writing activity

A week prior to the recording, the learners were on a school trip and numerous pictures were taken. Back at school, the learners from cycle 2 (previously first and second primary year; cf. chapter 5 for a more detailed presentation) are invited to look at these pictures on the computer. They are then told to get together in pairs and choose one picture about which they have to write a few sentences. In other words, they are asked by the teacher-s to write something (a story) they experienced in relation to the chosen picture. On one hand, we thus talk about ‘free’ writing activity because each group has a different picture and also has a different story to tell in relation to that picture. On the other hand, the writing is ‘free’ because there are no instructions by the teacher of i) what to write, ii) nor how to organize that writing and iii) nor how many sentences to write for example.

The target language of the text to be written is German, which for all participants is their L2. The conversations however take place in Luxembourgish for the most part and for 5 (Mia, Nanna, Nora, Hugo, Max) out of the 8 participants this is not their mother tongue either. None of the participants is therefore considered as either expert, or ‘native’ speaker of German (i.e. the target language) and the participants have to interactionally constitute, negotiate and organize their language and writing competences as they orient towards the accomplishment of the writing activity. Another important characteristic of the participants is that they are still at the very beginning of their literacy experience and exposure (1 to 2 years maximum) and it is not uncommon to find ‘ungrammatical’ structures or ‘mispronunciations’ in children’s talk at that age (Ochs, 1979). However, as we will see, children do only rarely orient to this ‘mispronunciations’ and if they do, they seem to be avoiding open repair initiations. Our young learners, being but at a very ‘unexperienced’ level of writing a text, employ above all requests and the formulation of candidate writing segments (Olsher, 2003) as social practices

oriented towards the accomplishment of their writing activity. Also, to check the ‘correctness’ of their candidate writing segments, they employ features of prosody (rising and falling intonation) as well as gaze and embodied gestures, thus ‘avoiding’ the formulation of, for their age, difficult or even unknown grammatical terminology.

One condition set by the teachers for getting together in a writing dyad is that one of the learners has to be from the first year of cycle 2 and the other one from the second year of cycle 2 as can be seen from the teacher’s line 7 in extract 6.a. (below): *nee en eischt an zweet' EIscht aan ZWEET schouljoer*. Dyad partners of the second year of cycle 2⁸ have been taught and been exposed to literacy practices for a year longer than their peer and can thus be considered to have more experience and knowledge in writing than their peer. We cannot deduce from the extract that this is what influences the teacher’s decision in line 6, but at least it is observable that the teacher objects to Diane working with Anna in one group as both are first year learners in cycle 2. Pit will thus not be working with St2 (line 4) as Pit is working with Hugo in a dyad as the analyses below will demonstrate. Pit and St2 are learners from second year of cycle 2 and therefore they are not working together in the same dyad.

Extract 6.a.: *EIscht aan ZWEET schouljoer*

- 1 Dia: [wa:rt dat(=s äis)]
[wai:t that(s ours)]
- 2 Tom: [eh. ween schaffft] (.) wien schaffft lo matt wem zesummen?
[eh. who works] (.) who works now with whom?
- 3 Dia: [oh man; ech mam anna;]
[oh man; i together with anna;]
- 4 St2: [*ech mam pit]
[me with pit]
st2 *pointing to pit
st3 *puts arm around st4's shoulders
st4 *puts arm around st3's shoulders
- 5 all: [()]
- 6 Tom: sch::
shush::

⁸ See Chapter 5 for an overview of the organization of cycle 1-4.

7 -> nee en eischt an zweet' EIscht aan ZWEEt schouljoer.
 no a first an second' FFirst and SECOnd schoolyear.

(Participants of extract 6.a.: Tom=teacher, Dia=Diane, all=all learners together, ST1=undefined learner)

In terms of practical or procedural organization related to the task (i.e. space, time, seating order, etc) the learners are asked to prepare their writing on a piece of paper before they then type it on the computer. The teachers (there are usually at least two per cycle plus one educator) do not give detailed information about how many sentences or words are to be written. The teachers also do not previously organize or allocate turns, nor writing turns (that is who is to write when and how much) and consequently it is open to the learners to organize their turn- and writing-taking system autonomously within each group interactionally on a moment-by-moment basis. It is up to the learners also to organize themselves and change from one participation framework to the next. In other words, the learners have to change from the interaction with the teacher (in front of the computer) to getting organized with a peer, to find a place/table to sit on and to organize the materials needed for the accomplishment of the learning activity (paper, pen, pencil, eraser, etc.). As can be seen from extract 6.b. below, the teachers invite the learners to write about the picture they have chosen and to write about what they experienced during the day, i.e. the situation the picture was taken. This implies that, as each dyad experienced something different that day/week, each dyad will have something different to write about:

Extract 6.b.: och wat der deen dag gemat hutt

1 Tea: net nemmen iwwert d=foto och wat der deen dag gemat hutt
 not only about the picture also what you did that day

As the learners probably know themselves best what they did and experienced that day, they need to decide on what to write and how to write and negotiate that with their dyad partner. Thus, the young learners

“must negotiate the shift from the teacher-student cohort participation structure into the peer dyad participation structure and then together with a

peer, using their linguistic, local, interactional resources through talk-in-interaction must negotiate participation in the task itself” (Hellermann, 2008, p. 41).

Thus, similar to how it has been described by Hellermann, the learners themselves need to organize the change from one participation framework to the next. They are not explicitly taught how to move from teacher-interaction and choosing a picture towards peer interaction (see also Hellermann, 2008). The difference to Hellermann’s study is that he was investigating task openings done by adult language learners as they move from interacting with the teacher to interacting with a peer. We have first of all young learners and not adult learners, and secondly, we do not directly investigate dyadic task openings. However, because of their age and the constraints this brings along, we will see that these young learners constantly need to organize shifts in the participation structure within their dyad. Thus, as our young learners are still at the very initial stages of their literacy experience and writing is slow and likely to take up a lot of time. The dyad also having to collaboratively write a text on one sheet of paper, only one of the participants can write at the time: this again has implications for the interaction because while one is writing, and the writing being slow, this leaves a lot of space for the other participant to either drift off or get busy with other things. We therefore argue that these shifts between ‘individual writing sequences’ (that is, one participant is writing) and collaborative sequences (where what to be written is negotiated for example) are shifts in participation structure which are very common in this specific setting and the learners need to negotiate these shifts from one participation structure to the next and back within their writing dyad when engaged in conversational writing activities. Finally, a last comment to be made is on the language used by the young learners in and for the language learning (writing) task. The task and its instruction are relatively free and open, and the instruction for the task is being accomplished in Luxembourgish (cf. extracts 6.a. and 6.b.) while the target language to be written in is German. So as these two ‘codes’ vary, it seems obvious that the learners cannot rely on language used or deployed by the teacher or the task description or instruction,

which in this case is done orally anyway. Hellermann (2008), when investigating task openings and their organization by adult language learners, argues that less proficient language learners, when engaged in shifts in participation structure (i.e. dyadic task openings), are very likely to rely on language used by the teacher or used in the task instruction when engaging in task openings. In our case, the language issue presents itself somehow differently. First of all, the language of instruction (and communication between peers) is Luxembourgish while the target language of the text is German. Thus, right from the beginning, even before we start our analysis, it becomes clear that there are more than one language which is ‘allowed’ to be used within the language learning classroom, and more specifically within the language learning activity in the Luxembourgish primary classroom of cycle 2. Consequently, while the adult learners in Hellermann’s study were all learners of a commonly shared L2 language (English), which is also was used as lingua franca within that specific setting, our setting allows for, even encourages, the use of several languages. Luxembourgish is the lingua franca of this specific setting because a majority of pupils having either another L1 than Luxembourgish, or Luxembourgish and at least one more language being spoken at home. Hence, the majority, if not to say all, of the learners in our data are multilingual speakers learning multi-languages.

6.3. Four case analyses of conversational writing

In the following we scrutinize how four dyads of young learners interactionally organize and perform in and through peer interaction when orienting towards the accomplishment of a conversational writing activity. As mentioned above, four dyads were chosen for analysis, and they are represented for overview in the table below.

Table 6.1.: Overview of groups and selected extracts for analysis

Cases alias Groups	Case 1: Group A (Nanna-Nora)	Case 2: Group B (Ella - Mia)	Case 3: Group C (Pit and Hugo)	Case 4: Group D (Max and Bill)
Episode	Extracts starting with 3: selected sub- extracts 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.	Extracts starting with 4: selected sub- extracts 4.1, 4.2, etc.	Extracts starting with 5: selected sub- extracts 5.1, 5.2, etc.	Extracts starting with 6: selected sub- extracts 6.1, 6.2, etc.

First of all the extracts were selected according to the criteria of containing talk related to the writing, i.e. negotiations about what is to be written down onto the paper for example. Secondly, we focus on instances where expert and novice practices are constituted through the employment of at least one of the following social practices outlined in table 6.2. below (cf. also chapter 2) (note: for reasons of readability and presentation the outline is presented on the following page):

Table 6.2.: overview of social practices employed in peer interaction in primary classroom

- **Expert-novice-practices observed in peer interaction:**
 - ➔ trying out candidate writing segments
 - ➔ giving/providing writing segments
 - ➔ request:
 - ➔ for information
 - ➔ for help, assistance, i.e. expertise
 - ➔ for candidate writing segments
 - ➔ for confirmation
 - ➔ using specific request formulas: [written text read outloud] + [interrogative ‘wat’] + [rising intonation (?)] or [letter] + [wi/wei] + [noun]
 - ➔ repair suggestions
 - ➔ of lexical and/or grammatical nature
 - ➔ of ‘aesthetic’ nature in relation to the writing
 - ➔ Offering candidate information
- **Negative expert-novice-practices:**
 - ➔ ordering, telling other to write

As mentioned above, table 6.2. is an overview of the criteria for selecting the sequences, and more precisely the extracts, which are going to be analyzed below. Furthermore, the extracts all contain instances where the learners need to organize shifts in the participation structure. In particular however, a preliminary analysis demonstrated that for each case, there is a specificity which keeps on returning, i.e. which is dominant within the unfolding interaction of that group. We thus decided, when selecting extracts to be analyzed to focus on those dominant social and discourse practices, which for us constitute each cases’ expert-novice-practice-s. For that reason in case 1 we focus on specific request formulas, for

case 2 the candidate writing segments are at the centre of attention. In Case 3 we observe how requests for help allow for doing scaffolding work and in case 4, a systematic pattern is that of arguing. This already illustrates to what extent the same learning activity can be organized and performed in many different ways by different dyads/groups, and consequently this also allows for creating various opportunities for the language use and learning opportunities.

We shall now move on to the analysis of the 4 cases of conversational writing and how young learners organize and perform conversational writing as a learning activity.

6.4. Case 1: the employment of systematic and formulaic request design



Figure 6.1.: participants case 1

In the first case we are analyzing, we have Group A, which is composed of two girls, Nanna and Nora (aged 7-8) (see figure 6.1), who have chosen a picture from a school trip of the previous week and are now asked to write the picture into context, i.e. write something about the picture (see extract 6.b.). The sheet with the picture is an A4 sheet of paper with the picture on it only being an A5 size. The girls have an additional empty sheet of paper and are writing on that one. Having only one writing paper to share, the girls need to organize their available tools (pictures, paper, etc.) as well as other resources such as the space around these resources in order to accomplish the language (writing) learning activity.

On the picture the girls have chosen, we see the building the children stayed in during the school trip with a patch of lawn in front of it. Some fellow students are on the picture as well. The sentence being negotiated and written by the girls is the following one: *Das ist wo wir geschlaft haben* (the normative or grammatically correct version of which would be: *Das ist wo wir geschlafen haben*.) Thus, in the following extracts the girls display an orientation towards the writing down of this sentence. How the writing and the negotiations in relation to the writing are performed will be illustrated through the analysis.

6.4.1. Using a specific request formula in conversational writing

At the beginning of the first extract (extract 3.1., below) of Case 1, Nanna is the one who has the paper with the picture on it in front of her, while Nora is in control of the paper on which their story is being written. By “in control” we mean that Nora’s bodily orientation is towards the paper in front of her. She is



Figure 6.2.: Nora in writing position

leaning towards or over it as in figure 6.2., and she is holding a pencil or pen in writing position. Also, she is the only of the two learners writing onto that piece of paper throughout the sequence. Previous to the episode under investigation (see complete transcript in appendix I), Nanna and Nora had already written down a sentence, but then

decided to erase everything and write it down more beautifully. The girls then decided that Nora was the one to write it. The episode we are analyzing thus starts with Nora being in control of the writing sheet. Nora is using a particular practice which gets Nanna to tell her what to write. More specifically, the recurrent social practice she is using is the formulation of a request. She is using what has already been written on the draft-so-far as some kind of prompt or cue, by reading it outloud and adding *wat* at the end of her utterance, producing it with rising intonation in order to get Nanna to offer candidate answers for the continuation of the writing [request formula: written text of draft-so-far read outloud + ‘wat’ with

rising intonation (?)]. In the following we look at all instances of these kind of requests formulated by Nora.

Extract 3.1.: das ist wat?

- 01 *(1.1)
 nor *repositions sheet of paper,
 pen in writing position (fig. 6.2.)
- 02 ->Nor: ok. (.) *das ist *wat?
 ok. (.) that is what?
 nor *gaze to nan (fig. 6.3.)
 nor *gaze to paper
- 03 (0.2)
- 04 Nor: *vO:*r,
 befO:re,
 nor *gaze to nan
 nan *gaze to nor
 (fig. 6.4.- A)
- 05 (0.6)
- 06 ->Nan: *das ist wo:
 that is whe:re
 nan *moves upper body
 towards table
 (fig. 6.4.- B)
- 07 Nor: ok.*
 nor *starts writing
- 08 *(4.7)
 nor *writes
 nan *puts elbows on table, upper body closer to writing
 (fig. 6.4.-C)

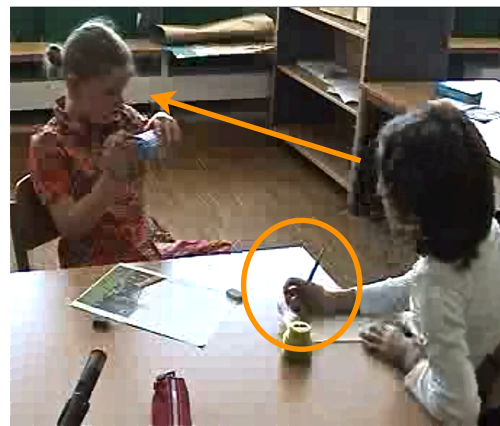


Figure 6.3.: das ist *wat?

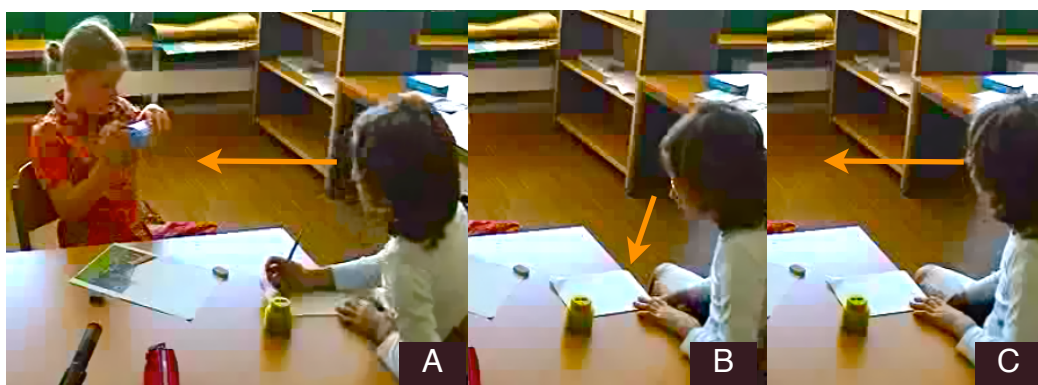


Figure 6.4.: deictic pointing gaze

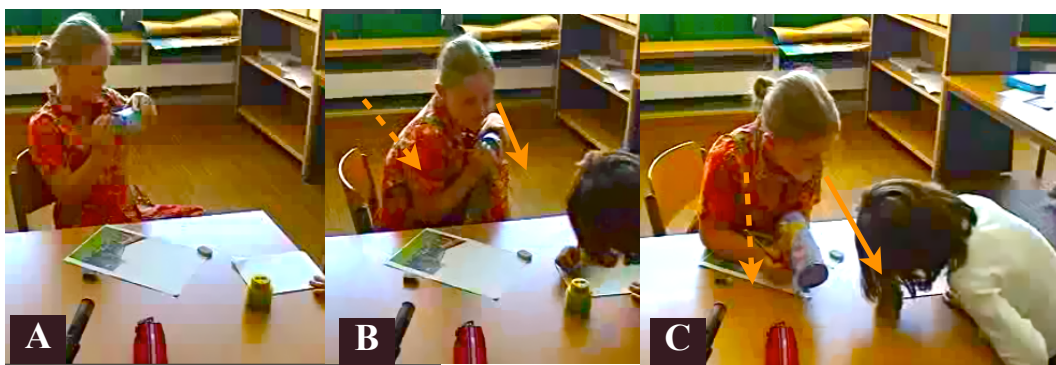


Figure 6.5.: shift in participation framework -> bodily reorganization

The first display of orientation towards what Nora is writing is in line 2 where Nora formulates her request. A few seconds before line 2, the girls were talking about Nora's address and Nanna was writing it down onto the pencil case. In line 2, Nora is 'closing' the previous sequence and reorienting their shared focus on the writing by formulating a request and framing it through the use of the discourse marker 'ok' at the beginning of her utterance. At the same time, the discourse marker functions as an opener, or "pivot move" (Hellermann, 2008, pp. 61, 71), for a next or new action: Nora is initiating a new action and manages to change the course of the interaction, or more precisely the participation structure from writing onto the pencil case towards a reorientation to the writing-in-progress. She is producing a minimal response to Nanna's prior utterance with falling intonation (ok.) and then shifts the unfolding action through the formulation of a request (*das ist wat?*). Nora thereby displays attention to Nanna's previous utterance but also manages within the same turn, through the formulation of a request, to shift the orientation towards the task- or writing-in-process. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have described the frequent and characteristic use of the discourse marker 'ok' by teachers in a turn initial position in plenary classrooms as a 'framing move' which serves as an orientation and acknowledgment. Words like 'ok(ay)', 'well' and 'now' "function [...] to indicate boundaries in the lesson, the end of one stage and the beginning of the next" (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, p. 22). Schegloff and Sacks (1973b) describe the 'okay' as being frequently used in sequence closing. Nora could thus be seen as taking over, or at least imitating the teacher role, i.e. leading role as she is orienting towards accomplishing the writing task and in order to do so, the

previous activity has to come to an end and the joint focus needs to be adjusted to the writing-in-process. Nora constitutes herself as the one who, at this interactional moment, controls transition from one activity or focus of interaction to another. She is organizing, or at least attempting to control the shift of the participation framework and with it its members' orientation. Hellermann (2008) noted less proficient language speakers' use of the discourse marker 'ok' and argued that it could be seen as an imitation of the teacher's language because at that proficiency level, learners are still prone to use either the language provided by the task instruction, or by the teacher presenting the task instruction.

Other resources deployed for marking this shift in participation framework are the body and material repositioning moves: we can note that just prior to her utterance in line 02, Nora has repositioned the paper in front of her. She is also leaning over the paper and holding the pencil in writing position in line 2 (cf. picture 6.2), thus displaying readiness to continue the writing activity and thereby constituting herself as 'doing being the model pupil, focusing on the accomplishment of the task'. Her body posture and orientation display an engagement with the task and a readiness for writing. But also the direction of her gaze, to Nanna and then to the paper which can be described as a deictic pointing gaze (figure 6.4.), further underline that her request is directed to Nanna as a potential next speaker. Goodwin has already demonstrated that reorienting "gaze toward a coparticipant is one way of addressing an action to that party, and thereby making the action as socially directed toward another rather than self-directed" (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 118). In response to this bodily displays, as well as Nora's request, we see how Nanna is reorganizing her body posture and gradually moving into a position so as to display engagement with the learning activity (figure 6.5.). The writing task is interactionally accomplished by the two girls as they orient to the writing task in front of them and their respective bodily displays and rearrangements on a moment-by-moment basis. Also, instead of the writing being a private activity here, it is being presented and offered as a social activity in which the peer is invited to participate. Even though the girls decided Nora to be the one to write the sentence because she is the better writer (cf. full transcript in appendix I),

Nora does not exclude her peer from negotiating which segment or word is to be written next. The gaze in this inquiry for knowledge or request for a candidate answer for writing acts in the same way as a framing device for participation as it has been described by Goodwin (1987) for a word search: “the gaze that occurs during a word search search can thus act as a framing device for both how what is happening is to be interpreted, and the participation structure that is invoked” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 118). Although we are not involved in what in traditional CA terms counts as a word search, the frame for the activity is similar. Nora is not doing the ‘thinking face’ (C. Goodwin, 1987) which would suggest that she herself is ‘searching’ for the missing object or answer. Instead, she gazes directly to Nora, making it explicit through her gazing to her peer in line 02 (figure 6.4. - A) that the latter is invited to participate in the ongoing search which (as the analysis will demonstrate) eventually turns out to be a word by word search, or at least a minimal negotiation of the writing, and therefore in a way also some kind of search: it is always only a minimal part of what is to be written next which is being required or ‘searched for’ as can be deduced from the minimal (one to a few words) candidate answers offered. Thus, gaze and postural alignment (Hellermann, 2008), as well as the reorganization of space are other resources used for making this shift in the participation framework, thereby also calling on their identities, responsibilities and roles as members of a learning community of practice.

Extract 3.1. thus demonstrates that Nora is using some kind of explicit request formula which consists of reading out loud or repeating the already written draft-so-far and adding the interrogative ‘wat?’ with rising intonation at the end of her utterance and the gaze directed towards her peer Nanna. The **request formula** can be sketched as follows: [*written draft-so-far read outloud + interrogative marker ‘wat’ + rising intonation (?)*]. By doing so, she invites Nanna to produce a candidate answer of what is to be written next because the interrogative marker ‘wat’ occupies the grammatical slot within the sentence that needs to be filled. Nora produces a candidate answer in line 4 after a pause in line 3, thus displaying orientation to her utterance in line 2 as an invitation for producing candidate

answers. She self-selects because Nanna has ‘failed’ to produce a relevant second pair part to the request formula. Nora offers a possible candidate answer (line 4: *vO:r,*) and thereby minimizes her request for information (by producing a candidate answer) into a request for confirmation or disconfirmation oriented towards the other participant. Her candidate writing segment in line 4 is produced with slightly rising intonation, exaggerated pronunciation and prolongation, thus inviting for the other participant’s ratification, evaluation or repair. Through orienting her inquiry towards Nanna, Nora treats Nanna as a knowing recipient but also as a member engaged in the same activity which they are supposed to accomplish collaboratively. At the same time she constitutes herself as the less-knowing participant. In other words, Nora treats Nanna as being able to produce a relevant knowledgeable answer to her request or inquiry from line 2. Furthermore, by offering a candidate answer and hence designing her utterance as a request for confirmation or disconfirmation, Nora is granting Nanna minimal rights for participation: a *wh-* question would have allowed the coparticipant (i.e. Nanna) more space to explain/deliver/design a second pair part while a *dis-/confirmation* is designed so as to project minimal disruption of the speaker’s ongoing activity (Goodwin 1987:124).

Nanna, after a brief gap in line 4, repairs Nora’s candidate writing suggestion (*das ist wo*) thus displaying that she does not treat Nora’s turn as a word-form query (Olsher, 2003, pp. 273-281), but as a request for confirmation, or repair/correction. The repair is acknowledged or ratified by Nora in line 7 with falling intonation (*ok.*) thus endorsing the ratified candidate segment for being written down. Nora then starts writing and thereby shifts her focus towards the individual work of writing, marking the end of the first drafting episode through postural disalignment, gaze to the writing and the bodily movement into the act of writing. Through her evaluation of Nora’s utterance, Nanna ratifies her candidate position (i.e. the position offered to her by her peer) as the more knowledgeable peer. Simultaneously one can argue that Nora is constituted as the less knowledgeable or ‘more novice’ participant. However, Nora, even though constituted as the less knowledgeable participant in terms of what to write next, has successfully

constrained Nanna's next possible action and, as it is the first time she is doing it, she makes clear what she is after - namely to receive a candidate answer of what to write next. Nora is thus displaying being interactionally competent in how to organize and constrain the unfolding of the interaction.

The next word to be written is the word 'wo' which Nora starts to write right after her acknowledgment in line 7. We can thus already point out that the girls manage to complement each others skills or competence: while they agreed that Nora should be the one to write because her writing is more beautiful, Nora still manages the employment of a specific formulaic request to first of all establish joint attention and thereby to keep her peer engaged in the activity. Secondly, she is able to draw on Nanna's knowledge by making her answer, i.e. the production of the next to be written element conditionally relevant. Both participants are creatively co-constructing the participation structure, using the local, lexical, material and interactional resources at hand. These resources are being made available, talked into being through the use of common sense methods which become available as the participants co-construct each other as members of their specific community of practice: that of a dyad engaged in the accomplishment of a learning activity. We might add at the end of the analysis of extract 3.1., that Nora's moving into individual writing is another shift in participation framework: as mentioned earlier, the learners have to write their text onto one sheet of paper and a consequence of this is that when writing is actually taking place, only one of the learners in the dyad can do so for all practical reasons. Hence, when Nora moves into the individual writing sequence, Nanna is inevitably pushed to a less active and more peripheral participation framework. Even though she can watch or observe what Nora is writing, her inferring into this activity would entail i) a dispreferred action because she would interrupt Nora, and ii) it would once again open up for a new participation structure.

In the next extract (extract 3.2., below), Nanna is drawing or writing on her sheet and singing (line 1) while Nora is correcting her writing and writing down *das ist (.) wo* (line 3). She had written 'wo' with a capital 'w' and was told by

Nanna, who thereby established herself as the more expert/knowledgeable peer in terms of writing, to correct it and write it with a small ‘w’. Nora, in line 3, is writing and leaning over the sheet of paper and reading out loud what has already been written adding what is in the process of being written with a stress on the *wO:*; which she is just about to finish. After Nora has finished her writing and/or correction, she dresses up into an upright sitting position with her gaze directed to Nanna. She thereby once more displays postural alignment to her peer and at the same time selects her as the addressee of her next request in line 5. As in line 02 of the previous extract (see above), she is producing what she has written (*das ist wO*) with the interrogative ‘*wat?*’ and rising intonation at the end. This time Nanna offers a candidate answer straight away in line 7 (*wO mIr:*) and repeats herself in line 9 (*wO*), once Nora has repositioned herself into a writing position. She thereby displays her understanding of Nora’s doings. Nanna also repositions herself so that she can see what Nora is writing (see figure 6.5.) and continues to tell her what to write (line 11: *mIr (-) m::* ‘). Nora in formulating the request remains in the position of the less knowledgeable participant in relation to what is written next and at the same time Nanna is accepting being the more knowledgeable participant by producing relevant candidate answers. Furthermore, by repositioning herself so as to be able to see what Nora is writing, she also displays engagement with the writing-in-process.

Extract 3.2.: *das ist (.) wO:*;

01 Nan: *do=O (sum) (-) (yih he)*
the=ere (sum) (-) (yih he)

02 (1.4)

03 ->Nor: **das ist (.) wO:*;
that is (.) w:he:re ;
*nor *writing*

04 **(4.0)*
*nor *writing*

05 ->Nor: **das ist wO wAt?*
that is whEre whAt?
*nor *dresses upper body up, gaze towards Nan*

06 (0.5)

07 Nan: **wO mIr:**

- where wE:
 nan *gaze to nora's sheet
 nan *gaze to picture
 08 * (0.8)
 nor *takes up writing
 position
 nan *gaze to nora's sheet
 09 Nan: *wO*
 whEre
 nor *writing
 nan *leans over to
 look at nora's writing
 10 * (0.7)
 nor *writes
 nan *still repositioning
 herself to see the
 writing (fig 6.5b.)
 11 Nan: *mIr (-) m::'
 wE (-) m::'
 nor *writing
 12 * (2.2)
 nor *writing



Figure 6.5b.: (0.7)

As in the first extract of case 1 (3.1.), Nora here uses the same request formula (cf. line 05: *das ist wO wAt?*): [written text read aloud] + [interrogative 'wat'] + [rising intonation (?)]. She reads out loud what she has already written down and adds the interrogative 'wat' with a rising intonation at the end. She also dresses up before she formulates her formulaic utterance and turns her gaze to Nanna, making it explicit that the question is once more addressed to Nanna as the potential next speaker and producer of relevant candidate writing segment. Nanna is once again positioned by Nora's assumption that she is in possession of the relevant answer (2nd pair part) and her answer is made conditionally relevant as the second pair part of an adjacency pair. Nanna, for her part, through her rather straight answer aligns with Nora and displays that she understood Nora's request as a request for a candidate writing segment and also assumes the role as more knowledgeable participant.

Next, we have a third example of Nora producing the specific request formula in extract 3.3. At the same time it is also, once again, a shift in the participation framework as both learners, once the writing segment has been fully written

down, need to reorganize their engagement from individual writing to the collaborative organization and accomplishment of conversational writing.

Extract 3.3.: *wir wat?*

01 Nor: **(mir)*
 nor **writing*

02 Nan: *(hei) dat *geet [of;*
 (here) it comes [off;
 nor **stops writing and dresses up*

03 ->Nor: *[(wo) wat?*
 [(where) what?

04 *wir wat?*
 we what?

05 Nan: *wo::*
 where::

06 *wu mir (.) geschlAft haben;*
 where we(.) have slEpt;

07 *d0. <<p> schreiw.>*
 thEre. <<p> write.>

08 *(5.6)*

09 Nan: *an dann as et u mAr (.)*
 and then it is my turn (.)

10 *dat as schon een satz;*
 that is already one sentence;

11 *(0.9)*

Nora has been writing most of the time during the cut out lines (cf. appendix I for full transcript). Nanna is playing with and singing to the camera while Nora is writing. Nora keeps on writing until line 1 (extract 3.3.) where she utters the last word she has written, before dressing up and employing her explicit candidate invitation again in line 3 (*wo wat?*) and line 4 (*(wir) wat?*). Unlike in the previous two extracts she shortens her utterance by not reproducing all she has written, but only the last part of the writing. She self-corrects in line 4 as the last word written is *wir* and not *wo*. The specific request format, or systematic request formulation with its the rising intonation has the same effect as twice before: Nanna reproduces the already written, adding an increment which functions as a candidate writing segment (lines 5-6: *wo:: wu mir (.) geschlAft haben;*). Nanna then continues and explicitly invites Nora to write and indicates where to

write (line 7: d0. <<p> schreiw.>), before making it clear that after that it will be her turn to write because by then Nora will have finished writing a sentence (lines 9-11: an dann as et u mär (.) dat as schon een satz;). Nanna thus remains in the more knowledgeable participant position throughout the sequence while Nora remains in her constituted position of the less knowledgeable participant, but still competent at writing as well as interactionally competent in how to organize and constrain her peer's next action. Thus, the learners' competences remain complementary throughout the episode which we now analyzed: while one takes control of the writing, the other is invited to be in charge of what is to be written. In fact, there are no rejections by Nora of Nanna's candidate writing segments at all, and Nora readily accepts writing down what is offered to her. They also complement their interactional expert-novice practices throughout the sequence and thus constitute an atmosphere of positive identities (i.e. complementing each other from one interactional moment to the next) which discloses to be favorable to the development of the conversational writing activity as the girls eventually manage to write down a sentence and then switch roles of the one who is to write.

6.4.2. Intermediate summary case 1

The analysis of case 1 shows that (at least) one of the participants, who in this case is Nora, the younger and actually the less experienced learner in relation to writing and literacy, makes active use of request formulas, thereby also constituting herself as the less knowledgeable participant. Furthermore, she designs her requests in a way which 'controls' or limits next possible action-s. Thus, we note that Nora's interactional competence is deployed:

- Through the production of a specific formulaic request which is generally the first pair part of an adjacency pair structure, the production of a relevant second pair part becomes conditionally relevant.
- The way Nora designs her request (gaze, body posture, postural alignment and disalignment etc.) she also makes it relevant who the next speaker should be (namely her peer and not herself) and thus the producer of the relevant second pair part (in this case: producer of candidate writing segment).
- The design of the request (the first pair part) itself is systematic and has been employed throughout the three extracts presented. The systematized use of the formulaic request controls the conditionally relevant second pair part: Nanna's participation and relevant next action, although requested, is through the design of Nora's turn, only left minimal space for articulation as Nora has designed her request and first pair part in such a way that only a minimal second pair part is appropriate, i.e preferred and made relevant.

Although Nora positions herself as the less knowledgeable versus Nanna as the more knowledgeable participant in this short interaction (and these identities are re-negotiated from one request to the next on a moment-by-moment basis), Nora displays interactional competence, or expertise, in how to control/design the unfolding interaction through her design of request in order to receive the necessary information or knowledge from her co-participant relevant for accomplishing the (writing) learning activity. Nora makes use of her identity as less-knowledgeable, or less-experienced participant in order to 'control' the unfolding interaction and to accomplish her task which is to write a 'sentence' in German. It is not clear whether Nora's is encountering troubles with the German language or the writing as such, but at least this 'difference' is at no moment to oriented to or made relevant by the participants. Rather, they orient to the organization of 'doing conversational writing' without highlighting what their troubles are or could be: they are simply doing it by orienting to the social interaction as a local, moment-by-moment accomplishment which is locally performed as both learners display and orient to each other's methods, thereby uncovering their individual as well as their peer's interpretations or understanding

of the language (the verbal utterances) and behavior (the non verbal doings) which they themselves then again orient to in order to make social order of their specific dyadic interaction. In a way then, Nora and Nanna make use of their “complementary expertises” (Jacoby & Gonzalez, 1991, p. 153) to accomplish the writing of a sentence. Nora, by constantly reorienting the focus of the interaction to the writing (at the beginning of each extract) and thereby shifting the participation framework towards the learning activity, is also displaying her institutional identity (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 203) as a learner within the task-oriented context. As has been pointed out by previous research (P. Drew & J. Heritage, 1992; Paul Drew & John Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 1997b; Seedhouse, 2004c), institutional interaction involves an orientation by the participants to some kind of goal. The goal of the girls’ interaction is to produce a written text which tells their story of the picture they have chosen. This becomes relevant in the way the learners mutually constitute the use of expert-novice practices (and thereby constitute and make available their identities) as well as how Nora’s designs her turns and consequently the conduct and course of the interaction as she displays an orientation towards the task and an interest in engaging with and accomplishing the writing task within their specific learning community.

The analysis of this short sequence has shown that while the pre-established categories (that is Nora as younger learner than Nanna and supposedly less experience and lower proficiency in writing and language than Nanna) would have put Nora into the position of the less-experienced learner as a learner in first year of cycle two versus Nanna as the more-experienced learner as learner of the second year in cycle two, this is not necessarily the case if analyzed from a micro-sequential perspective. Both learners have different levels of knowledge and different levels of experience and expertise-s in relation to language learning and writing as two individual human beings. However, it is in the unfolding interaction of this specific community of practice that social roles and identities are being negotiated and co-constructed as the participants deploy expert-novice-practices. These practices and the resulting identities are, as we have seen, oriented to during the accomplishment of the learning activity and i) thus made

relevant for the accomplishment the task-oriented learning activity in the classroom. ii) While doing so, complementary interactional expert-novice-practices are established and interactionally distributed, negotiated and performed on a moment-by-moment basis. The relationship between expert-novice practices, interactional identities and the accomplishment of a learning activity are thus seen to be reflexive.

Also, the relationship between the way the learners interpret the task, i.e. the task in progress, and the turn-taking system is reflexive in that the girls manage to develop a turn-taking system which is related to accomplishing the writing task (Seedhouse, 2004c). Nora has developed a strategic request formula which invites Nanna to provide her with the relevant answers, but at the same time only leaves minimal space for Nanna to produce the relevant answer and thus invites her to preferably stay oriented to the task in providing a relevant next action. Also, we can say that there is a tendency to minimalization and indexicality because the turns are designed in a way which is difficult to understand if one does not know the context and the nature of the task. The turns are short and context-bound, and they would appear cryptic to the analyst or reader who would not have been presented with the context, or in this case, task background (Seedhouse, 2004c). The size of the turns is kept to a minimum because the interactants display an orientation towards the goal and completion of the task, rather than towards the “normatively” appropriate production of verbally produced sentences in the target language (in this case German). Thirdly, Seedhouse’s argument that tasks tend to generate many instances of clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehensions checks, and self-repetitions does not seem to apply to the nature of the free writing task - at least they are absent from the sequences analyzed of case 1. Nora and Nanna’s turn-taking system appears to be so efficient from the start that none of these checks or repetitions are needed. The only ‘repetitions’ we have is when Nora is reading out loud what she is writing or what Nanna as told her to write such as in lines 3 of extract 4.2., lines 1 and 3 of extract 3.3.. These repetitions are however not due to misunderstanding, mishearing or mispronunciation There is one other-correction of Nora’s proposed candidate

answer by Nanna in line 6 of extract 3.1 and Nanna's repetitions limit themselves to repeating to Nora what to write in the sense of dictating it to her such as in lines 09 and 11 of extract 3.2. for instance. The absence of such repair devices in the analyzed sequence could either be linked to the nature of the task, which is a writing task, as opposed to the tasks which are based on the information gap principle in Seedhouse's study. The present task is a free writing task which on one hand leaves a lot of space to the learners for writing whatever they want to or collaboratively decide on. On the other hand, it is exactly this boundlessness which could cause troubles for the learners, but as we have seen it does not in case 1 and the turn taking system developed by the interactants is efficient and productive for the advancement of the task. Another possibility could be that the turn taking system developed by the two girls is so efficient that there is no need for clarification checks and repeats and the less advanced learner manages to constitute relevant social identities and make statements and/or designs requests which push the more advanced learner to accept her position as the more advanced or more-knowledgeable learner and to provide feedback or the requested answer.

The analysis of this short sequence has shown that the young learners are rather quick at developing a 'working strategy' which serves to accomplish the task. in fact, we can argue that they themselves develop and co-construct expert-novice practices as they shift from one participation framework to the next, and even within that framework. These practices, we have seen, are oriented to in and through the collaborative accomplishment of the learning activity. We will now move on to case 2 and investigate to what extent these participants organize the shifts in participation frameworks, formulate and make use of request and thereby develop expert-novice-practices in order to accomplish the same free writing task.

6.5. Case 2: the organization of candidate writing segments



Figure 6.6.: participants case 2

In case 2, we have again two girls who are occupied with the same free writing activity. Ella is a learner from second year of cycle two, and Mia is a learner from first year of grade two. The writing sheet already has the date, their two names and one sentence written on it: *Die Fröschen sind auf einer Hand*. The first sentence has been written by Ella and it is Mia's turn to write a sentence.: she has the sheet of paper in front of her and her upper body is oriented towards the sheet of paper (see figure 6.6.). The sequence will be divided into smaller extracts for reasons of presentation and readability because it is rather long.

6.5.1. Offering candidate draft segments

We begin with the analysis of extract 4.1. In the extracts chosen for analysis we focus on instances where the participants display an orientation towards the writing as such (rather than towards organizational issues). This is above all again observable in shifts in participation frameworks which can be considered what Hellermann labelled as “boundary areas”, that is “transitions between different participation structures” because they are considered “sites where learners’ negotiation of participation through language is readily observed” (Hellermann, 2008, p. 41). It is of course important to point out that for the present research study participation frameworks are understood to be occurring on a more micro-sequential level than even suggested by Hellermann. Hellermann investigates task openings which are more ‘visible’ than the internal shifts between different

participation frameworks within a dyad already engaged in the accomplishment of a learning activity.

In extract 4.1. the participants of case 2 for the first time orient to what to write, that is the writing itself, and it is Ella who offers a candidate writing segment which is directed to Mia as an offer or suggestion for her of what to write down (and not to the negotiation of organizational issues).

Extract 4.1.: jo t=ass méi besser; gell?



Figure 6.7.: .hh NEE.



Figure 6.8.: schreiw ega'



Figure 6.9: (1.1) : puts paper down

- 01 (0.4)
- 02 Mia: .hh [ech (well)
 .hh [i want
- 03 Ela: [(.h) *schreiw ega'* .hh NEE.
 [(.h) write what' (ever) .hh NO.
 ela *gaze to paper until line 59
 mia *lifts paper with
 left hand (fig. 6.7.)

- 04 da schrei:w,
 then wri:te,
- 05 *(1.1)
ela **grabs paper (fig. 6.8.), puts it back on table*
 (fig.6.9.)
- 06 Ela: die frösche(n) sind auf daniela=s ha*nd;
 the frogs are on daniela=s hand;
mia **gaze to ella*
- 07 Mia: nee: nēt sou (.) sind *auf
 no: not like that (.) are on
mia **circling gesture with right*
 hand (until end of line 42)
- 08 daniela (.) seine (.) *hand;
 daniela (.) her (.) hand;
mia **gaze to paper*
- 09 (0.6)
- 10 Mia: jo t=ass méi besser; *gell?
 yes it=s more better; right?
mia **gaze to ella*
- 11 (0.2)
- 12 Ela: ^nee=h*=*ee;
 no=h=oo;
ela **leaning back into chair (fig. 6.10.)*
mia **gaze to paper (fig. 6.11.)*
- 13 *(3.1)
ela **starts playing with pen/pencil (fig. 6.12.)*
- 14 Ela: *kuck wat=ch gema hunn;
 look what=I have done;
ela **moves forwards towards mia (fig. 6.13.)*
- 15 (0.3)
- 16 Ela: MÄNNche:n; *h. h.
 small MA:N / figure
ela **gaze to mia (fig. 6.14a.)*
 then to camera (fig 6.14b.)



Figure 6.10.: ^nee=h



Figure 6.11.: =ee;



Figure 6.12.: (3.1)



Figure 6.13.: kuck wat=ch gema hunn;



Figure 6.14a.: h. h.



Figure 6.14b.: h. h.

After a brief pause (line), both girls self-select almost simultaneously. Ella gains the floor, initially suggesting to Mia to write whatever she feels like. She then stops mid-sentence and rejects her about to be pronounced candidate answer (NEE.). She self-corrects, projecting through a preface (da schrei:w) that she is about to produce a candidate writing answer. After a 1.1 second pause, during which she grabs the paper which Mia had just lifted (figures 6.7. and 6.8.) and puts it back on the table (figure 6.9.), she formulates a candidate writing answer in line 6 (die frösche(n) sind auf daniela=s hand). Ella's candidate writing segment is formulated with slightly falling intonation, thus taking a rather clear stance of endorsing it and putting it into writing. Mia rejects Ella's suggestion, i.e. the trying out candidate draft segment in line 7 (nee: nēt sou) with a straightforward negative assessment. She then recycles and reformulates it (line 6-7: sind auf daniela (.) seine (.) hand;), suggesting a in her view necessary repair. Mia is in fact repairing Ella's linguistic form, a move which Seedhouse noted does not exist in learner-learner interactions and that the

correction of linguistic forms only occurs in form-and-accuracy contexts (cf. Seedhouse, 2004c, p. 155). However here we do have such an instance - problematic is however that the recycled version is the one which would actually need some repair work. However, even though Ella's version was the grammatically correct version, Ella does subsequently not display any repair of linguistic form in Mia's candidate draft segment. After a short pause where Ella does not provide a relevant next turn such as a repetition, acceptance or repair for example (cf. Olsher, 2003), Mia self-selects and asks for confirmation of her candidate writing answer as the 'besser' answer (jo t=ass méi besser; gell?). Mia's repair initiation in lines 6-7 is not produced with rising intonation and thus does not require a confirmation or evaluation by the co-participant. It is only after Mia expands and produces a turn with rising intonation that Ella responds and produces the relevant second pair part in which she negates Mia's repaired candidate answer in line 11 (^nee=h=ee;). Ella's turn is produced after a short pause, marking her turn as a dispreferred response to which Mia does not provide any next-turn action. How the turn is produced, with a sing-song voice as marked by the latches and the ^, can be understood as a way to downgrade her negative assessment of Mia's recycled candidate writing segment. Ella then self-selects and changes the focus of the unfolding interaction towards something else (kuck wat=ch gema hunn;). Ella's interactional work to deal with her dispreferred response to Mia, seems to be to shift the focus of the interaction and to close the previous sequence by opening another. Furthermore, when producing her negative assessment, Mia is also moving backwards, relaxing into her chair and she starts playing with a pen or pencil which she turns around in her fingers (see also figures, 6.10. 6.1.. and 6.12., below). This bodily display and moving away from Mia and the writing sheet displays a disalignment for the task. It is only after a short break that she moves her upper body closer to Mia again, asking her to look at what she has done (figure 6.13. and 6.14a.). It is then interesting to note that while it was Ella who initially tried to establish joint focus and mutual attention to the text and the learning activity, it is now at the end of the abstract also her who 'closes' and a few seconds later 're-opens' this sequence: she displays postural disalignment, then moves back into the writing space (i.e.

postural alignment) introducing a new activity however and asking her peer to look at what she has done (line 16: MÄNNche:n). Her postural alignment is accompanied by a short laugh (line 16: h. h.) and a gaze to Mia. Laughter has been described as one device for displaying alignment with a peer as well as for establishing a (positive) interpersonal relationship (Hellermann, 2008; Vasseur, 2005). Thus the gaze to Mia, as well as the laughter are a reinforcement of Ella 's attempt to establish a positive interpersonal relationship between the two, and as can be seen from figure 6.14b the girls then gaze to the camera and start to interact with it and the researcher behind the camera (transcript omitted).

What we also want to point out from the previous extract (4.1.) is that Ella provides a writing candidate segment (lines 3-4), or as Olsher formulates it, a *trying out candidate draft segment* (Olsher, 2003). She thereby displays an attempt in re-organizing their focus of attention from non-centered learning activity (talking with researcher) towards the accomplishment of the learning activity. What is more and contrary to Olsher's findings, Ella's candidate draft segment is not produced with rising intonation, thus not asking or inviting for evaluation or repair by the peer in the next turn. By producing her candidate writing segment with slightly falling intonation, she constitutes herself as being knowledgeable or more or less certain about her segment, hence it is not really a *trying out* version because demand for ratification is not marked intentionally. Nevertheless, the candidate answer is refuted without delay by Mia with a strong negation (line 7) and a repair of Ella's candidate draft segment. Mia thereby challenges Ella's candidate expert role and by repairing and consequently evaluating Ella's formulation, constitutes herself as the candidate expert of what she should write down. Mia's repaired candidate writing segment is produced with slightly falling intonation, hence not produced as a first-pair part which requires confirmation or evaluation in the next relevant second pair part. Nonetheless, Mia treats her turn as making a ratification relevant and therefore expands her turn in line 10, asking for confirmation, evaluation or yes-type answer (cf. Olsher, 2003) by her co-participant through the production of a question marked with rising intonation at the end. She also directs her gaze towards Ella, making her next action

conditionally relevant. We have already noted above that Ella rejects Mia's repaired formulation, thus also challenging Mia's position as the more knowledgeable or experienced peer in relation to the writing. By refuting each other's expertise, i.e. (*trying out*) *candidate draft segments*, the girls do not manage to complement each other's expertise or to agree on one formulation of a candidate writing answer. Extract 4.1. shows that when the girls reject each other's knowledge (or candidate writing segments) or roles and identities as expert-s or more knowledgeable peers, the negotiation of the task-oriented learning activity comes to a halt and they shift the focus of the interaction to something different, thereby also shifting the participation framework of their community of practice and potentially its initial goal. In that sense, already Schegloff et al. (1977a, p. 361) have pointed out that what participants "avoid doing is as important as what they do". As we have seen Ella, after having rejected and negatively assessed Mia's repaired candidate answer, engages in establishing a different joint focus (line 14), towards something she has created. The girls then engage in talking about and to the researcher about his interest in them and the school (transcript omitted, cf. appendix I). It is of course interesting to note that it is Ella who is the first to disengage from the learning activity and its goal of accomplishing the writing. As we have seen, she withdraws from it after she has produced a negative assessment of her peer's candidate writing segment. The assessment, furthermore, has also been downgraded, and thus, in and through its design (sing song voice for example) it became less severe than it would have been otherwise. It is therefore possible to argue that instead of straightforwardly opposing her peer and repairing her utterance, she prefers to draw the focus away and to something else (MÄNNche:n;), thus actively avoiding to do some open repair work and consequently some face-threatening activity.

The sequence comes to an end, but without the learners having reached a mutually established consensus and consequently not with an active engagement into some writing. In fact, no writing occurs during the previously analyzed extract. A possible explanation for this lack of furthering the accomplishment of the learning activity towards some actual writing could be the absence of commitment into

repair mechanisms after Ella's rejection of Mia's candidate writing segment. Ella does not offer a repair formulation nor does she reproduce the version she offered initially. She simply assesses Mia's candidate writing segment negatively and then let's it 'drop' by engaging with something else. In teacher fronted classroom talk, the teacher generally initiates repair mechanisms if the learner(s) provide(s) a response which is negatively assessed or rejected by the teacher (Seedhouse, 2004c). Furthermore, one might want to add that previous research has illustrated that in teacher's strategies investigated, there is a dispreference for straightforward negative evaluation as employed here by Ella. However, even though she performs a straightforward negative evaluation, she downgrades it and moves away from it and opens a new activity which is also emphasized by a grin and slight laughter, thus trying to attempt a positive relationship with her peer.

The next extract 4.2.. (below) occurs after the girls have been talking to the researcher (transcript omitted, see appendix I for full transcript). So the girls, after having talked to the researcher for a while, reorganize their focus of attention and re-establish their joint attention to the writing activity on progress. Thus, once again, they have to organize the participation structure and move from non-task/ learning activity oriented talk towards the accomplishment of the learning activity. In line 10, Mia self-selects, suggesting with softer voice that she has an idea. Ella without delay self-selects, suggesting that she also has an idea. Through the discourse marker 'Och' (line 2), Ella links back to Mia's previous utterance (line 1) and thus also displays her acknowledgement of the prior turn. By the end of her verbal deliverance, Ella has also organized the paper, her hands and her body orientation into a ready-to-write position (cf. figure 6.15., below). The girls then both gaze to the paper and it is Mia who then moves on and starts to formulate a new candidate writing segment outloud (line 4: und die FRÖschen:). Ella, who has already turned towards her pencil case to grab an eraser (line 4, figure 6.16.), rejects Mia's candidate outloud draft by starting her next turn with 'nee', thereby producing a strong negative assessment (line 5). Mia nonetheless ignores Ella's turn and finishes formulating her writing candidate segment (lines 6-7: spRA:ngen um daniela seine hand (-) und lACH(ten),) with accentuated and mildly rising

intonation at the end, indicating that Mia is inviting some other next action from her peer, and possibly preferred, i.e. positive evaluation of her candidate writing segment. Ella at the same time starts erasing something from the written-draft-in-progress (line 7, figure 6.17.). In line 8 Ella is gazing to the paper and reading the sentence, or the beginning of the sentence of the draft-so-far outloud. This can be deduced from her gazing to the paper as well as the quick formulation of her utterance. The utterance is not produced as a try out candidate writing segment, which are generally produced slower, sometimes also with hesitations and with rising intonation most of the time at the end (see also Olsher, 2003). The teacher brings the girls' chosen picture to their table (line 9, figure 6.18.). Mia grabs the picture, turns it around, and tries to also draw Mia's attention to it (line 10: .h kuck eng=ke(i)er, figure 6.19. and 6.20.). She even puts it into the middle in between them (figure 6.21.), so as to allow Mia to have a better view on it. Through this embodied action she is also creating alignment and mutual attention between her and her peer, thereby changing once again the participation structure. Mia for her part self-selects, stating with slightly rising intonation that it is better. Mia links back to her draft outloud ((t=as)) and treats her peer's rejection and negative assessment (line 5) of her candidate writing segment as not acceptable and displays an orientation to her candidate writing segment (lines 4 and 6-7) as 'besser'. Mia's turn in line 12 is based on Ella's previous reaction, or rather non-reaction to her candidate writing segment. So Mia is restating that it is better and she can be seen as “ “doing it again,” but doing it for another first time,” (based on Harold Garfinkel, quoted in Schegloff, 1992, p. 247) because instead of doing repair or assessment, Ella had just let Mia's turn pas by with no comment. Mia's turn thus in line 12 ((t=as) méi BESSer) links back “topically” to her candidate writing answer in her saying “t=as”, the ‘t’ standing for ‘et/it’, referring to her candidate writing segment proposal. This is necessary because sequentially the proximity to the trouble-source turn has been lost (cf. Schegloff, 1992). So Mia's turn is a “redoing” (doing it again but doing it as if it were the first time) of the trouble source turn and it is produced with slightly rising intonation, thus inviting a sequentially appropriate next turn response from her peer.

Extract 4.2. ech hunn eng idee

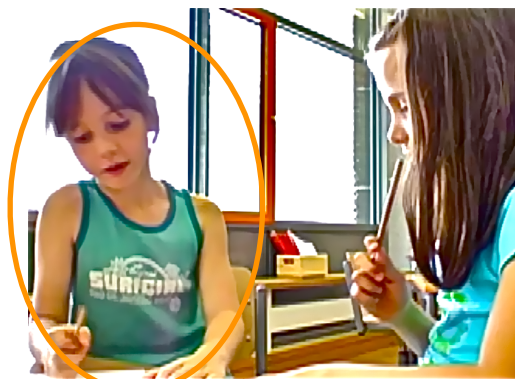


Figure 6.15.: hh ECH hunn Och eng Idee;



Figure 6.16.: und die FRÖ*schen:

- 01 Mia: <<p> (ech hunn *eng idee);>
(i have an idea)
ela *pulls writing paper towards herself
- 02 Ela: *.hh ECH hunn Och eng Idee;*
.hh I have Also an idea
ela *quick hand gesture over paper
ela *puts both hands on paper,
holding writing tool
in right hand (fig. 6.15.)
- 03 *(2.2)
*both girls gaze to paper
- 04 Mia: und die FRÖ*schen:
and the frogs
ela *turns to her right
towards pencil case (fig. 6.16.)
- 05 Ela: nee *[(ech=muss)
no [(i=ve got to)
ela *turns back to writing paper,
eraser in her right hand
- 06 Mia: [spRA:ngen
[jumped
- 07 *um daniela seine hand (-) und lACH(ten),*
around daniela her hand and LAUGH(ed),
ela *erases sth. on paper (fig. 6.17)
ela *finishes erasing
- 08 Ela: *<<p> die=frösche(n)=sind auf>
<<p> the=frogs=are on>
ela *gaze to paper
- 09 *(1.4)
tea *gives them the picture (fig. 6.18.)
- 10 Ela: .h kuck *eng=ke(i)er
.h look once / watch this
ela *reaches towards picture
- 11 *(0.5)

- ela **grabs picture (fig. 6.19.)*
- 12 Mia: **(t=as) méi BESSer,*
 (it=s) better,
 ela **turns picture around (fig. 6.20.)*
- 13 **(1.7)*
 ela **puts picture into the middle of them (fig. 6.21.)*



Figure 6.17.: und lACH(ten),



Figure 6.18.: (1.4) : teacher brings picture

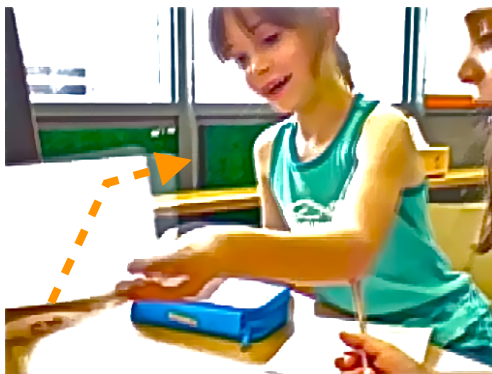


Figure 6.19.: (0.5) : grabs picture

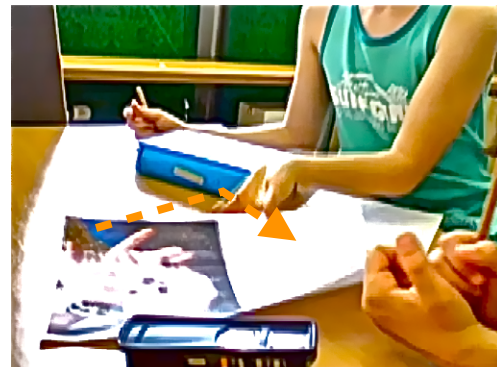


Figure 6.20.: turns picture: (t=as) méi BESSer,

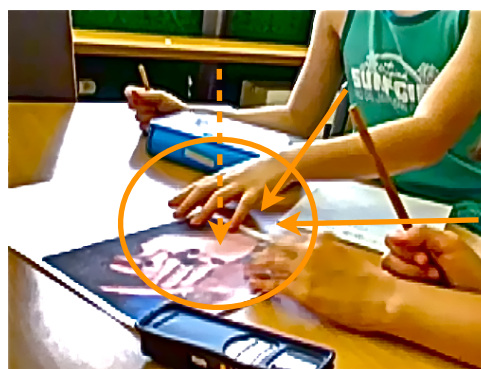


Figure 6.21.: (1.7) : puts it into middle

In the previous extract 4.2., the girls are orienting to two different agendas of the unfolding interaction. Although both girls displayed having an idea for the writing or the moving onwards with the learning activity, they do not display any orientation towards each other's ideas. Furthermore, as they get 'interrupted' by

the teacher who distributes them their chosen picture, Ella refocuses her attention towards the picture and, as we have seen, also tries to orient Mia's attention towards the picture. Mia's focus is with the negotiation of the next to be written segment and the outloud drafting of it. Also, by treating Ella's negative assessment of her candidate writing segment as negotiable, Mia constitutes herself as the more knowledgeable peer with the 'besser' writing candidate answer. Ella interestingly does not provide a relevant second pair part - neither to Mia's outloud formulated writing candidate segment nor to Mia's evaluative turn that her draft is better. Mia's evaluative turn (line 12) is produced with slightly rising intonation, thus possibly inviting as next interactional work an evaluation, ratification or yes-type answer. Ella, however, is displaying being busy with the picture and she does not provide any uptake. This marks the candidate draft formulated by Mia as problematic. Even though there is a grammatically imprecise formulation in Mia's candidate draft segment (*und die FRÖ*schen: spRA:ngen um daniela seine hand (-) und lach(ten)*) it nevertheless is a to be acknowledged (and eventually repaired, evaluated or ratified) outloud draft writing segment. This is the case because it is i) produced as a trying-out candidate writing segment and ii) because it is produced with slightly rising intonation, thus inviting a next turn relevant action. The extract thus shows that if there is lack of mutual displays of understanding and if even through the employment of mechanisms of repair the learners do not manage to negotiate intersubjectivity and reach a shared understanding of the unfolding activity in this sense the accomplishment of the writing task, then the interaction seems to have reached an impasse and further mechanisms of repair might be necessary to advance the accomplishment of the task.

The next extract 4.3. stems from a bit later in the sequence of case 2 and Mia is producing yet another trying out candidate writing segment (lines 1-2). Unfortunately we do not know what exactly is going on before this because the data is, because of technological reasons not available. Ella is in control of the draft-so-far as it is positioned on the table in front of her (figure 6.22). Mia is suggesting what to write (lines 1-2) which, after a substantial pause, is however

put on hold by Ella (line 4: eh[:m moment.) who produces a hesitation marker and tells Mia to wait. Ella reads outloud the last segment of the draft-so-far (line 6: dIe frösche(n) sind auf;) and Mia tells her to hurry up (line 7 : alle::z (.) schnell) even though she gazes to the other side of the room. Mia then displays producing an account for why she tells her peer to hurry up (line 9: well ech hunn och die fräsch' .h kucke di fräsch (wees de?)). Ella for her part has her gaze turned towards the draft-so-far at the beginning of line 01 and does not take it away from here until the end of the sequence. In line 10, she projects that she is about to talk about what is forthcoming. She marks that she is about to produce a suggestion of how to move on, projecting that she will continue talking. Mia is orienting to this projection as she is not taking the floor during the pause and then Mia is reading outloud from the draft-so-far. She starts writing but then produces a self-repair (line 14-15). She gazes to the paper, and after a few seconds grabs the eraser and erases something from the draft-so-far (line 16, figure 6.22.). She produces the next-to-be-written-segment 'auf' (which could be the repair of what has been erased) and then starts writing (line 18). While writing, she produces the next-to-be-written-segment 'dem' and reads, or spells it outloud while writing (line 21). She then produces another self-repair (line 23), erases something and restarts writing, stops and erases and then produces the next-to-be-written-segment (line 27). She continues to write and produces to next-to-be-written-segments until line 32 where she stops. Mia, who has been gazing to the paper and watching Ella since the beginning of the extract, orients to this halt as an opportunity to take the floor and displays an interest in what will come next through the formulation of a request (line 33: an=elo?). Ella's reply is produced without delay (line 34: seine(r) hand.) and falling intonation at the end, displaying that she understood Mia's request as a request for a suggestion of how the sentence is going to be finished. Ella's turn in line 34 is the next-to-be-written segment in the sentence she was writing down. The falling intonation indicates that the sentence is complete with this increment of the writing segment and that she does not invite Mia to challenge, assess or evaluate it. If we add all the outloud pronounced segments together we can deduce that the sentence on the draft-so-far, once finished, looks something like the following:

die frösche(n) sind auf: eIn:e::(m/n) mäd' sche::n: seine(r) hand.
 Mia acknowledges this with a change of state token (Heritage, 1984a) and affirmative assessment produced with falling intonation (line 36: ah jo:.). We note that the first sentence on the paper is 'Die Fröschen sind auf Danielas Hand.', and the second sentence is as follows: 'Die Fröschen sind auf einem Mädchen seine(r) Hand'. This order is important to remember for the analysis of the subsequent extract 4.5..

Extract 4.3.: di annEre(n) meedschen mat die fräsc(h)en

- 01 Mia: *di annEre(n) meedschen mat die fräsc(h)en (.) gesagt.
 the other(en) girls with the frogs (.) said
 mia *gaze to paper
 ela *gaze to paper
- 02 *ich hab in' (.) buede(n) gefannen;
 i found in' (.) the floor;
 mia *gaze to paper (fig. 6.22.)
 ela *gaze to paper
- 03 *(2.5)
 ela *tips pencil twice on table
- 04 Ela: eh[:m moment.
 eh[:m one moment.
- 05 Mia: [(d')
- 06 Ela: dIe frösche(n) sind auf;*
 the frogs are on
 mia *turns head to her left
 away from ella and writing
- 07 Mia: alle::z (.) schnell.
 go o:n (.) quick.
- 08 *(1.3)*
 mia *gaze to camera
 mia *gaze to paper
- 09 Mia: *well ech hunn och die fräsch' .h kucke di fräsch (wees *de?)
 because i also have the frog' .h watch the frog (you know?)
 ela *gaze to paper
 mia *gaze to table in front of her, fiddling with her hands
 mia *gaze to her left
- 10 Ela: (ma mär sou)
 (we do like that)
- 11 (1.4)
- 12 Mia: .he



Figure 6.22.: ich hab in' (.)

- 13 *(4.2)*
 ela **writing position*
 ela **throws head backwards and*
 hits twice with left hand onto table
- 14 Ela: oh:. dat as net esou;
 oh:. it is not like that;
- 15 ech hu mech geirrt;
 i erred;
- 16 *(8.8)
 ela **gaze to paper then erases sth with rubber after (3.2)*
 mia **gaze to paper until the end of extract (fig. 6.23.)*
- 17 Ela: auf:
 on:
- 18 *(3.0)
 ela **writes until*
 line 22
- 19 Ela: de:m
 the:
- 20 (3.9)
- 21 Ela: (m)
- 22 *(5.8)*
 ela **stops*
 writing
- 23 Ela: *nEE.*
 n0.
 ela **grabs rubber*
 ela **erases*
 sth.
- 24 *(4.5)*
 ela **erases*
 ela **writes*
- 25 Ela: eIn:e::n
 a:
- 26 *(4.4)*
 ela **writes*
 ela **erases*
- 27 Ela: <<p> eine(m/n).>
 <<p> a(n).>
- 28 *(10.6)
 ela **gaze to sheet then writes again*
- 29 Ela: *mä:d'&
 gi:r'&
 ela **writes*
- 30 *(4.1)
 ela **writes*
- 31 Ela: *&sche::n:
 &l:



Figure 6.23.: (8.8) : Ella erasing

ela **writes*
 (fig. 6.24.)
 32 **(1.2)*
 ela **stops writing,*
 lifts up
 33 Mia: an=elo?
 and=now?
 34 Ela: seine(r) hand.
 her hand.
 mia **gaze to paper*
 35 **(4.7)*
 ela **grabs rubber,*
 erases sth
 36 Mia: ah jo:..
 oh yes:..
 37 **(1.9)*
 ela **writes*



Figure 6.24.: &sche: :n:

The actual collaboration between both girls is quite minimal in this extract. Although Mia offers some ideas for writing the story at the beginning of the sequence, she is being ignored by Ella who displays full concentration on and orientation to the writing. Ella takes over the writing and repairs the already written down segment. In fact she frames her next action so as to make clear that she will talk for several turns. She pronounces what she is writing down outloud, but does not give Mia the opportunity to take the floor and to discuss the writing or comment on it. As Ella is in charge of the writing space, there is not much Mia can do to join in. So all she does is watch silently over what her peer is writing down.

6.5.2. Requesting for a candidate writing segment

In extract 4.4. below, Mia has just been established as the one in charge of writing the next segment. Ella has finished writing something down and then pushes the paper over to Mia. So now the draft-so-far is lying in front of Mia and she is holding a writing tool in her left hand (line 1, figure 6.26.). Mia is wondering what to write, and formulating a request about what she can do or write which can be understood as a request for a candidate writing segment. Her peer points out to write whatever she wants too (line 5: *ma da schreiw hei wats de wells;*).

After Mia points out that there is a repairable in the draft-so-far (lines 8-10), Ella gives in, but diminishes the repairable (lines 13-68).



Figure 6.26.: oh↓



Figure 6.27.: schreiw hei

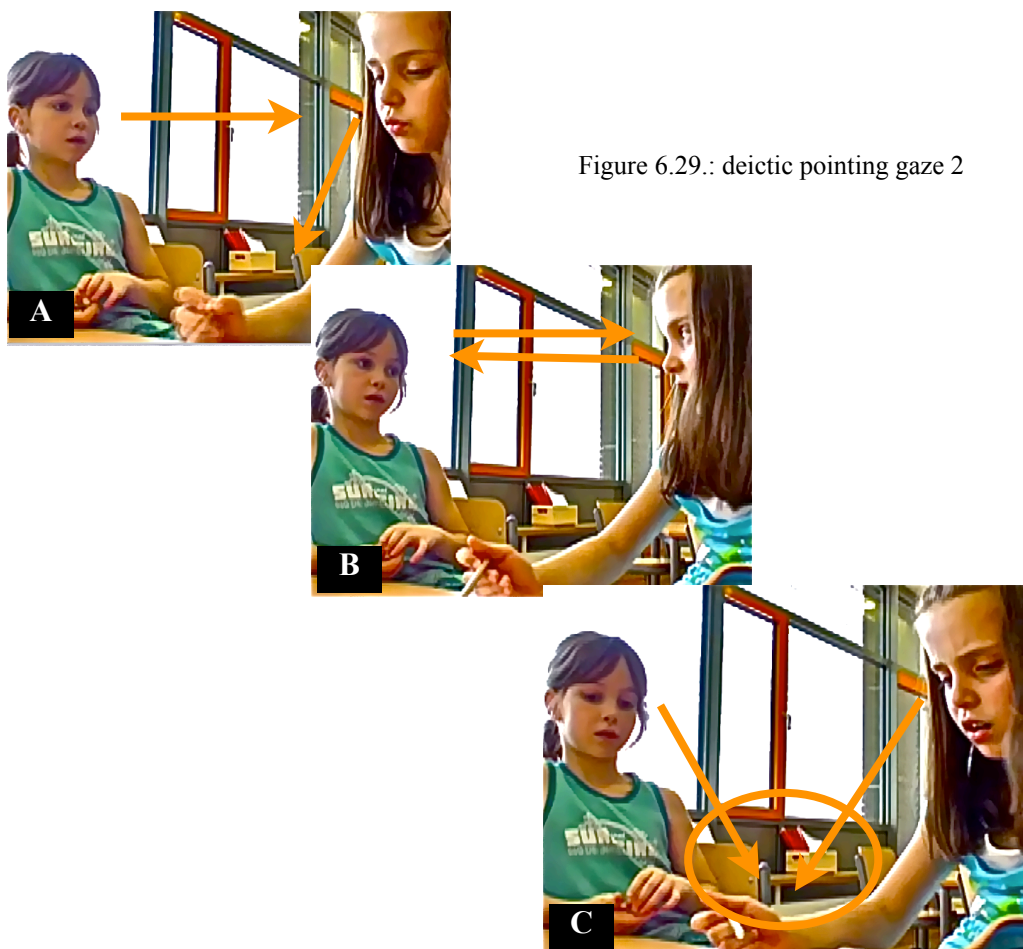


Figure 6.28.: (1.7) : Ella sits back into her chair

Extract 4.4.: mee wat muss daniela=s hand,

- 01 Mia: *oh↓
*holding pencil against forehead (fig. 6.26.)
- 02 * (mee wat) kann ech
(but what) can i
mia *puts pencil down
- 03 *dann sp' (.) SCHREI*we?
then w (.) write?
ela *puts pencil down on table
ela *kicks pencil with fingers
- 04 * (1.0)
mia *gaze to El
- 05 Ela: ma *da *schreiw hei wats de wells;
well then write here what you want
mia *lifts right hand with pencil next to her face
ela *pointing with pencil in sweeping movements
over the paper (fig.6.27.)
- 06 * (1.7)
ela *gaze to paper, moves torso backwards,
relaxes into chair (fig. 6.28)
mia *gaze to paper, puts hand with pencil down

- 07 Mia: .hh) <<pp> (*hum tum da:);>
 mia *puts pencil in front of her lips
- 08 mee *wat muss daniela=s hand,=
 but what must danielass hand,=
 mia *slight head turn towards ela,
 keeping gaze on paper
 ela *gaze to mi
- 09 Mia: =*dat muss
 =that has to
 mia *pointing with pencil to paper



- 10 *EM=*dreinen (.) *gell?
 turn around (.) doesn't it?
 mia *gaze to El
 mia *gaze to paper
 ela *gaze to El
 ela *gaze to paper (fig. 6.29.)
- 11 *(5.1)
 ela *gaze to paper, opens & shuts mouth,
 gaze to paper continues
- 12 Ela: *.hh
 ela *lifts out of chair, grabs eraser
- 13 dann nemmen DAT *ofmaan (.)
 then only THIS erase (.)

ela **erasing*
 14 <<len> die frösche sind (-) auf)
 the frogs are (-) on
 15 danielas=hand>
 danielas=hand
 16 * (5.9) *
 ela **erasing*
 mia **gaze to camera (after ((3.6))*
 and back onto sheet of paper
 17 Ela: *die frösche die sind auf
 the frogs they are on
 ela **writing*

Mia produces a hesitation marker in line 1 (oh↓) before formulating her request about what she can write in lines 2-3 ((mee wat) kann ech dann sp'(.) SCHREIwe?). Mia is formulating a request for information / help with rising intonation at the end. She also gazes to Ella (line 4), establishing her as next speaker and making her next action conditionally relevant (through the rising intonation at the end of her turn as well as her gaze to Ella). Ella, pointing to the draft-so-far (line 5), tells Mia to write whatever she wants to and, through the embodied action of pointing, indicates where to write. Ella then relaxes back into her chair (line 6). Mia is gazing to the draft-so-far and fiddling with the pencil before producing an inbreath (line 7). She then mumbles something inaudible in line 8 and eventually produces another rather ambiguous request in lines 8 to 10. Luxembourgish not being her first language, she produces a ‘non-native like construction’ (Brouwer, Rasmussen & Wagner 2004: 80), which is however not explicitly repaired by her co-participant. Lines 8 to 10 are an example of such a ‘non native like construction’, but as can be seen from Ella’s reaction, she does not treat Mia’s turn as a trouble source nor as a repairable. Mia’s turn appears to be somehow complicated from a ‘native’ (or normative) perspective as it is not very clear what she is referring to when she says *mee wat muss daniela=s hand= dat muss EM=dreinen* (lines 8-10). However, we can deduce that in lines 8 to 10 Mia is suggesting something that is relevant for the writing on the draft-so-far and that there is something that needs to be discussed or negotiated with her co-participant Ella. Mia is talking about something that needs to be changed i.e. ‘turned around’ (*EM=dreinen*) (line 10). In fact, it is possible that Mia is suggesting that the two sentences written down already (‘Die Fröschen sind aud

Danielas Hand.’, and ‘Die Fröschen sind auf einem Mädchen seine(r) Hand’.) need to be turned around. In other words, it is possible that Mia is suggesting that the second sentence has to be the first and the first sentence becomes second, thus reorganizing their story’s focus from something more general (Mädchen) to something more specific (Daniela) their order needs to be changed. She is orienting to what has already been written on the draft-so-far and using it as a resource for formulating another request. The draft-so-far thereby becomes a resource used for the organizations and accomplishment of the task.

Mia gains Ella’s attention through the ways in which she uses gaze as a resource for establishing Ella’s reciprocity: Through her pointing to the paper, her tag-question ‘*gell* (isn’t it)’ (line 10) and slightly rising intonation at the end, marking it as seeking for confirmation of what has previously been said, along with her simultaneous gazing to the paper, to Ella, to the paper and back to Ella, who finally also gazes to the paper, Mia makes clear what she is referring to. Mia, like Nora in case 1, is using what we can call a ‘deictic-pointing-gaze’ (cf. figure 6.29.) gets her co-participant to re-join into the activity and to mutually focus (fig. 6.29 C) with her on what has been marked as a trouble-source or repairable by her on the draft-so-far. After quite a long pause in line 11, Ella lifts forward towards the paper, and produces a sequentially relevant second pair part to Mia’s question. She suggests that only part of the already written has to be erased (line 13: *dann nemmen DAT ofmaan / then only THIS erase*). The discourse marker ‘*dann*’ links back to Mia’s previous prior talk, but at the same time also diminishes Mia’s suggestion of what has to be repaired/turned around. At the end of the sequence Ella erases something on the paper, takes a pencil and starts to write (line 14). She thus brings the previous sequence to an end and shifts once again towards individual work of writing.

Once Mia has interactionally been granted the floor for writing, she constitutes herself into the position of the less experienced or less knowledgeable learner by formulating a request. Mia formulates a straightforward request with rising intonation, making the addressed participant’s next action consequentially

relevant. Mia's request is a request for help or information about what she can write. More specifically her request can be interpreted as an invitation for Mia to offer a candidate writing segment. This constitutes Mia as the less knowledgeable peer and simultaneously Ella is constituted as a potential knower able to provide a candidate writing draft segment. After a short pause, Ella provides a relevant second pair part and points to where Mia can write whatever she wants to. Mia is gazing to the paper, mumbling something inaudible and then formulates another request in lines 8 to 10. Her request starts with an oppositional 'mee', linking back to Ella's prior talk and at the same positioning whatever follows in opposition to Ella's prior talk. Mia's request is designed so as to challenge something that has already been written on the draft-so-far. By challenging an already written segment or item Mia constitutes Ella as candidate expert of what is being challenged. As Brouwer has argued, "[s]electing an item up to be challenged indicates an orientation to other as expert" (Brouwer 2004:105). Mia's suggestion for repair work of what has already been written is followed by a rather long sequence of non-verbal activity between the two girls. Both continue to gaze to the draft-so-far and Ella opens and shuts her mouth quickly, displaying a pre-speech signal before she then however abruptly moves forward, grabbing the eraser, displaying another pre-speech signal through her inbreath and then suggesting that only some of it has to be erased then. Once more the gazing to the paper displays the participants' orientation to the writing and thus their continued engagement with the writing to be done and the accomplishment of the learning activity. Ella is backlinking her talk to Mia's prior talk and suggestion to change the already written (lines 2-4) through the use of a backlinking device such as 'dann/then' (line 13) which projects the initiation of a next action and at the same time connects back to prior talk as a rationale for the upcoming next action (De Stefani & Horlacher, 2008, p. 381; H. Sacks, et al., 1974, p. 728). Ella is not only displaying her engagement with the task, but also her acceptance of what Mia has suggested: to change her writing/word order and thus being constituted as the expert. The formulation of request (for help in writing) as well as the suggestion of something to be repaired are both expert-novice-practices which in and through

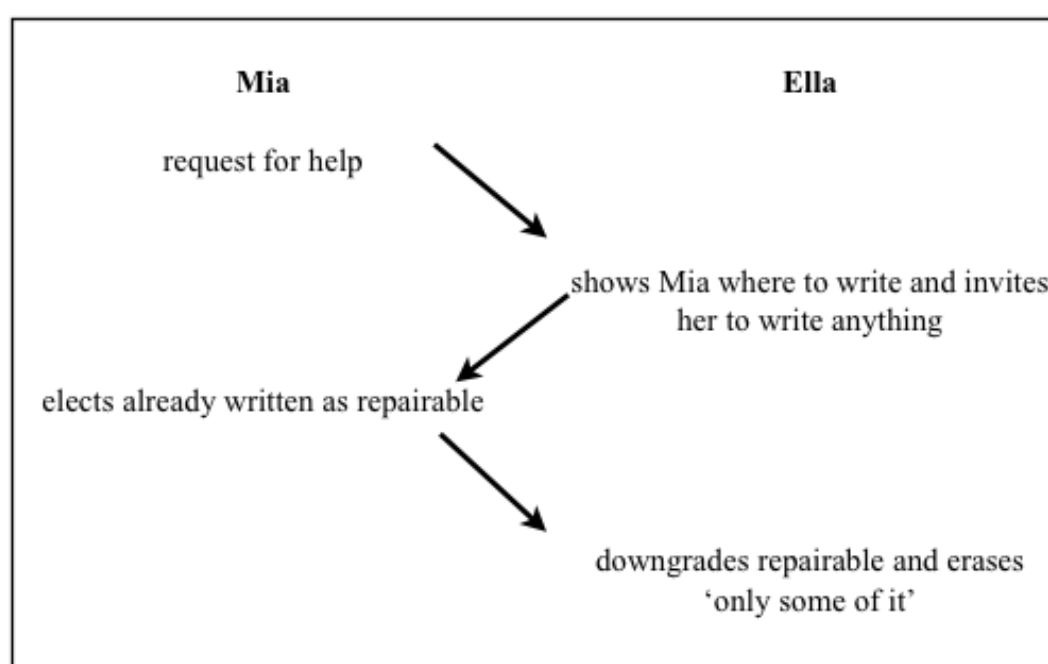
a learning activity position the participants as either more or less knowledgeable vs. the other participant.

How Ella has been put into the position of the expert, but also at what this does to the interactional business between the two learners is interesting to look at in terms of the accomplishment of the task. Actually, right from the beginning of the sequence Mia displays being in trouble: she uses a hesitation marker before asking a rather straightforward question about what she can write (lines 1-3) thereby constituting herself as being in need of help and consequently at this specific moment in interaction not knowledgeable or experienced enough to further the accomplishment of the task on her own. She produces a first pair part of a question-answer sequence, thus making a reaction, i.e. the production of a second pair part consequentially relevant (Pomerantz, 1984) by co-participant, i.e. Ella. The latter produces the relevant second pair part, however, by downgrading the requested help (lines 5-6) of providing the expected answer: she does not answer the question in terms of content of what to write, i.e. producing a candidate writing segment. Ella is not offering the help/candidate answer that was requested: she is not advising Mia on what to write, but rather on where to write as underlined by the deictic use of 'hei/here' and the simultaneous pointing to the paper, i.e. the spatial organization of the paper/writing. Ella is orienting to a request being made but does not provide the assistance that was requested and thereby displays that she orients to Mia as being knowledgeable enough to decide on what to write or at least to produce a candidate writing segment. Instead of providing Mia with a candidate writing segment, Ella offers Mia the opportunity to come up with an idea herself. Ella is in this sense doing scaffolding work in that she does help her peer, but without providing a solution straightaway and by that doing the 'work' instead of her peer. Ella's re-positioning of her torso backwards into the chair (line 2, figure 6.28.) and away from the draft-so-far underlines her disengagement from what to write. Ella through the display of her disengagement from the task constitutes Mia as being knowledgeable about what the next candidate writing segment could be. Although Mia had tried to constitute Ella as the expert who should help her, Ella gives the (writing) floor back to Mia and

invites her to make an attempt at it herself. Mia takes the floor, but displays being in trouble as to what she should write (lines 5-6). She then displays a change in her strategy and selects an item that according to her needs to be challenged (lines 7-9). By doing so, she positions Ella as the expert who eventually takes over, erases the already written and then starts writing. In a way one could argue that by positioning other as expert, Mia has managed to get her peer, which in this case is put into the role of the expert, to do the writing of the next segment in the draft-so-far.

The previous extract 4.4. illustrates to what extent the formulation of requests and positioning something as repairable or to be challenged are practices deployed by a novice learner to get more experienced learner's help. The different interactional moves occurring in extract 4.4. are represented in the table below.

Table 6.3: Schematic overview of interactional moves extract 4.4.



Mia is interactionally competent in how to make use of available resources (gestures, gaze, the draft-so-far, etc.) in order to adapt and to change the

interactional moves and receive the other's help and expertise after all, i.e. if not initially successful in receiving pursued response.

6.5.3. Intermediate summary case 2

The analysis of our second writing dyad (case 2) has shown how the formulation of requests can be much more complex than displayed by Case 1. Mia has continuously displayed an engagement with the writing task, while Ella has been prone to either be distracted (camera, picture, etc.) or to shift the interaction voluntarily towards another joint focus, and thereby managed to avoid providing overt negative feedback to her peer's ungrammatical candidate writing answers. Mia in a way constitutes herself into two major identities during the interactions between the girls. On the one hand, her continuous attempt to reorient the focus of the interaction to the writing displays her institutional identity (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 203) as a learner within the task-oriented context. On the other hand, once she had gained her peer's attention and joined focus, she constituted herself as the less knowledgeable peer in need of the more advanced peer's expertise or help in order to accomplish the writing. What eventually happens then, is that Ella is not continuing with her initial scaffolding work and thereby rendering the task less complex or providing support so that Mia is able to move forward by providing a candidate writing segment herself for example. On the contrary, Ella is eventually complied into writing onto the paper herself (repairing the order of the sentences?) and Mia is watching when she is writing. Mia, for her part, not having been offered a candidate writing segment, does not come up with one herself. Instead, she changes 'strategy' and presents the already written as repairable by challenging it (cf. table 6.3.).

Similar to case 1, we can enlist the following findings. The way the learners construct and employ expert-novice-practices influences the unfolding of the interaction as well as how they organize their writing activity and consequently how they accomplish the learning activity. Mia through the constitution of herself as the less knowledgeable peer as well as the 'attention-keeper' on the (goal of

the) task and the formulation and design of her requests ‘controls’ the following outcomes/interactional next steps/responses

- Through the production of a request which is generally the first pair part of an adjacency pair structure, the production of a relevant second pair part becomes conditionally relevant.
- The way Mia designs her requests (gaze, body posture, etc.) she also makes it relevant who the next speaker should be and thus also the producer of the relevant second pair part or next action.
- The design of the request (the first pair part) is contrary to our first case analysis much less systematic, the reason for this being the constant rejection by her peer as well as the creation of negotiation space for a ‘repaired’ and by both learners acknowledged candidate writing segment.
- Even though there have been numerous and quite extensive divergences (cf. full transcript in appendix I for a better overview), both learners have displayed an interactional sensitivity to the ‘historicity’ and goal-orientedness of their activity as both have displayed being interactionally competent in designing their turns so as to orient it to prior talk and thereby re-establishing the focus on their activity. and negotiating, developing or repairing the candidate writing segments in the perspective of accomplishing the writing activity.

Finally, we want to add one more comment for the analysis of case 2, and that is in relation to the candidate writing segments. Although the girls displayed having troubles accepting each other’s candidate writing segments, and some repairs or reformulations or even rejections of them have been presented, we want to point out that all candidate writing segments have been produced in the target writing language, which in this case is German. This illustrates that when young learners are working together in a dyad or group, within a multilingual setting (where there is more than one officially approved language of communication) the learners create their own opportunities (at this early age and level of exposure and experience!) for language use and thereby for learning opportunities.

6.6. Case 3: how expert-novice-practices allow for doing scaffolding work



Figure 6.30.a - Participants case 3

In case 3, we focus on two boys, Pit and Hugo, who are engaged in the accomplishment of the same learning activity as our previous groups. Pit is from the second year of cycle two and Hugo from the first year of cycle two. The episode we focus on starts with Pit handing the draft-so-far to Hugo, telling him to write. Extract 5.1. shows Pit and Hugo negotiating the word ‘wir/we’ which Hugo is invited to write down. The transcript is rather long and detailed: many non-verbal features are included in the transcript because as we will see, they are primordial to the interactional organization and accomplishment of the activity.

6.6.1. Imposing ‘candidate’ writing segments

Before Pit hands the writing tools (pen/pencil and draft-so-far) over to Hugo, he is finishing his writing segment (line 00) as it had just been his turn to write. As he hands the tools to Hugo, he tells him to write ‘wir’ (line 01, fig. 6.30.b., below). Hugo grabs the pen and repeats the next to be written segment produced by his peer (line 03) with slightly rising intonation at the end and his gaze directed to Pit, asking for confirmation (fig. 6.31.). The fact that he is grinning slightly while producing it, displays that he is not producing it as a challenge to Pit’s offered writing segment but rather as an alignment which still however needs to be elaborated on. Laughter is used (as in case 2 where we had one such occasion) for

establishing a positive interpersonal relationship between members of a community of practice, which is here their dyadic interaction (cf. chapter 3). Pit does not produce an uptake though (line 04, fig. 6.32) and hence no confirmation of Hugo's displayed insecurity.

Extract 5.1.: sch(k)reiw wir



Figure 6.30b.: sch(k)reiw wir:;



Figure 6.31: <<grinning> wIr,>



Figure 6.32.: (1.7)

- 00 (46.7)
Pit is writing and Hugo is gazing around the classroom
- 01 ->Pit: *sch(k)reiw wir:;
write we
pit *pushes paper over to hugo,
moves upper body towards hugo
and tips with pen onto table (fig. 6.30.b.)
- 02 * (1.0)
hug *grabs pen
pit *gaze to hugo
- 03 Hug: *<<grinning> wIr,>
<<grinning> wE,>
hug *gaze to pit (fig. 6.31.)
- 04 * (1.7)
pit *lays head on his hands, gaze to hugo
hugo *gaze to pit, then to pen (fig. 6.32.)

How Pit changes from one participation framework of individual writing to collaborative orientation towards the accomplishment of the task is in fact performed in a straightforward way: he hands writing tools to his peer and directs him to write ‘wir’, the ‘wir’ constituting a writing segment because it is produced in German while the order to write is produced in Luxembourgish. By telling Hugo what to write, he constitutes himself as the more advanced learner who knows how to proceed with the accomplishment of the writing activity. At the same time, Hugo is constituted as the younger, or less experienced learner who should accept what a more advanced peer offers him to write. Note that previous to this Pit had been writing, and once he has finished, there is no negotiation (unlike with Ella and Mia) about how to organize the writing, nor about what is to be written next. Pit delivers the next writing segment and there is no rising intonation at the end which would have situated it as a trying out segment. The writing segment is preceded by an imperative (*sch(k)reiw*) and produced with slightly falling intonation at the end. It is not offered as a *candidate* or *trying out* writing segment, but produced as a teacher-like-instruction which does not invite for a confirmation and a challenge would possibly have been considered a dispreferred answer. However, Hugo’s repetition of the candidate writing segment with slightly rising intonation at the end does not bring the sequence to a close, but invites for more elaboration or at least a confirmation. Pit does not produce an uptake and there is a verbal pause during which Pit lays his head on the table and Hugo gazes towards the pen in his hand (figure 6.32.).

In the next extract (5.2., below; line numbering continues from previous extract to reflect sequentiality) Pit produces the first phoneme of the word (i.e. writing segment) he suggested to be written. Hugo lays his head backwards and gazes into the air. He displays ‘doing thinking’ (figure 6.32.) (Carroll, 2005; M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Schegloff, 1979) which occurs at a particular moment in talk. The turning of one’s head into a different direction (upwards) (M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986, p. 57) and the withdrawal of the gaze from the draft-so-far, i.e. joint focus, are characteristic of a ‘thinking face’ (M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Park, 2007). The ‘thinking face’ has in previous research mostly been

associated and analysed in relation to word searches. We want to suggest that what Hugo displays doing here is in fact very similar to doing a word search. However, as the word has already been offered by his peer, Hugo, as a young literacy learner in this specific language (or writing) learning activity, is not doing a word search, but a *letter search*. Young learners at this age orient to the spelling of words and are likely to proceed letter by letter during a writing activity as they are still being introduced to writing practices, hence they are at the very early stages of their literacy experience and expertise. The learners are introduced to the German alphabet through the pronunciation of phonemes which are then associated to graphemes. Pit's phoneme (line 5) is produced with a stretched sound and slightly rising intonation at the end, prompting his peer to take the floor and continue with a suggestion for a letter. Olsher, drawing on Koshik (1999), notes that teachers produce incomplete turns (of sentential form) "to invite the recipient to supply a word is similar to a practice described by Koshik (1999, pp. 311-335) where teachers prompt students to supply a correction; in this practice, a "designedly incomplete utterance," is used by a teacher who reads aloud from a student text and stops just before a targeted problem word in order to prompt the student to come in and supply the continuation with a corrected form of the word written in the text" (Olsher, 2003, p. 323). The practice Pit employs here is similar to teachers producing prompts in that he produces an incomplete turn soliciting Hugo to come in and produce a turn which uptakes on the prospective written text. Hugo orients to Pit's invitation to come in and produces a repeat of Pit's utterance and then moves on to formulate a request (line 06: w: (.) w:i ween?, figure 6.34.), displaying that he does not know which letter is at the beginning of the word 'wir'. His trouble is seemingly resulting from the fact that in the German alphabet there are three phonemes which at that age and level of experience sound a bit similar (v-w-f), and he might not be sure which one is the right one (hence *letter search*). Pit lifts his upper body and points to a specific spot on the draft-so-far (fig. 6.35). His pointing gesture is underlined by his verbal utterance making it clear that he is pointing to a specific letter. Hugo does not display an orientation to this and after a pause Pit elaborates further and with his finger virtually draws the letter 'w' onto the paper (figure 6.36.). Hugo, through repositioning himself so as

to see what Pit is doing, displays now attention towards Pit's doings and his verbal utterance (line 10) confirms that he sees what Pit is pointing to. However as Pit is not gazing to Hugo (but to his writing), and as Hugo's utterance is produced in very low voice, Pit does not orient to Hugo's engagement (as he does not see it and probably neither hear it). Pit takes a step further, grabs a pen in an attempt to write the letter onto the paper with the writing tool. Hugo get himself into writing position (figure 6.37.), but does not do any writing and so Pit moves on and writes the letter onto the paper (line 12, figure 6.38.) in overlap with Hugo who self-selects at the same time producing another request (line 11: (wi geet d')?). The boys are working on a double folded piece of paper. While the actual text is being written onto the left hand side, Pit is writing his letter onto the right hand side. Hugo then moves on, takes up a writing position and asks for confirmation while writing (line 15: sou?, figure 6.39.). Pit takes a look at it (line 16), then takes the cap off his pen and writes the letter 'w' onto the right side of the paper. Hugo, gazing to Pit's writing, orients to Pit's embodied action and his turn in line 17 which functions as a deictic turn inviting Hugo to look at his doings. Hugo then settles back into writing position.

Extract 5.2.: w: (.) w:i ween?



Figure 6.33.: w*: ,



Figure 6.34.: w: (.) w:i ween?

- 05 Pit: *w*: ,
 pit *lays head on his hands, gaze to hugo
 hug *head backwards,
 gaze upwards (fig. 6.33.)
- 06 Hug: w: (.) w:i *ween?
 w: (.) l:ike who/what?
 hug *gaze to pit (fig. 6.34.)

- 07 *pit* *(1.7)
 hug *lifts head
 *gaze into
 classroom
- 08 Pit: *esou* een
 one like that
 pit *points to paper
 hug *gaze to paper
 (fig. 6.35.)
- 09 *(1.2)
 pit *points to paper,
 lifts head and
 gaze to camera,
 then gaze to hugo
- 10 Hug: <<pp> (o*ké)>
 <<pp> (okay)>
 pit *gaze to hugo
- 11 Hug: [* (wi geet d')?]*
 [(how does it)?]
 hug *gaze to pit
 hug *turns pen into writing position,
 bends head forward, gaze to paper
- 12 Pit: [*sou,*
 [like this,
 pit *draws a 'w' with his finger onto paper (fig. 6.36.)
 hug *gaze to pit's finger
 pit *gaze to his right, reaches to grab writing tool
- 13 Hug: ()*
 hug *takes up writing position
- 14 *(1.3)
 hug *in writing position
 pit *leans over hugo's hand, gaze to paper
- 15 Hug: *sou?
 like this?
 hug *writes (fig. 6.37.)
- 16 *(1.7)
 pit *gaze to paper,
 taking cap from writing tool
- 17 Pit: esou*
 like that
 pit *writes onto other sheet of paper
 hug *gaze to pit's writing (fig. 6.38.)
- 18 *(4.2)*
 pit *writes 'w' onto paper,
 then gaze to hugo, then to camera
 hug *moves closer to pit's writing
 hug *gaze to his paper,
 writing position (fig. 6.39.)

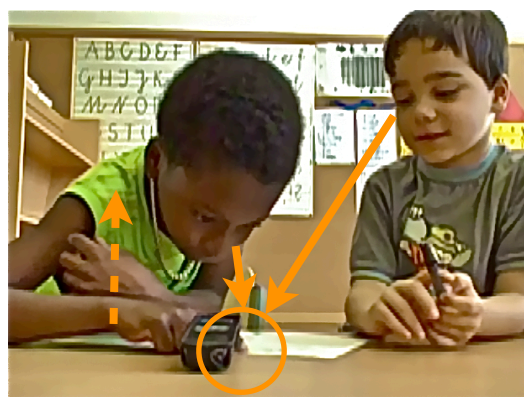


Figure 6.35.: esou een



Figure 6.36.: sou,



Figure 6.37.: sou?

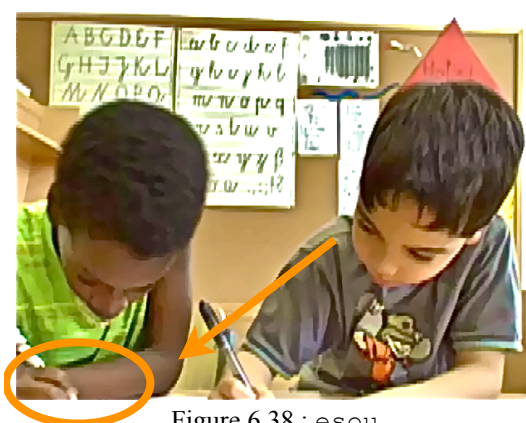


Figure 6.38.: esou



Figure 6.39.: (4.2)

In fact, we can argue that in the previous extract, Pit displays doing ‘scaffolding work’ (Bruner, 1983; de Guerrero & Villami, 2000) as he is adapting his assistance to Hugo’s needs and rendering the task less complex while at the same time increasing his assistance oriented to Hugo’s displays of being in need of further help, assistance and expertise. Hugo produces three requests in the previous extract, one of which is produced in overlap with Pit who is orienting to providing assistance. The other two requests are followed by 1.2 and 1.7 pauses respectively. However, Pit is producing a next relevant action to each request. He first points to the letter written in the draft-so-far, then draws it with his finger and finally writes it down onto the paper. He notes it down onto his side of the paper and not onto the side where the draft-so-far is written. The pauses could be explained in that before downgrading his assistance, Pit leaves some space (like teachers in teacher-fronted classrooms do) for Hugo to come up with a candidate answer himself.

Pit's assistance is becoming less sophisticated with every step: from pointing to the letter on the paper, he moves to writing it first virtually with his finger then with a pen, so that Hugo in a way just has to copy it from one side of the paper to the other side. Pit is increasing his assistance, adding more and more details (verbal and non-verbal resources and interactional moves) to his explanations and thereby adapting it to Hugo's displayed needs for help. This renders the task less complex for Hugo who is invited to keep his attention on the task and to make an effort to move forward. Drawing on Vygotsky and his concept of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) which was framed with child development in mind and which presupposes a social interactive context, we would argue that the interaction between Pit and Hugo is an empirical illustration of a ZPD, and potentially a micro-moment of situated cognition and learning (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2001, 2004; Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.)). The ZPD is defined by Vygotsky as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). And the assistance which we see Pit providing to Hugo can be termed *scaffolding* because the assistance is gradually tailored to Hugo's exposed needs (Bruner, 1983; de Guerrero & Villami, 2000). However, it is also important to note that this process of providing assistance is a co-constructed process between two participants, as any interaction is the result of the practices (social and discursive) deployed by its participants:

“L'interaction [...] est conçue comme le résultat d'actions pratiques effectuées par les sujets de façon conjointe et coordonnée”⁹ (Vasseur, 2005, p. 63).

The young learners here use expert-novice-practices in order to collectively construct this scaffolding episode. Pit can only provide assistance because Hugo,

⁹ Translation: The interaction is conceived as the result of practical actions carried out collaboratively by the subjects.

in doing what he does (request formulations, letter search, etc.) displays being in need of his assistance and thereby also invites and allows for Pit's help.

The previous extract (6.2., above) is also illustrative in that it shows how the conversation between young learners engaged in a learning activity is indexical and that the sequentiality of nonverbal features and embodied action needs to be taken into account because the learners display orientation to and understanding of each other's doings which is relevant for the construction of mutual understanding in the unfolding of their social interaction. Were one to look at the verbal interaction only, it would be very difficult to understand what is going on. The relationship between the turn-taking system and the nature of the task, i.e. learning activity (Seedhouse, 2004c) is reflexive and the learners display a tendency towards minimalization and, as already pointed out, indexicality in their turns. Finally, we might add that Hugo produces several requests (lines 6 and 11) and confirmation and comprehension checks (lines 11 and 14), also described as typical of a task-oriented context (Seedhouse, 2004c). However, there were none in the first two cases (case 1 and 2), and this raises the questions whether these confirmation and comprehension checks are relevant for scaffolding work to occur and to be co-constructed.

Goodwin has raised the question of whether doing a thinking face actually has a communicative function. "It is at least theoretically possible that the gaze withdrawal and thinking face, rather than providing social displays to other participants, are simply adjustments to the cognitive demands that a word search imposes (for example, ways of eliminating distracting visual information)" (M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986, p. 58). In our case, Hugo's thinking face and turned away gaze is accompanied by a verbal utterance, displaying a letter search which materializes, or is verbalized, through a straightforward request in line 06. The visual, i.e. non-verbal organization of the letter search functions as a resource for Pit which he draws on as he provides some help through the reformulation of the letter. Goodwin and Goodwin have suggested that a (non-verbally accompanied) thinking face "is a visible indication of continued engagement in the word search [or here letter search] and is a reason to wait for talk, even though the speaker is

silent, such visual phenomena are consequential for recipients, even in cases where entry into the word search is signaled vocally” (M. H. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986, p. 60). Hence, Hugo is displaying being actively engaged into the task, at least for a short interactional moment before he moves on and requests more elaborate assistance thereby constituting his peer as the more knowledgeable learner. The continued formulation of requests and confirmation checks constitutes Pit from one interactional moment to the next as the more experienced literacy expert. Pit, for his part, actively engages into this role and provides, as we have seen, step-by-step writing/literacy assistance adapted gradually to Hugo’s displayed needs. Until Hugo finally repositions himself so as to take up a writing position.

6.6.2. Request for help, assistance

In the next extract 5.3. (below, line numbering continues to reflect sequentiality), Hugo, having just been in writing position, withdraws from the writing (line 18, figure 6.40., below) and formulates another request. As Pit does not produce an uptake, Hugo repeats his request (line 20, figure 6.41.), this time with accentuated intonation. Pit takes the pen from Hugo’s hand, and onto the appropriate place of the draft-so-far writes the letter ‘w’ (lines 22-25, figure 6.42.). Hugo produces a *change of state* token (line 23) performing his understanding and acceptance of the letter Pit has now written down. After Pit finishes writing, he tells Hugo to write ‘w:’ *ir.*. Pit produces the stretched phoneme of the grapheme he just wrote down and after a glottal stop produces the continuation, i.e. missing segment of the word to be written (*wir*). Like before, his turn is produced as a prompt, inviting Hugo to take over and fill in the missing segment of the word. In order to do so, Hugo needs to know the two letters which are to be written next: the ‘i’ and the ‘e’.

Extract 5.3.: w(i) gEEt dAt?

18	Hug:	*tsk. w(u) geet* dat?
		tsk. how does it work/go?
	<i>hug</i>	<i>*lifts pen a little bit from paper (fig. 6.40.)</i>
	<i>pit</i>	<i>*turns head backward</i>

- 19 *(3.1)
 pit *gaze to paper, head almost down on table
 hug *takes up writing position
- 20 Hug: *w(i) gEEt dAt?
 where goes that?
 hug *stops writing,
 lifts head up, away from paper (fig. 6.41)
- 21 *(1.2)
 pit *takes pen from hugo's hand
- 22 Pit: .h ma da:t(s) (.) *<<p> esou>
 .h but it/that (.) <<p> like that>
 pit *writes
- 23 Hug: *ah
 pit *writes a 'w' (fig. 6.42.)
- 24 *(1.5)
 pit *finishes writing
- 25 Pit: sch(k)reiw *w:' ir.
 write we.
- 26 *hug* *takes pen from pit



Figure 6.40.: tsk. w(u) geet* dat?



Figure 6.41.: w(i) gEEt dAt?

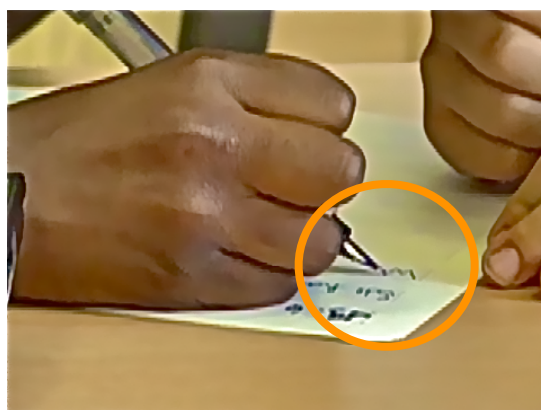


Figure 6.42.: <<p> esou>

The extract (5.3.) shows another instance of how expert-novice-practices are continuously deployed by these young learners when collaboratively orienting to

the accomplishment of the learning activity. Linked to this are the roles of expert and novice, or more advanced learner versus less advanced learner which are configured in and through the talk and managed locally on a moment-by-moment basis. Hugo, through his continuous formulations of request-s, constitutes himself as the novice in need of the expert's (Pit's) assistance and know-how and makes use of that role to gain access to the other's expertise. By using requests, Hugo makes Pit's next action-s relevant and thereby he can slightly control the unfolding interaction, and more precisely Pit's next relevant action. Pit in fact provides a relevant next action to each first pair part, displaying his continued engagement with Hugo's trouble to write and in and through those actions he is assuming the role of the expert, the role which was offered to him by Hugo. Up to now Pit used various resources (intonation, stretched sounds, writing, etc.) to gradually adapt and downgrade his assistance-giving as an expert and to adapt it to the level of assistance needed as displayed by Hugo in order to accomplish the writing task. It is then fair to say that Pit assumes the candidate role of expert which he is being offered. Along these lines we might mention Vasseur who argues that while one constitutes oneself as 'novice' in need of other's knowledge of expertise one constructs the image of other as expert or 'capable of knowing' at the same time:

“[C]elui qui se conduit en élève a reconstruit l'autre comme possesseur d'un savoir et capable de le lui transmettre” ¹⁰ (Vasseur, 2005, p. 112).

It is however also important to note that even if a learner can in a certain domain or subject be less expert or knowledgeable than the other, he can still refuse to accept to be put into that role. This works of course also the other way round: the expert does not have to assume that role but has the right to reject it. This extract thus illustrates to what extent expert-novice-practices are co-constructed through discourse and social practices deployed and oriented to by both participants in the specific community of practice. For Vasseur, these sequences are in fact teaching-like sequences (Vasseur, 2005, pp. 112-113), and we argue that the demonstration

¹⁰ Translation: The one who acts as pupil has reconstructed the other as being in possession of knowledge and to be able (capable) to transmit that knowledge to him.

of how Pit and Hugo orient to doing scaffolding work is a nice example of this, especially in relation to the way they adapt to each others' displayed needs respectively adapted assistance and expertise on a moment-by-moment basis.

6.6.3. Request for confirmation

In the following extract (5.4.), Hugo moves on to the writing of the second letter of the three letter word 'wir'. Pit has just told Hugo to write 'wir', and the first letter of the word is now written on the draft-so-far. Hugo moves on to the second letter to be written down (line 27). He produces the letter with rising intonation, positioning it as a comprehension check which needs to be either confirmed or challenged by Pit. Pit confirms Hugo's request (line 28) who produces another, more elaborate first pair part, i.e. request asking for a confirmation by Pit. Hugo is associating the letter with a German noun starting with that very letter: *i wi igel?* (line 29). Once again Pit ratifies Hugo's answer (line 30: *j o .*) and adds some more information about how to spell the agreed on writing segment/letter (line 30: *kleng.*). Hugo then proceeds to write the letter down, thereby displaying an understanding of which letter is to be written down. Pit orients to Hugo finishing writing as can be seen from his offering the next writing segment (letter) to be written down at that very precise interactional moment - the end of writing the segment thus functioning as a TRP here. Hugo produces an uptake and at the same time the same strategy as before: he produces a repeat of the letter to be written down and then, like before (here: line 29: *i wi igel?*; before: extract 5.2., line 6: *w: (.) w:i ween?*), projects an association of the letter with a German noun (line 33-36). Hugo's turn starts off with slow pace, including a series of repetitions and stretched sounds. It displays a continuous engagement with the learning activity and its accomplishment which also again projects the association with a relevant German pronoun in line 33. Pit overlaps him at the very moment of this association which is on its way, and so Hugo produces a repeat in line 35. Pit then offers an associated German noun to letter 'r' (line 36) which is repeated by Hugo with rising intonation at the end and the gaze directed to Pit (line 37, figure 6.43.). These turns (line 33 to 36) are a very nice illustration of collaborative work and how the learners orient to and interpret each other's talk

and moves: they collaboratively complete the association of the letter 'r' with the noun 'ritter'. Pit reconfirms (line 38, figure 6.44.) and elaborates by adding information on how to write the letter 'r' (line 39). After a short pause, Hugo repeats the word once again, this time highlighting his trouble of understanding (Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.), pp. 9-11)) through squeezing his eyes and gazing to Pit. Pit orients to Hugo's embodied action, sitting upright and formulating a request (line 40, figure 6.45.). Pit's request is about Hugo's state of knowing what letter the 'r' is. Hugo does not produce an uptake (line 43) and Pit moves on, employing the same scaffolding strategy as before writing the letter 'r' down onto the right side of the paper. Hugo gazes to Pit's writing, and then, through writing himself onto the left side of the paper (line 45, figure 6.47.), displays an understanding of what to write next on the draft-so-far. He then leans back, gazing to Pit, (figure 6.48.) who after a few seconds, grabs pen and paper from Hugo (line 46, figure 6.49., figure 50. and figure 6.51.).

Extract 5.4.: i wi igel?

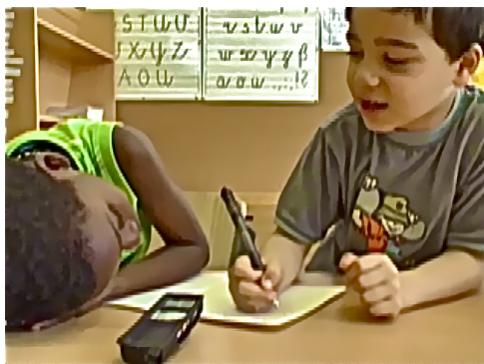


Figure 6.43.: ritter?



Figure 6.44.: (-) kleng.



Figure 6.45.: ritter?

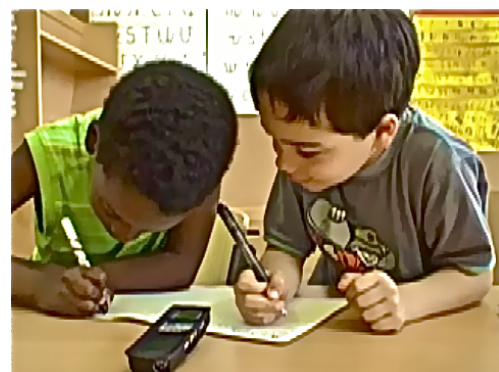


Figure 6.46.: (hm=m:)



Figure 6.47.: (1.2)

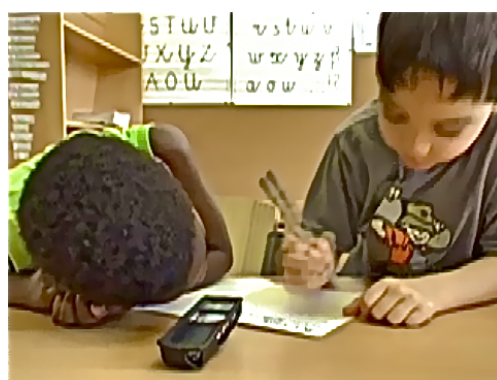


Figure 6.48.: (7.0) : stops writing

- 27 Hug: i?
- 28 Pit: (hm=hm).
- 29 Hug: i wi igel?
i like hedgehock?
- 30 Pit: jo. (.) kleng.
yes. (.) small.
- 31 * (2.9) *
hug *writes
hug *stops writing
- 32 Pit: r:
- 33 Hug: r: *r: (.) r: [wi*
r: r: (.) r: [like
hug *gaze to pit
hug *'thinking' gaze into room
- 34 Pit: [(<<pp> jo>)
[(<<pp> yes>)
- 35 Hug: *wi:
like
hug *'thinking' gaze into room
- 36 Pit: ritter.*
knight.
hug *gaze to paper
- 37 Hug: ritter?*
knight?
hug *gaze to pit (fig. 6.43.)
- 38 Pit: jo; *(-) kleng.
yes; (-) small.
hug *'quizzical' gaze, squeezed eyes (fig. 6.44.)
- 39 (0.5)
- 40 Hug: *ritter?
knight?
hug * 'quizzical' gaze, squeezes eyes (fig. 6.45)

- 41 (0.8) *
 hug **gaze to paper*
 pit **lifts up from table*
- 42 Pit: wees=d=net **wat (de rr) ass?**
 don't you know what (the rr) is?
 pit **gaze to hugo*
 hug **gaze to pit*
 pit **opens pen*
- 43 (0.7)
- 44 Hug: * (hm=m:)*
 pit **writes (fig. 6.46.)*
 hug **leans over, gaze to paper*
 pit **gaze to hugo*
- 45 * (1.2)
 pit **puts cap on pen*
 hug **writes (fig. 6.47.)*
- 46 * (7.0)
 hug: **writes for (3.0) (fig. 6.48), then stops, leans back*
 **gaze to pit (fig. 6.49)*
- pit* **gaze to paper, then after hugo leans back*
 **grabs pen and paper (fig. 6.50.) and gets into*
 **writing position (fig. 6.51.)*



Figure 6.49.: (7.0) : gaze to Pit



Figure 6.50.: (7.0) : grabs pen



Figure 6.51.: Pit starts to write

The detailed analysis of the previous extract gives us a further insight into the sequential organization and relationship between talk, gaze and embodied actions drawn on by the learners when accomplishing a learning activity in and through peer interaction. As in the previous extracts, Hugo employs requests, this time a request for confirmation, making Pit's next actions as expert consequentially relevant and constituting himself as the 'learner' in need of a more advanced peer's knowledge. Pit does not challenge his identity as expert but assumes it and displays once again a gradual expertise giving, by 'downgrading or simplifying the provided assistance until Hugo has finished writing the negotiated writing segment 'wir'. As the sequential analysis has shown, Pit and Hugo collaboratively construct each other as novice and expert when accomplishing the learning activity. The interaction continues and Pit then grabs pen and paper, and continues writing onto the paper (transcript omitted, cf. Appendixyng an individual engagement with the writing task thereby excluding Hugo who eventually gets busy doing other things. The individual writing sequence thus inevitably moves Hugo towards a more peripheral participation framework.

Pit and Hugo collaboratively constitute each other as expert and novice as they co-construct their interaction in relation to accomplishing a writing task. Like Nora in case one, Hugo makes various request formulations and thereby also constitutes himself as less experienced learner to constitute Pit as more knowledgeable and to draw on Pit's expertise necessary for him to accomplish the learning writing task. One might argue that eventually, Pit only wrote the two last letters of the word 'wir'. However, in order to do so, requests, comprehension checks and verifications had to be formulated, necessary for the learners to organize and structure their participation framework and social action in a mutually understandable way.

6.6.4. Intermediate summary case 3

The analysis of case 3 shows that expert-novice practices are constructed and performed through talk, gaze and embodied actions from one interactional moment to the next. Hugo, through the continued formulation of requests, actively remains in the position of the learner in need of the more advanced peer's

expertise and assistance throughout the learning activity. In a way, Hugo makes use of his identity as learner, who has a year less of writing experience in comparison to Pit. Unlike Ella and Mia the participants from case 2, Pit and Hugo produce no “off-task” or “side sequences” in the sequences we analyzed. Pit tells Hugo to write ‘wir’ at the beginning of the sequence when they switched roles of who is to write the next segment and consequently be the scribe. Hugo accepts ‘being taught’ and does not challenge this position and he does not challenge what, i.e. the writing segment Pit tells him to write. Pit, for his part, plays an important role in Hugo’s learning process and how he actively guides him through that: Pit adjusts his assistance in ways contingent upon Hugo’s performance in the same way as adults have been observed doing it in adult-child interactions (cf. for example: H. Gardner & Forrester, 2010)

How Pit is constituted as the expert is a nice illustration of how a more advanced learner is able to provide scaffolded i.e. gradually adapted help and assistance as displayed by the learner’s needs and in relation to the micro-sequential needs of accomplishing the learning activity. Pit and Hugo co-construct their learning activity collaboratively: although one is expert, and the other novice, they still construct this learning and teaching sequence collaboratively. A noteworthy illustration of this collaboration is for example the collaboratively constructed turn completion. Hugo’s requests are designed so as to reflect the association of an alphabetical letter with the noun (and its image hanging in the classroom) [letter] + *wi/like* + [German noun] as for example in Hugo’s request *i wie igel?* which he produces with rising intonation so as to design it as a request. We have observed and described Pit orienting to this request not only in providing a relevant second pair part, but also in designing his response so as to make it fit the discourse design of the request as put to use by Hugo, by simply providing the missing segment, i.e. [German noun] of the formula [letter] + *wi/like* + [German noun]: both learners thus display an understanding towards this practice of specifying or defining various letters.

Similar to the findings in case 2, we can enlist the following findings. The expert-novice-practices as deployed by the participants of case 2 are illustrative of how young learners organize themselves when orienting to the accomplishment of a learning activity as well as the various shifts of participation frameworks this entails. We can already see that for each writing dyad (even when engaged in the same activity), the resources employed and the way they organize themselves is different for each dyad. Nevertheless, even though the requests are formulated somehow differently, the social practice of formulating a request has similar interactional consequences. The formulation of requests being the most prominent expert-novice practice, it allows for observing the learners' interactional competence. More precisely, Hugo, doing being the learner, designs his requests in such a way that they, as in the previous two examples, restrain the possible (preferred) next action:

- Through the production of a request which is generally the first pair part of an adjacency pair structure, the production of a relevant second pair part becomes conditionally relevant.
- Hugo's gaze and embodied action display the selection of the next speaker in charge of producing a sequentially relevant next action.
- The design of Hugo's requests (the first pair part) is somewhat similar to the first case analysis because it turns out to be a systematic throughout the sequence. His request are designed repetitively of the following segments: [letter] + *wi/like* + [German noun]

It is probably fair to say that at first sight Case 3's collaborative writing sequence is more 'harmonic' than Case 2's. The expert-novice-practices which are made use of, appear more unambiguous in that Hugo remains the 'learner' and Pit the 'expert' with each new request for assistance. They do not negotiate candidate writing segments and Hugo does not challenge the word, i.e. writing segment offered to him by Pit, a reason for the rather orderly and straightforward unfolding interaction. In terms of language and literacy learning, one might wonder whether this sequence is as 'rich' as Case 2's negotiations, especially as the participants in case 2 are negotiating candidate writing segments. The least one can say is that

Mia (from case 2) takes a more active role in the negotiation of the writing than Hugo. Even though she also constitutes herself as the less knowledgeable peer in relation to Ella, she still displays having an opinion or understanding of what should be written down, something which Hugo does not appear to display. Nevertheless, Hugo displays being interactionally competent in designing his turns so as to make next action relevant as well as restraining, through the design of his requests, what that next action preferably could be. Furthermore, we have demonstrated that in constituting himself as learner in relation to Pit as the expert through the deployment of expert-novice-practices, he is able to gain access to and make use of, step by step, Pit's more advanced knowledge and experience.

6.7. Case 4: arguing in conversational writing



Figure 6.52.: Participants case 4

In the fourth and final case, we have again two boys who are engaged in the same free writing learning activity. The sequence in total is rather long (+/- 9 minutes) and therefore we will focus on extracts where the shift from one participation framework to the next is a crucial point in organizing the interaction and the participants' orientation towards the accomplishment of the writing. Max and Bill's collaborative work is, as we will see, structured around arguing and disputing as they openly discuss who is the better/worse scribe. In a way one can say that they openly discuss and negotiate their roles and identities as learner and expert and who has the right to write. One indicator for this is their repeated

attempts to grab, one might even say “steal”, the draft-so-far from each other. The draft-so-far is thereby established as a resource for the organization of the unfolding interaction oriented towards the accomplishment of the learning activity. In this case it is, however, also a tool for establishing once right to write and thereby constitute oneself as the expert, i.e. the more knowledgeable or advanced learner who knows what to do and/or what to write. Figure 6.52. (above) for example already illustrates the negative stance both participants display towards each other. Their bodies are turned away from each other and one can describe this as ‘postural disalignment’ in comparison to what Hellermann described and labeled as ‘postural alignment’ (Hellermann, 2008). More precisely, we see Max (on the left) engaged in individual writing: the paper is in front of him, both his hands are placed on the paper, one holding it, the other writing. Bill has his head on his hands/arms on the table and his face (and consequently gaze) is visibly turned away from his peer and his doings.

6.7.1. Marked opposition and its implications for the organization of learning activities in peer interaction.

The participants of case 4 more often than not display an orientation not towards ‘writing collaboratively’, but rather, and quite explicitly, towards ‘writing competitively’. We thus argue that they openly challenge each other’s constituted roles and interactional identities in their dyad by constituting each other into negative identities. LeBaron et al. (2009), also working from a micro-sequential (CA) perspective, define for example ‘positive identity’ as “something that people do together” and their “claims for positivity are grounded [...] in the displayed orientations and situated practices of people who constitute positivity” (LeBaron, et al., 2009, pp. 193-195). Thus, our previous cases (1, 2 and 3) and their demonstrated collaboration, can be understood as examples of such constitutions of positive identities. We now claim that, as displayed by case 4, it is also possible to constitute *negative* identities as something that people do in arguing and competing with each other or against each other. Instead of showing affiliation to, or alignment (verbal and/or postural) with each other and thereby displaying collaborativeness in the accomplishment of the task, Bill and Max oppose each

other and also openly highlight this opposition by positioning it for example right at their turn-beginnings (cf. analysis of extract 6.1 and 6.2. in appendix II - these extracts demonstrate how the participants of case 4 constitute each other into negative identities right from the beginning of the episode). The next extract 6.3. (below) demonstrates to what extent the participants of case 4 continue to constitute each other into negative identities and how they thereby ‘fail’ to collaboratively accomplish the writing activity. More specifically, the learners of case 4 have troubles to construct an interpersonal relationship and thereby also fail (for the most part) to constitute each other as competent members of the same community of practice.

Marion, the educator, who has just done some repair work on the learners’ writing, has just left the table. A moment before she leaves the table, she pushes the draft-so-far over to Max (figure 6.54.). Bot participants gaze at each other (figure 6.55.) and then Bill displays orientation to the educator’s move of pushing the sheet towards Max and produces a turn with falling intonation, ordering Max to write (line 02: *da=schreiw.*, figure 6.56.). He continues and adds another component which can be understood as a personal aggression on Max (line 03: *wann=s du sou dichteg bass*). The last part of his turn-at-talk is produced with quicker pace and is a recycling of his earlier talk (omitted here, but cf. appendix I) and complaint to Marion that Max wrote everything on his own (line 04: *<<acc>=du wells jo alles schreiwen=da schreiw>.*). Bill thereby produces a complaint followed by an order. Max, however, is not orienting to Bill’s talk as he is rolling a pen between his hands, and then grabbing another which is lying on the table (line 2). It is only during the last part of Bill’s talk that the boys gaze at each other (line 4, figure 6.54.). Bill then turns his gaze and upper body away from Max. Max does not engage into writing, but produces a turn accusing Bill of being scared (line 6: *du hues elo angscht*). Both self-select after a short pause at the same time, Bill denying being scared and Max highlighting his accusation. Bill then once more recycles his complaint about Bill wanting to write it all on his own (line 11: *du wells jo=dann <<acc> schreiw=schreiw>;* , figure 6.55.) and that he might as well go on then with it now. Max produces another turn (line 12),

which can be understood as trying to orient Bill's attention to something different: he is asking him to put the microphone into the middle and as Bill is not producing an uptake, he repeats it again. This attempt by Max to shift the participation framework and the joint attention towards something different is reminiscent of Ella's doing in case 2. Like in case 2, the interaction here has also reached a face-threatening interactional moment: in case 2 Ella could have produced an open repair but decides to shift the attention towards something else. Here, the interaction has come to a series of open accusations and face-threatening moves and it is possible that Max's attempt to shift the attention towards the microphone is an attempt to escape this awkward situation. Bill still produces no uptake and it is when Max displays an orientation towards the draft-so-far and to doing some writing that Bill also orients to Max's doings (lines 14-15). Once more he orders Max to write (line 15: *max. (.) schrEI:w.*, figure 6.56.). His turn is produced with accentuated intonation and strong falling intonation, displaying his irritation. Max orients to this and before continuing with the writing he grabs the pencil case and puts it on top of the draft-so-far, blocking it from Bill's view (figure 6.57), thus discussing Bill's view from the paper and also pushing him to an even more peripheral position in the participation framework. In a way, Bill is then actively excluded by Max who displays orientation towards individual writing.



Figure 6.53.: (0.3) :Educator leaving table

Extract 6.1.: da=schreiw. wann=s du sou dichteteg bass;

- 01 *(0.3)
 mar *pushes paper over to max
 and leaves table
 max *rolling pen between hands
- 02 ->Bil: *da=schreiw.
 then=write.
 max *grabs pen lying on table
 bil *head on left hand
- 03 -> wann=s du sou dichteteg bass;=
 if you are that important/
 cool;=
- 04 -> <<acc>=*du wells jo alles schreiwen=da schreiw>.
 <<acc>=you want to write (sth)=then write.
 max *gaze to bill (fig. 6.54.)
 bil *gaze to max
- 05 *(2.1)
 bil *gaze over his left
 shoulder, away from max
- 06 Max: *du hues elo angscht*
 you are scared now
 max *gaze to table, rolling

pencil between both hands

max *gaze
to bil

07 (1.3) *

max *gaze to camera

08 Bil: [*nö
no
bil *gaze to pen in his hands

09 Max: [*(gesäis de)]
max *gaze to camera

10 *(1.7)
max *gaze to paper

11 ->Bil: *du wëlls jo=*dann <<acc> schreiw=*schreiw>*;
bil *gaze to max, shaking head vertically
bil *lifts right arm into dir. of max
(fig. 6.55.)
bil *lets arm fall
onto table
max *gaze to tim, then
to micro
bil *turns
upper body to left
away from max

12 Max: *mee ma daat dengens ass an der mëtt
but put that thing in the middle
max *rolling pencil betw. both
hands

13 ma mIkro an der mëtt*
put micro into the middle
max *gaze to
his upper left

14 *(3.1)*
max *puts one pencil down, takes
another one and gets
ready for writing
bil *turns body and gaze to
max

15 ->Bil: *max. (.) schrEI:w.
max. (.) wrI:te.
bil *upper body oriented to table,
elbows on table (fig.6.56.)

16 (0.8) *

max *lifts up, gaze to bil
then to pencil case

17 ->Bil: *wanns de alles wëlls*
if you want everything
max *grabs pencil case
max *puts pencil case down between
paper and tim (blocking tim's
view from paper)
bil *gaze to left,
holding chin with right hand
(fig. 6.57.)



Figure 6.54.: <<acc>=*du wells jo
alles schreiw=da schreiw>



Figure 6.55.: dann <<acc>
schreiw=*schreiw>



Figure 6.56.: max. (.) schrEI:w.



Figure 6.57.: wanns de alles wëlls

By displaying postural, but also verbal disalignment, Bill and Max are constituting each other into negative, or dispreferred identities. They display a competition for having the right to access the writing floor and they do not display coming to a mutual agreement or understanding of each other's doings. Bill produces accusations of Max wanting to do it all on his own. Max does not produce a rejection of this accusation, neither does he display an orientation to it. Instead, he produces a counter accusation, accusing his peer of being scared. A consequence of this is that there is no display of mutual agreement or understanding, nor any display of 'collaborativeness' towards the accomplishment of the task as the learners do not manage to constitute a positive interpersonal relationship within their dyad. Thus, once the educator has left the table, Bill and Max appear to be unable to move from that participation framework (with the educator) to that of collaborative accomplishment and organization of the learning activity. They

refuse to assume the identities and roles they constitute of and for each other and a consequence of this is arguing and disalignment.

Case 3 demonstrates to what extent working in a dyad in a conversational writing activity can be an extremely challenging undertaking, especially if learners do not manage to constitute each other into complementary roles, positions and/or identities. Both learners display being experts and the result is, as we have seen, a lot of arguing and a lot of engagement into social work displaying and highlighting opposition. The most prominent resource is to tell the peer what to write, and as demonstrated, this is not accepted by the peer.

6.7.2. Request for information and subsequent negotiation

In the next extract 6.2. (below; line numbering continues to reflect sequentiality) the participants of case 4 actually for the first time produce a request and thereby display an attempt to i) orient to the accomplishment of the learning activity, and ii) re-engage the peer into the accomplishment of the activity thereby making use of expert-novice-practices which eventually allow them to constitute each other into positive and assumed identities. Bill displays a disengagement from the task and an orientation towards the camera (lines 18-22). At the moment he lifts his arm, doing a peace sign to the camera, Max self-selects and produces a request for information (line 21 *wivill huet der gewonnen?*). See in particular figure 6.58. which illustrates to what extent Bill's orientation to the camera and the lifting of his arm is closely followed and timed by the way Max disengages from the writing, lifting his head and gaze to Max until he eventually formulates the request. Bill is not orienting to Max, however when he gazes to Max, thereby displaying reciprocity, Max produces a repetition of his request for information. More specifically, Max's question is asking for information about an experience Bill had in the past. Through the pronoun '*der*' (you, plural version) Max positions himself as not having been part of membership categorization of the winning team, or the volleyball playing team. At the same time, his question establishes an interest in Bill's activities in the past and makes the production of a second pair part by Bill relevant. Bill produces an uptake, displaying an

orientation towards a trouble in understanding or hearing (line 23). Max elaborates (line 24) and provides more information. After a pause, Bill self-selects, gazes to Max and says that they were ‘just playing’ (line 26: *mir hun einfach gespillt (.) just;*). His turn can be understood that they were playing volleyball without really paying attention to the score.

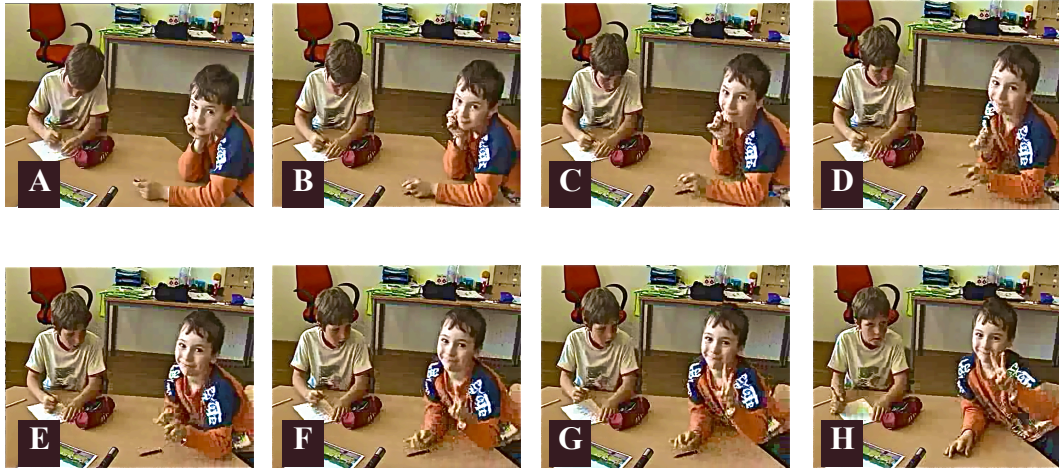


Figure 6.58.: ‘mutual disalignment’

Extract 6.2.: wivill* huet der *gewonnen?

18 ** (1.0)*
 max: **in writing position*
 bil **gaze into the room, chin on his right hand*

19 Bil: (tz pff)

20 ** (5.0)*
 bil **after (1.9) gaze to camera, then starts grinning,*
 dresses up and makes peace sign with left hand into
 camera (fig. 6.58.)
 max **gaze to bill as he lifts hand, then to camera*

21 ->Max: **wivill* huet der *gewonnen?*
 how high did you win?
 max **gaze to bill*
 bil **turning gaze and upper body to left*
 away from max
 max **touching tim's elbow with right*
 hand (fig. 6.59.)

22 ->Max: **wiv(u)ll hu:et dier <<acc> ge(.)wonnen?**
 how much did you win?
 bil **gaze to max (fig. 6.60.)*

23 Bil: bei waat?
 at/with what?

24 Max: bei volleyball.*
 at/with volleyball.

- max **gaze to camera*
- 25 * (3.4)
 max **gaze to bill*
 bil **gaze into room, then to camera*
- 26 Bil: **mir hun einfach *gespillt (.) just;*
 we only played (.) like that;
 bil **gaze to max*
 bil ** slightly shaking head horizontally*



Figure 6.59.: wivill huet der
 gewonnen?



Figure 6.60.: wiv(u)ll hu:et dier
 <<acc> ge(.)wonnen>?

In the previous extract, Max's question in line 21 has functions on two levels. First of all, the question has interactional functions. As it makes an answer by Bill conditionally relevant, it is an invitation for him to re-engage with the accomplishment of the writing task. Also, as Bill is turned away from the interactional space of the collaborative writing, Max employs other modalities to gain Bill's attention and touches him with his hand on the arm (figure 6.59). Once Bill's gaze and body are turned back to the interactional space in which the accomplishment of the writing is constituted (line 22, figure 6.60.), Max repeats his request (C. Goodwin, 1981b, 1986). The request is a powerful device for establishing mutual attention to the learning activity which at the same time is here also a first initiative to construct a community of practice which is constituted in and through the shift in participation framework. Second, the design of the request is such that Max constitutes Bill into a positive identity, that of being a member of a winning team during play at sport. This is then an attempt, within the newly constituted community of practice to do interpersonal relationship work. Third, Max self-selects and formulates his request at the very moment Bill's disengagement from the task is most visible, i.e. at the very

moment Bill lifts his arm. As Max was engaged with the writing and not paying attention to Bill's doings, he might not have seen that Bill's gaze was already oriented to the camera. However, when Bill lifts his arm to do a peace sign to the camera, his disengagement becomes much more visible and at that very moment Max displays an orientation to it.

We might note again that this is the first time since the beginning of the sequence that i) Max formulates a request which appears to be situated in relation to the accomplishment of the task and ii) it constitutes Bill into a positive identity, not only of the successful sportsplayer, but also as somebody whose knowledge and experience is necessary in order to write the next segment (or at least negotiate the next candidate writing segment) on the draft-so-far and thus further the accomplishment of the task. Bill, after a request for more information (line 23: *bei waat?*) and quite a long pause (line 25), provides a relevant second pair part (line 26). During the pause his gaze is drifting into the room and to the camera, which could be interpreted as displaying doing thinking. At least Max orients to it in this way as he does not self-select thus leaving Bill time to 'think' and produce a relevant answer. Bill then, as we have seen, provides an answer which can be qualified as dispreferred as he is not providing Max with a score/result, but saying that they played without noting down a score. In this way, Bill is downgrading his position and identity as the/a winner or participant of a winning team.

In the next extract (6.3., below) we have another request formulation for information by Max. Bill has turned away from the shared writing space and is visibly disaligned from the mutual accomplishment of the task (see figure 6.61.) Bill has turned away from the shared writing space and is visibly disengaged away from the mutual accomplishment of the task (figure 6.61.). Max produces an apology and a summons before formulating a request (line 1: *pardon bil (.) verstees du (-) daat heiten?*). Bill provides a relevant second pair part (line 2), and, displaying an orientation to it, Max moves on with a scaffolding move (line 4): he projects that he is going to help Bill to understand what he has written and formulates a question, inviting Bill to orient to the draft-so-far (line 4: <<acc>

daat verstees> du elo (-) .h waat steet hei?). His pointing gesture (line 4, figure 6.63.) underlines his effort to establish mutual attention to the draft-so-far. Bill produces a candidate answer to Max's question, the rising intonation at the end eliciting Max's subsequent confirmation or assessment. Max provides the positive evaluation, first through affirmative head shaking (line 7), then through a repeat with slightly falling intonation (line 8). Max's orientation towards the writing constitutes 'die' as the next to be written segment. Max self-selects (lines 8-9), producing a turn which could be understood as an account for why he requested Bill's assistance or help in the prior talk. Max then fully engages with the individual work of writing (line 11), and Bill once again disengages from the activity as he orients to the camera, to the microphone and eventually he starts humming (figure 6.65.). This mutual disalignment then once again marks a shift in the participation framework and both learners orient to different things.

Extract 6.6.: pardon bil* (.) *verstees du *(-) *daat heiten?



Figure 6.61.: (5.6) ; postural disalignment during individual writing sequence

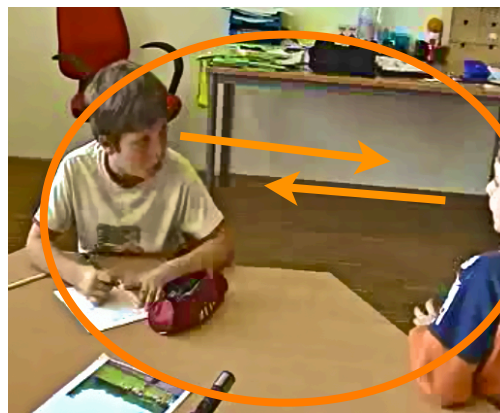


Figure 6.62.: verstees du (-)

- 00 *(5.6)
 max *writing
 bil *upper body and head turns away from paper (fig. 6.61.)
- 01 ->Max: pardon bil* (.) *verstees du *(-) *daat heiten?
 excuse me bil (.) do you (-) understand this?
 max *gaze to bil
 bil *gaze to max (fig. 6.62.)
 max *turning paper towards tim
 bil *gaze to paper, leaning
 closer
 max *pointing to sth. on paper
 (fig. 6.63.)
- 02 Bil: *nee
 no

03 *bil* **shaking head horizontally*

04 *Max:* <<acc> daat verstees> du elo (-) .h *waat steet hei?
 <<acc> that understand> you now (-).h what is written here?
 max **pointing to paper*
 (fig. 6.64.)

05 *max* ** (0.8)*
 max **gaze to bill*



Figure 6.63.: daat heiten?

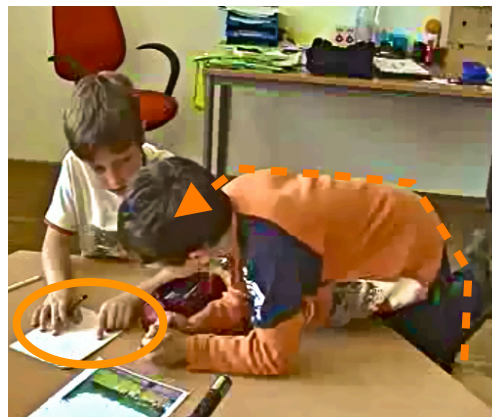


Figure 6.64.: `waat` steet hei?

06 Bil: die?*
 the?
 *bil *gaze to max*

07 *(0.4)
 *max *pulls paper towards himself shaking head vertically/
 affirmatively*

08 Max: die;*
 the
 *max *writes*

09 ech haat mech hei()
 i had here ()

10 DIE,*
 the,
 *max *gaze to tim and back to paper*

11 *(32.0)
 *max *writing*
 *bil *turns away from paper, gaze to camera, micro,
 starts humming (fig. 6.65.)*

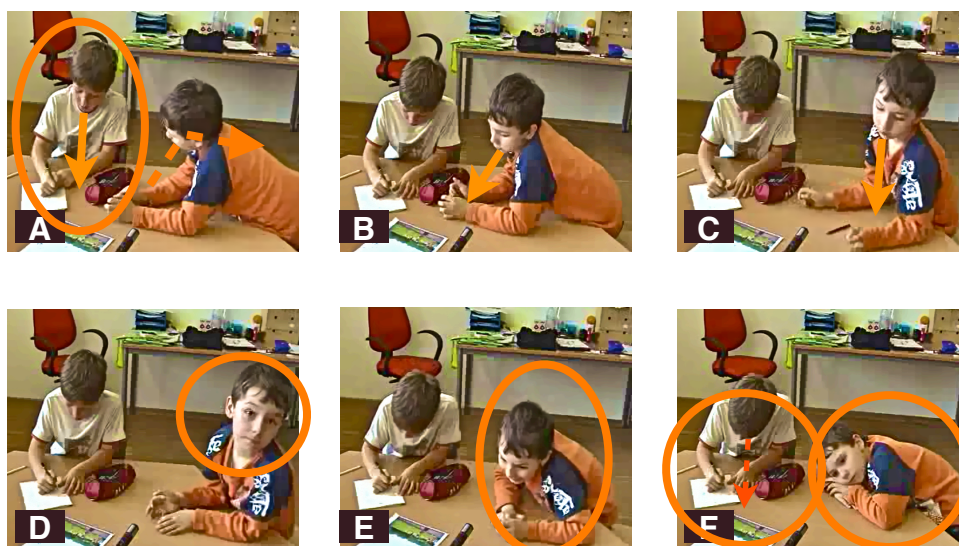


Figure 6.65.: disalignment at beginning of individual writing activity

Max's request design (line 1) is interesting because he starts off with an apology addressed to Bill. He thus displays orienting to Bill's postural disalignment and disengagement from the shared writing space and activity. Once he has Bill's gaze established (figure 6.62.), he moves on and formulates his question. The apology functions as a very polite device to establish Bill's as recipient of what is about to come. Also, it does some identity work as it constitutes Bill into the position of a 'respectable' person who is engaged in something different already. It might serve as a minimization or obliteration of their previously established negative identities but for sure it constitutes Bill into a positive identity because treated with respect. The deictic term 'dat' as well as his subsequent gaze and pointing to the paper highlight the trouble source Max is orienting to. In terms of content, the question could be interpreted as Max having some trouble understanding what he has written down. However, as Bill displays not being able to understand, Max's next turn constitutes himself as the more knowledgeable peer as he projects an upcoming explanation or elaboration (line 4: *daat verstees du elo*), thus doing some kind of teaching. In fact, he does not provide an explanation but invites Bill to give it another try by reformulating his question differently: *waat steet hei?*. This time Bill displays understanding Max's request as he reads outloud what is written on the draft-so-far and what Max is pointing to. In a way, one could argue that this move constitutes Bill as 'equal peer' in relation to Max, because i) Max displays an expectation towards Bill being able to provide the relevant appropriate answer and ii) Bill assumes the candidate identity Max has

created of and for him. This extract then highlights once more how the use of expert-novice-practices not only allows for constituting positive interpersonal relationships, but also, and because of this, the establishment of mutual orientation to and engagement with the accomplishment of the learning activity. We even argue that this extract demonstrates that the constitution of a positive interpersonal relationship within a dyad, and consequently also the constitution of each other into positive identities seems to be a necessary condition for a collaborative engagement in the accomplishment of a learning activity to occur.

6.7.3. Offering candidate information

In the next extract 6.4. (below), Bill, after a short pause, provides a candidate score to Max's request for information. His turn is designed so as to situate whatever is coming up next as a candidate answer because he frames his turn-at-talk with *so mer*, which functions as a mitigation device. His turn is produced with restarts, repairs and pauses, marking his hesitation and the component as a trying out candidate answer. Thus Bill orients to Max's request not necessarily as a request for information, but as a request for a candidate answer which is to be collaboratively negotiated. Max orients to this and at the first TRP, he self-selects and completes Bill's turn. Bill positively evaluates Max's collaborative completion, but in the second component produces a repair of it (line 4). Max recycles Bill's repair after a short pause and produces it with rising intonation, eliciting for confirmation possibly because if the score is 5:10, Bill is not constituted as having been part of the winning team. Bill produces another candidate answer (line 7) which is embedded within a similar turn-design as the previous one (line 2), repairing the candidate score. Max gazes to the paper which Bill orients to as a confirmation of the candidate answer and then reformulates it once more (line 9). Max, through his displayed engagement with the writing, simultaneously ratifies the candidate writing answer (line 10) as he engages into individual writing, brings the sequence to an end.

Extract 6.5.: so mer (.) <<acc> zing> (-).h so mer* (.) fënnef

01 * (0.9)
 max **gaze to camera*

02 ->Bil: *so mer (.) <<acc> zing> (-).h so mer* (.) fënnef=
 let=s say (.) <<acc> ten> (-) .h let=s say (.) five
 max **gaze to paper*
 bil **gaze into room*
 max **gaze to bill*

03 Max: =null*
 nil/zero
 max **lifting both hands and shaking them*
 bil **gaze to max*

04 Bil: <<p> jo fënnef null;> (-) <<acc> fënnef zing>
 <<p> yes five nil;> (-) <<acc> five ten>

05 (1.0)

06 Max: fënnef zin[g?*
 five te[n?
 max **gaze to paper*

07 Bil: [*so mer (.) fënnef* dräi
 [let=s say (.) five three
 bil **moves upper body towards max*
 showing 'five' with his left hand
 max **gaze to bill*

08 * (0.5)
 max **gaze to paper*

09 Bil: *mir hun fënnef (zing) ()
 we have five (ten) ()
 max **writing position*

10 * (5.6)
 max **writing*
 bil **turning upper body and head away from paper*

In the previous extract 6.4., the participants of case 4 appear to have forgotten their initial arguments and opposition and they even manage to collaboratively complete a potential candidate writing answer (lines 2-3). A first relevant interactional function of Max's question is that it initiates once again a new candidate participation framework. It offers Bill, who was disengaged from the learning activity and therefore in a more peripheral participation framework, the possibility to move towards a more central and engaged/active participation framework. More specifically, he receives the possibility to engage in the accomplishment of the writing activity by providing a relevant second pair part

with relevant ‘information content’ to Max’s question. In a way, Max’s request can be understood as a face-saving practice device (Goffman, 1967) which neutralizes the delicate character of their previously established social encounter (Vasseur, 2005). Secondly, Max’s question also elicits a new framework for doing identity work which allows for establishing a positive interpersonal relationship. As we have seen, the design and organization of the question, constitutes Bill as the bearer of the relevant knowledge necessary for furthering the writing activity. Bill, after some hesitation, assumes this identity offered to him, and provides the necessary information. One might argue that he downgrades this identity, as marked by his hesitation-s and restarts, because he is orienting to the previous competitive participation framework and Max’s unexpected summons for collaboration might come as a surprise. Once the candidate writing segment is collaboratively negotiated and ratified, Bill again turns away from the interactional space of collaborative writing, displaying a disengagement, once more, from the task and leaving Max to the individual writing activity.

6.7.4. And back to arguing

In the following we analyze an extract which demonstrates that even though Max and Bill managed to establish an interpersonal relationship for a short while (because they made use of expert-novice-practices), they still go back to arguing at the first opportunity. Max is engaged with the writing until he displays the need for an eraser (cf. full transcript in appendix I). Bill then also goes and gets his eraser and the boys engage with quite a long sequence where they are comparing their erasers and discussing whose eraser is taller, respectively bigger. Eventually Max kicks Bill’s eraser with the foot and Bill complains about it not being a football, meaning that Max should not kick it with his foot like a football. Bill produces a turn saying that it, i.e. the eraser, is not a football. He then shouts Max’s name, marking his anger and frustration through raised intonation, grabs his eraser and starts cleaning it (lines 01-04). Max offers an apology (line 05 and 08) which is however being ignored by Bill (line 06). Bill then orders Max to write (line 11) and Max orients back to his writing (line 14), until he pronounces being done (line 15). While Max is engaged in individual writing, Bill disengages

from the activity again and gets busy doing other things. While previously Max displayed polite behaviour towards Bill when formulating a request, he now treats Bill's possessives with explicit disrespect. This has consequences for the unfolding of the interaction and, with it, the interpersonal relationship between the two learners.

Extract 6.5.: *ma schreiw dach.*

- 01 Bil: *t=as kee fussba:ll.
 it=s no football.
 *bil *gaze to floor*
 *max *gaze to floor*
- 02 *MAX.
 *bil *bends down to garb eraser*
- 03 *(0.5)
 *bil *lift back up*
- 04 Bil: .tz*
 *bil *cleans eraser (until end of extract and beyond)*
- 05 Max: <<p> pard[on>
 sorry
- 06 Bil: [ech ginn et so:e:n.
 [i will go and tell
- 07 (0.9)
- 08 Max: ou. pardon. ech wosst dat net.
 hey. sorry. i did not know that.
- 09 (0.7)
- 10 Bil: .tz
- 11 *ma schreiw dach.*
 but write then.
- 12 (2.4)
- 13 Max: .tz
- 14 *(15.3)*
 *max *writes*
 *bil *busy with eraser*
 *max *stands up, lays pen down*
- 15 Max: fäerdeg.
 done.

The collaborative writing interaction comes to an end without Bill actually having had the opportunity to do any writing himself. Also, it is Max who decides when the accomplishment of the task is achieved (line 14, & 15: *fäerdeg.*): he stands

up and walks away from the table, marking the end of the writing activity. For space reasons, it is impossible to include the transcript as a whole, as the sequence available lasts more or less nine minutes. Nevertheless, the talk-in-interaction between Bill and Hugo is a good illustration of how collaborative writing can in fact be very ‘uncollaborative’ and how the interpersonal relationship between dyad partners has visible consequences for the unfolding activity and the accomplishment of the learning activity. At the beginning of the sequence (extract 6.1.), Max and Bill displayed having some trouble in establishing an interpersonal relationship as both were visibly threatening each other’s face. As could be seen through their continuous opposition to each other, both learners felt ‘attacked’ by the peer. The previous extract illustrates how even though Max and Bill for a short while managed to establish mutual attention towards the accomplishment of the learning activity, this positive interpersonal relationship is no guarantee for what’s coming next and that something like mistreating other’s material can shift the interpersonal relationship from alignment to disalignment and with it the participation framework of the interaction.

In Goffman’s terms, they “developed a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which [they] expresse[d their] view of the situation and through [their] evaluation of the participants, especially [themselves]” (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). Above all their continued disalignment (verbal and postural) marks this evaluation of each other. The core of their talk-in-interaction was thus to constitute themselves into positive identities because they displayed feeling ‘degraded’ or “inferior” (Goffman, 1967, p. 8) in relation to their peer. These feelings were marked with rising intonation, higher pitch, but also verbal utterances such as complaints. Max, through the formulation and design of his requests, eventually however manages to momentarily construct a positive identity framework for both of them and to some extent Bill is even engaged in the negotiation of a candidate writing segment (extracts 6.3. and 6.4.). However, ultimately Bill, does not do any writing on the draft-so-far. At the beginning of the analysis of case 4, we already mentioned that what was written on the draft-so-far had been written by Max only. As we analyzed the sequence, we did not come across an interactional moment in which

Bill was in control of the draft-so-far and in charge of writing something down. Max, when he decides that the writing is done, does not in what follows orient to Bill to confirm, assess or evaluate the writing. Max just gets up and walks away, and Bill is thus 'excluded' from the collaboration. Although this is the only of the 4 cases where the participants orient to actively excluding each other from collaborative accomplishment and completion, it launches the question of how collaborative writing a common text eventually can be. Obviously this exclusion is done collaboratively by both participants, i.e. learners, and not only by one of them. Max is excluding Bill, but Bill is also for his part not taking an active engagement in trying to do some writing or negotiation. Although he is telling Max several times to write, he does not try to write something himself or engage in negotiations about what to write. Each time it is Max who tries to engage Bill into the learning activity.

Although it is possible to collaboratively negotiate candidate writing segments, the writing is most of the time done by one participant only. Still, it is possible as we have seen in Nanna and Pit's doings (case 1 and 3), to closely watch the peer's writing, initiate repair or suggest amendments when appropriate, thus constituting the writing in progress as 'more collaborative' than exposed by case 4. We want to add that it is obvious that when writing takes place under those 'conditions' (one sheet of paper but 2 participants) and at that age (beginning of literacy learning exposure and experience), writing takes a considerable amount of time therefore leaving space for the non-writing participant to get busy with or distracted by other things. In fact, it is fair to say that in case 4's collaborative writing space, it is Max who for the major part stays in control of the draft-so-far, the writing and eventually the unfolding on the talk-in-interaction between him and his peer. Max is taking control of engaging Bill into accomplishment of the task, but at the same time, it is Max too who is responsible for disrupting the positive interpersonal relationship, by mistreating Bill's eraser. We have seen that Max, through the sequential organization between talk, gaze and body, establishes himself as the one being in charge of the unfolding interaction.

6.7.5. Confirming sequential analysis: a surprising account

We want to add a short extract because it confirms the previous analysis of how the constitution of negative identities has a negative impact on constitution of the community of practice and participants' performance of how they collaboratively accomplish a task or learning activity. Interestingly, in the next extract (6.6., below), Max engages into a short discussion with the researcher, confirming to some extent his displayed understanding of the interaction as well as his evaluation of Bill and himself (Goffman, 1967).

Bill and Max are sitting at the table, negotiating who should go and ask the teacher for an evaluation of their writing. Bill tells Max to go and ask, but as he provides no uptake, Bill decides to do it himself (lines 01-03). Max does not display any opposition to this (line 04) but rather encourages Bill to go. The researcher, who is near the camera or table (she cannot be seen in the camera camera-frame), then self-selects and produces what appears to be like a question about their 'collaborativeness' (line 05: *hutt der se zesammen ()*). The question is partly not hearable and Max displays hearing trouble (line 06) which elicits the researcher to reformulate her question (line 07). Max then produces an account of his doings (lines 8-15), stating that he wrote the text all on his own because, according to him, Bill writes too many mistakes (lines 10 -13). In his account he constitutes Bill as a weak writer who cannot write, or at least who writes too many mistakes, i.e. more than he does himself. His account is produced with hesitation markers, restarts and glottal stops, marking his understanding that to describe his peer as less competent can be made accountable by the next speaker. This also highlights that to do face-threatening actions to, and about someone, is a dispreferred action, hence the hesitation markers. He then adds some information that he writes mistakes too, but still less than his peer would write. By adding that he is writing mistakes too, Max is also diminishing the negative image he just constituted of his peer. The researcher in fact orients to Max's prior talk asking whether he then is able to do it all correctly, which Max curtails, saying that not everything (line 17).

Extract 6.6.: jo ech misst alles schreiwen

- 01 Bil: gei froen
go ask
- 02 *bil* *(0.5)
**grabs paper*
- 03 Bil: *dann ginn ech
then i will go
bil *leaves table
- 04 Max: (ma) da gei du
(well) go on then
- 05 Res: hutt der se zesummen ()
have you () together
- 06 Max: wat?
what?
- 07 Res: (hues du dat alleng geschriwwen?)
(have you written that?)
- 08 Max: jo ech misst alles schreiwen
yes i had to write it all
- 09 Res: ()
- 10 Max: hien willt schrei' hien' hien kann net
he would like to he he cannot
- 11 eh: schreiwen (-)
eh: write
- 12 hien kann schreiwen mee: .h
he cannot write but .h
- 13 hee' sch' hee mecht puer feeler.
he wr' he makes some mistakes
- 14 ech=ech e=puer feeler gemat=
i=i did soem mistakes
- 15 =hie geif=na=méi=feeler=machen
he would do even more mistakes
- 16 Res: an du mechs alles richteg?
and you do it all correctly?
- 17 Max: net alles
not everything

Max's account of him having written it all on his own, as well as his constitution of Bill as a less competent peer in a way re-enforces our analysis of the previous extracts. He displayed being in control of the talk-in-interaction (the draft-so-far, the writing tools, the writing, etc.), he did not provide an opportunity for his peer to participate in the writing process and in and through his doings established Bill

as the less knowledgeable peer. His account can hence be understood as a confirmation of our analysis. At the same time, the arguing and ‘unpleasant tone’ (higher pitch, increase tone of voice) as well as the disalignment (postural and verbal) between the learners is a result of the fact that Bill refuses to assume the identity and role Max constitutes of and for him.

6.7.6. Intermediate summary case 4

The fourth and final case analysis of peers in conversational writing interaction demonstrates that expert-novice-practices, although successful for some interactional moments, can however be disrupted by participants orienting to face-threatening actions and thereby constitute each other into negative identities. We have seen that at least one of the peers is constantly challenging candidate identities constituted by his coparticipant. In other words, Bill refuses to assume or take on the interactional role his peer is constituting for him. At the same time, he is challenging Max as a ‘know-all’. Max and Bill display having considerable trouble in establishing an interpersonal relationship and doing positive identity work, and it has already been found by previous research on “conversational writing” (*Konversationelles Schreiben*), that the quality of the relationship is very likely to be reflected in the writing product. A negative or poor quality in the relationship between peers is reflected in the poor quality of the end-product (Dausendschön-Gay & Krafft, 1996; Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 1999, 2000; Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004). We do unfortunately not follow up on the quality of the written products of our dyads as our main focus lies in investigating primarily how peers perform the organization of the unfolding interaction and how they thereby orient to the nature of their interpersonal relationship (or not) which is constituted on a moment-by-moment basis and which has implications for the unfolding interaction and eventually the accomplishment of the task.

Case 4 does not manage to fully engage in the writing task together. Much of their talk-in-interaction is about negative identity work and face-threatening actions and they also engage into off-task activities, such as competing about the size of their of erasers (not shown here, but see full transcript in appendix I). We have only one

attempt by Max of doing scaffolding or teaching work (cf. extract 6.3.), but he does not manage to keep Bill's attention focused on the draft-so-far for very long.

Summarizing our analyses of case 4's conversational writing sequence, we can deduce that, also here the use of expert-novice-practices is necessary for a mutual orientation to as well as collaborative accomplishment of the learning activity. As soon as the learners disengage from these practices and consequently from the constitution of expert-novice, i.e. complementary identities, the interactional development is influenced. Thus if both participants attempt to constitute themselves as experts (hence expert-expert relationship) the interaction flow is disrupted. This is reflected in and through the turn-taking system as well as the organization and the accomplishment of the writing activity itself. First of all, the competitive 'stance' which they embody towards each other, constrains their orientation towards the accomplishment of the task because they disalign from each other (also postural disalignment), they cannot collaboratively accomplish the task, the writing, which in order to be collaborative needs their mutual attention oriented to it (gaze, etc.). Mainly the interaction is organized by one of the participants ordering the other to write, and only twice Max formulates a request for information and which we saw has the following repercussions on the unfolding interaction:

- The formulation of a request as the first pair part of an adjacency pair makes the recipient's next action conditionally relevant and hence, as the request is formulated in relation to the accomplishment of the task, it elicits the peer's orientation to and (re-)engagement with the task.
- Max's gaze and embodied action (touching Bill's arm etc.) select Bill as potential next speaker and producer of next relevant action/answer.

- The design of Max's request is not as systematically organized as in some of our previous analyses. Also, in terms of content the requests formulated by Max can be understood to be modeled on display questions: their design does not directly link them to the writing in progress, but at least they can be understood as attempts to shift the participation framework and to re-engage the peer into the organization of the task.

As noted previously, all in all, case 4's conversational writing sequence is the least 'harmonic' of our the cases analyzed. They display opposition to each other and this is reflected in their talk, embodied action-s and turn-taking structure. The negative negotiation of their respective identities is reflected by the turn-by-turn organization of their interaction as well as in the slow, and above all 'individual', accomplishment of the writing. Finally, we have demonstrated that this analysis is confirmed by the short exchange between Max and the researcher. Thus, while from a CA perspective we have been able to demonstrate that a certain 'stance' is performed and enacted in through discourse and social practices, one could rise the question of how learners' 'character' or 'stance' towards a co-learner could be used by teachers as resource for putting learners into dyads (or better not). This also brings about the reflection that interactions are not historically or culturally neutral because each participants has different experiences, expertises and knowledge which he brings with him/her when engaging into interaction with others (Vasseur, 2005, pp. 86-87).

6.8. Expert-novice-practices used in conversational writing

The different expert-novice-practices used by the participants are put into a schematic overview in table 6.4. below (represented on the following page in its entirety). We have thus put a + sign into each square below the case if the expert-novice-practice was deployed by at least one of the participants. The last 'resource', i.e. 'ordering other to write' is put in black because as the analysis demonstrated, it is in fact quite the opposite of an expert-novice-practice and that it disrupts interpersonal relationships and the opportunity to engage in

collaborative accomplishment of the learning activity. The orange, highlighted square emphasizes that the various forms of request formulations are the most prominent expert-novice-practices employed by the young learners. Request formulation are then a powerful device for selecting the next speaker, for controlling/constraining the next social action, but also for establishing mutual attention and joint orientation towards the accomplishment of a learning activity.

Table 6.4.: Overview of resources and social practices employed in the 4 cases

Resource/ Social practice	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4
trying out candidate writing segments		+		
giving/providing writing segments			+	
request for information				+
request for help, assistance, i.e. expertise	+		+	
request for candidate writing segments	+	+		
request for confirmation	+		+	
using specific request formulas	+		+	
repair suggestions (of lexical, grammatical and esthetic nature)	+	+		
offering candidate information				+
Ordering other to write				+

6.9. Findings: Interactional identities in conversational writing

The main aim of this chapter was to analyze the complexities of the interactional organization between young learners when engaged in a conversational writing activity in a multilingual classroom. We aimed at investigating which social practices are employed by young learners when engaged in a specific community of practice (peer interaction) in a specific learning activity, i.e. conversational writing. We demonstrated that the organization of shifts in the participation framework within this specific setting is inevitably something the young learners have to deal with because writing takes a lot of time (due to the learners' young literacy experience), even more so, if they are collaboratively writing one text onto one sheet of paper.

The four ‘case-analyses’ have demonstrated how the interactional development of an activity in peer interaction, in this case conversational writing, is linked to the employment of social practices, the most prominent being the formulation of requests associated to the constitution of (if possible) complementary interactional identities. Additionally these social practices are linked to the constitution of interactional identities. The view of interactional identities as illustrated in this chapter is that identity is actually oriented to for practical use, and that it is made available by the participants in and through social activities. This means that participants orient to, and depending on whether they assume or refuse a certain identity that they are being ‘offered’, it has implications for the unfolding interaction and more specifically for the accomplishment of the learning activity and how the accomplishment of this learning activity is performed by the learners. Young learners are observed to use identities as a resource for the interactional business of accomplishing (or not) a learning activity. Moreover, this chapter has illustrated how interactional identities are constituted in and through social practices. One recurrent and efficient way for doing so was the formulation of various forms of requests and with it the pursuit of relevant (but constrained) next actions. Consequently, interactional identities (when made available) are acted upon as resources by and for the participants in talk-in-interaction rather than for the researcher of the analyst. (see also Widdicombe, 2006, p. 191).

We have demonstrated that expert-novice-practices are inextricably linked to the constitution of interactional identities as novices, learners, experts (positive identities). However, we have also seen the constitution of negative identities and how they are accomplished in and through talk-in-interaction and in relation to each other. The way the learners construct and employ their identities in and through expert-novice-practices i) influences the way the interaction develops, ii) how they organize their writing activity and iii) consequently how they accomplish the learning activity. Case 1 has displayed a straightforward and productive way of developing a request formulation and consequently the constitution of complementary identities. While one peer was momentarily

constituted as literacy expert or more knowledgeable peer, the other was the less knowledgeable. At the same time, however, through the systematic formulation of requests, the less knowledgeable peer was interactionally competent in controlling the other's next action and requested expertise. As a consequence their interactional flow and development was analyzed as being smooth, straightforward and quick in the sense that they did not take as 'long' to negotiate candidate writing answers and to write them down as did for instance Case 2, or Case 4 who did ultimately never come up with one. Case 2 consistently challenge each other's trying out candidate writing segments. However, contrary to case 4, they attempt successfully to avoid face-threatening actions which again influences the unfolding interaction: there are numerous divergences which eventually also result in the need to constantly organize and re-organize the shifts in the participation framework and has high demands on the learners' interactional competencies. More than once they display having to reorganize and negotiate mutual focus and attention. Case 4, as we have seen, does not manage to create an interpersonal relationship and to constitute each other into complementary identities and their interaction is woven through with face-threatening interactional practices and ultimately the individual accomplishment of the writing by Max.

The analyses demonstrate that when a request for information or assistance, for example, is introduced during a conversational writing activity in institutional context, interactional identities are constituted (or challenged) at the same time. The formulation and design of requests proves to be a powerful practice in talk-in-interaction for "less advanced" learners to attempt to gain access to a peer's expertise or more advanced knowledge, necessary for the accomplishment of the writing task. At the same time, the formulation of requests demonstrates novice's interaction competence in constraining next action and consequently the unfolding of the activity. When the young learner's constituted identity as a novice is not being challenged, and the more advanced learner is willing to provide the required assistance and/or expertise (hence assume the offered identity and role), the young learner is able to take an active part in the accomplishment of the writing, as we

have seen for example in Nora (case 1) and Hugo (case 3)’s example. In case the young learner’s identity as novice is challenged, as in Mia’s example (case 2), the accomplishment of the writing manifests itself as far more complex and the young learner, in being unsuccessful in gaining the requested assistance or expertise, is unlikely to take an active part in the actual writing: Mia was active in negotiating candidate writing segments, but eventually she did not write anything onto the draft-so-far in the sequence analyzed. It is however also possible to say that Ella, as expert, ‘failed’ in doing scaffolding work such as for example Pit in case 4. Finally, if both participants attempt to both constitute themselves as the “more knowledgeable” peer (or with more experience, expertise, etc.), it might happen that i) the accomplishment of the learning activity is very slow (if it is happening at all), and ii) if it is happening, one of the participants might be excluded from the accomplishment. Thus, we have observed Bill in case 4 being pushed to a peripheral participation framework by Max, but also by himself. In table 6.5. below, we draw an overview of how the interactional identities of expert and novice ought to be complementary for the development of the learning activity in progress to be ‘harmonious’ and the accomplishment of at least partial aspects of the goal-oriented activity to occur. If these accomplishments or more specifically collaborative orientations (be it negotiations of candidate writing segments, repair activities, request formulations, etc.) do not occur, no learning opportunities are created and hence the learning process might come to a halt or be disrupted, at least momentarily (see also: Hellermann, 2008).

Table 6.5.: Expert and novice identities constructed as complementary

	Interactional Identity Young learner X	Interactional Identity Young learner Y	Development of talk-in- interaction (and eventual outcome)
A	expert	novice	+
B	novice	expert	+
C	expert	expert	-
D	novice	novice	-

This then seems to suggest that it is not possible for two participants to constitute themselves at the same interactional moment into the ‘same’ identity because they are not complementary (cf. example C and D in table 6.5.). In other words, if both participants attempt to be experts (or “all-knowing”), the interaction breaks down, as we saw in Case 3 for example. This means that one can only be an expert if there is somebody else i) accepting that identity and ii) constituting himself in relation to the expert identity as, for example, ‘learner’ or ‘less knowledgeable’ (cf example A in table 6.5.). Furthermore, although we do not have an example in our case-analyses, it is possible to hypothesize that when both participants constitute themselves at the same interactional moment as learner in need for assistance (or “not-knowing”), the interaction is likely to break down as well. This line of reasoning can to a certain extent be deduced from case 2’s: Ella at moments displays opposition to Mia’s candidate writing segments. At the same time, however, she does not actively constitute herself as an expert and initiate repair of those writing segments and we have seen that a consequence of this is that the learners are then likely to move “off-task” (Markee, 2005), or get busy with other things. This would suggest then, that in order for collaborative writing to interactively unfold successfully towards the organization and the accomplishment of the task and learning activity, participants need to constitute themselves not only into ‘positive’ identities, but also into identities which compensate or compliment each other. Identities, as novices, learners, experts (positive identities) but also as competitors (negative identities) are accomplished in and through talk-in-interaction and in relation to each other. This means that one can only be an expert if there is Other/recipient i) accepting the co-participants’ interactional identity as expert and ii) if Other/recipient at the same time constitutes her-/himself in relation to the expert identity as for example ‘learner’ or less knowledgeable.

Our findings align with previous studies researchers' findings (cf. for example LeBaron, et al., 2009) in that positive identities take a lot of social work. That means that participants need to actively engage in interaction and from one

moment to the next adapt to the contingencies, needs, interests, etc, as displayed by the co-participants, but also to the interaction and its 'context': we have discussed in chapter 3 of the present research project that a community of practice is constructed through the social and discourse practices of its participants. At the same time these practices are contingent to, and arise out of the context, i.e. the community of practices they create.

Negative identities and any interactionally established identity involve complex multimodal work (gestures, embodied actions, gaze, etc.), prosody work, facial expressions etc. Identities are constituted and managed by the participants in and through interaction, and they are not meaningful per se, but depend on what other interactants do in relation to it. Furthermore, the participants display an orientation towards the contingencies of the context, as well as the sequential organization of discourse and the displayed and perceived 'stance' of the co-participant (Vasseur, 2005). The present four case analyses have shown that in peer interaction in the classroom, identity work is salient and that in order to accomplish a task, in this case a free writing activity, i.e. conversational writing, the learners have to constitute themselves into positive and complementary identities if they want to move forward in the accomplishment of the task. (Compare also: Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 1999; Compare also: Krafft & Dausendschön-Gay, 2000) .

Finally, the four case analyses have demonstrated that, even though the activity/task, context, environment and conditions are the same for the 4 cases, the participants of each case developed similar, but also different practices for accomplishing the learning activity and its organization. Furthermore, interactional identities play an important role, and thus it confirms previous researchers' argument (Vasseur, 2005) that no interaction and its participants are ever historically and culturally neutral. They bring understanding, knowledge, experiences with them and this does influence the interaction. This also rises the question about to what extent participants' 'character' or personality has an impact on an unfolding interaction, and whether the someone like Max or Bill would encounter the same or similar problems when working on a different learning

activity or with somebody else? However, these are questions that go beyond the perspective of CA and are rather left to other experts and different research fields because an emic perspective does not allow for drawing cognitive conclusions.

7. Requesting third party assistance and expertise in multi-party classroom interaction

7.1. Introduction

The present chapter explores how soliciting other's assistance and consequently expertise is performed and made observable in peer interaction, and more specifically in a competitive multiparty classroom. A competitive multiparty classroom is in this case a classroom where several dyads, or groups, are working in parallel, that is at the same time. The teacher is present in the classroom but not focusing on one specific dyad, but rather moving between them. It is also possible that one dyad interacts with another, when formulating a request for information for example. We now investigate how requests are being formulated and performed by classroom-participants, how they are inevitably linked to the negotiation of identities in teacher-peer interaction, and how these requests for third party assistance might be relevant for the organization and accomplishment of a learning activity. Requests for third party assistance are requests which first of all aim at establishing third party's attention and reciprocity. Secondly, the trouble source is made available, and hence there is an implicit account for why assistance is requested. Third, when assistance is requested and provided, it is inextricably linked to the third party's expertise because in fact that expertise is not available to the speaker, hence he is requesting it from somebody else. Note then that *assistance* (or *help*) is the action of actually providing someone with the requested expertise, while *expertise* is understood to be the 'knowledge' or 'information' which is provided during assistance-giving. It is possible that someone then provides assistance, however it might take some more interactional work if the 'expertise' provided is not the one expected, or even wrong or lacking.

In the first part of the chapter, we will analyze which complex abilities a young learner needs to engage into in order to secure the teacher's attention and request.

In the second part, we will demonstrate how the formulation of a request by the teacher allows for him to constitute himself as learner and thereby draw on the expertise of one of his younger learners (i.e, 'pupils'). The younger learner's assistance and expertise is oriented to as being relevant and necessary in order to explain something to another learner.

In the present chapter we are thus analyzing to what extent the formulation of requests in a multi-interactional environment allows for determining the following three observations which are built on each other. Requests in the present chapter are thus observed to allow for:

- i) soliciting the engagement of a non-active participant (or bystander) (Goffman, 1981a) into the ongoing activity;
- ii) constituting that now-active participant as candidate expert (or more knowledgeable peer / participant);
- iii) the recipient of the provided expertise to further the accomplishment of learning activity (writing task, repair initiation/sequence, etc.)

7.2. Expert-novice-practices by learners as learners

As mentioned before, in the first part of the chapter we now focus on a sequence in which a young learner, engaged in a free writing task (cf. chapter 6 for more details on the concept of free writing task), formulates a request addressed to the teacher. The request is related to how to spell the word 't-shirt'. Note that the learning activity is in fact the same as in chapter 6, and consequently the text is to be written in German, but Luxembourgish is generally the modality in which the participants in the classroom at this level (cycle 2) communicate with the teacher and with each other. In order to gain access to the teacher's expertise however, the learner first has to seek and establish the teacher's attention.

7.2.1. Soliciting the teacher's attention

Cekaite (2008a) has recently published a study on how the lexical shape of summonses and their design (prosody, body posture, gestures as well as the use of classroom artefacts) allow for soliciting teacher attention. Her study illustrates which elaborate and complex skills, i.e. interactional competence-s, are required by learners when they “attempt to get conversational access to participation in educational activities in a complex interactional setting” (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 2). Furthermore, drawing on previous research such as Mehan (1979) and Markee (2004) for instance, she argues that “the ability to recruit participation of expert others is crucial for language learners. Managing to secure the teacher’s attention forms a part of a student’s interactional competence in the social ecology of the classroom (cf. Mehan 1979; Markee 2004). However so far, little is known about how children at an early stage of L2 learning are able to bring about the teacher’s attention and conversational involvement” (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 2). The first part of this chapter therefore attempts to shed some more light on which complex demands are posed upon young learners in multi-party environments to i) solicit the teacher’s attention, and ii) to pursue and secure the desired or preferred response, in this case the teacher’s expertise and assistance in telling the young learner how to write a word.

The first episode we analyze is, as noted above, taken from the same free writing activity as analyzed in chapter 6. It is similar to the sequences analyzed in chapter 6 in that the learner needs to organize a shift in participation framework, however it also differs from the sequences analyzed in chapter 6 (where we analyzed peer to peer interaction) because the shift in participation framework occurs at a slightly more ‘macro’ level. Thus, the participation framework shifts from peer interaction, or individual writing to learner-teacher interaction. So Pit, who is coming across the trouble of a word spelling, requests the teacher’s (and not his peer’s) help. Pit’s request orients to the teacher’s help and expertise as necessary in order to overcome the trouble and continue with the accomplishment of the learning activity. In the first sequence, we analyze how a young learner designs and organizes requests for help, how he soliciting the teacher’s attention and how he eventually secures the teacher’s expertise in multi-party interaction. Although

Pit and Hugo are working in peer interaction (cf. chapter 6), Pit displays being in need of the teacher's help in order to overcome a trouble encountered during writing. At the same time, because Pit orients to the teacher, and not to his peer Hugo, the latter is constituted as not "being knowledgeable enough" to provide the necessary help. As the analysis shows, Pit needs to overcome some interactional problems before he manages to solicit the teacher's attention and before his request for help is pursued. The use and formulation of a request in multi-party conversation makes evident i) the selection of next speaker, ii) what type of response or answer is expected, and iii) how it constitutes the potential next speaker as candidate expert. Finally, by addressing the request to the teacher, Pit is changing the participation framework from dyadic interaction to learner-teacher interaction and requesting the teacher to take the floor. How this shift is organized and performed by Pit is interesting to observe, because, as also argued by Hellermann (2008), learners are not explicitly taught or told how to organize the shift from one participation framework to the next but are expected to do so autonomously.

7.2.2. Pursuing a response

The request for the teacher's expertise does not only involve soliciting his attention, it also involves complex interactional competences necessary to pursue a response. Pomerantz (1984b) has argued that when a speaker pursues a response, it may or may not succeed. As our analysis below demonstrates, Pit is partially successful in pursuing a response, on the level that he is able to solicit the teacher's attention, but on another level, he does not receive the response or reaction (i.e. assistance and expertise) he is after, at least not immediately (see below). Consequently, it is fair to say that soliciting the teacher's attention does not always equal receiving (or at least not immediately) what one is after, and in this specific case literacy expertise. Whenever participants are pursuing a response and they do not receive one, this lack of response is accountable and there are two things those in pursuit of a response can do. They could let it pass, i.e. not try once more to receive a response. Alternatively, they could try to find out what the reason for not giving or providing a response might be: they might reformulate their question or just ask the very same question once again, as it is possible that it

might not have been audible. It is also possible that the receiver might just have been attending to something else and hence simply not have heard the question for example. In the following we have a look at how Pit organizes and performs his request in a multi-party classroom in order to solicit the teacher's attention and pursue the teacher's assistance and expertise.

7.2.3. First request for assistance and expertise

In our first extract 7.1. (below) Pit calls on the teacher several times (three times in all) and asks how the word t-shirt is being spelled. As becomes clear throughout the analysis, Pit and the teacher actually find themselves in a bargaining situation as both seem to interact on one level, but are orienting to different interests or goals in their interaction on another level. More specifically, the analysis demonstrates how Pit is designing his requests (first pair parts) so as to make evident his selection of whom is to be the next speaker, i.e. the teacher, as well as what is expected from the next speaker. Pit is displaying orientation towards getting help from the teacher in how to spell 't-shirt' and thereby, through the formulation of a request, constituting the teacher as the expert who is expected to know how to spell the word. The fact that the request is addressed to the teacher displays that Pit assumes or expects the teacher to be able to provide him the expertise which he is in need of. Pit's turns and body orientation are designed so as to make the teacher's answer relevant - or accountable in case it is lacking. In the first sequence (below) the teacher is in fact not immediately providing the relevant answer (hence it is lacking and therefore can be made accountable) and Pit orients to this absence by reformulating his request several times. The teacher's displayed primary focus in his doings here is in fact the procedural management of the classroom. More specifically he displays an orientation towards organizing the seating order of the learners. Hence his failure or retraction to produce appropriately fitted second pair parts to Pit's requests for the teacher's assistance and expertise in spelling is linked to the fact that the teacher is orienting to a different agenda, or goal, in the unfolding interaction.

The sequence to be analyzed below is cut and reproduced in smaller extracts for reasons of convenience of the reader. The full transcript (uncut) is reproduced in its entirety in appendix I.



Figure 7.1.: individual writing

Figure 7.1. serves to illustrate what is going on before the actual transcript starts: Pit is engaged into individual writing and Hugo, chin on his hand is watching his peer. In figure 7.2. Pit has lifted his upper body and his gaze is oriented into to classroom at the beginning of his utterance.

Extract 7.1. Pit and Hugo (lines 01-10): wei get t=shirt geschriwwen?

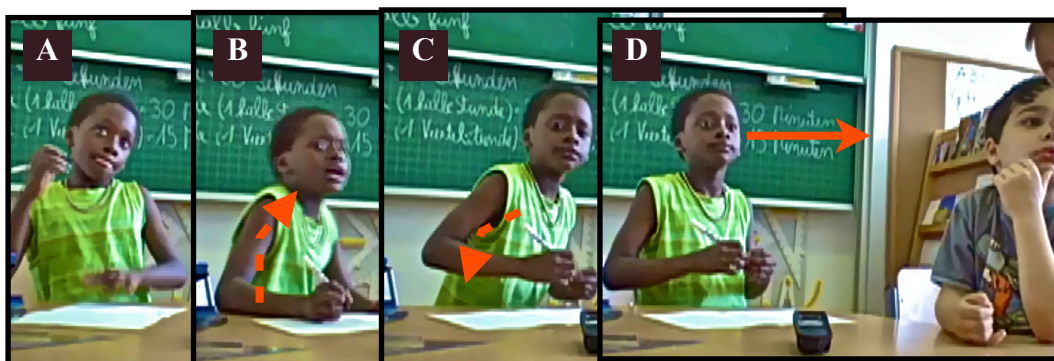


Figure 7.2.: tom

- 01 Pit: [*tom*
 pit *gaze to tom
 pit *gaze to camera
 pit *lifts slightly out of and
 back into chair (fig. 7.2.)
- 02 Han: [ech gesinn hien [nemméi
 [i don=t see him [anymore
- 03 Man: [josette*
 pit *gaze to tom
- 04 Pit: tom wei get eh[: t=shirt gemolt?
 tom how do you eh[: draw t=shirt?
- 05 Tom: [hei (.) <<acc> t=kommen der zwee steck'>
 [hey (.) <<acc> two of you come over here'>
- 06 zwee stéck heihinner;=
 two (of you) here;=
- 07 Pit: =*ech* net (.) *wi get [t=*shirt (gemolt)?]
 = not me (.) how is [t=shirt (drawn)?]
 pit *gaze to tom
 pit *gaze to girls on his right side
 pit *gaze to tom (fig. 7.3.)
 pit *gaze over his right shoulder
- 08 Tom: [zwee stéck]*=Pit an [hugo hei
 [two of you] =Pit and [hugo here
 pit *gaze to teacher
- 09 Pit: [nEE::..
 [nOO::..
- 10 * (1.5)
 pit *gaze to camera



Figure 7.3.: deictic pointing gaze

In line 1, Pit produces his first audible display of seeking help/advice from the Tom, the teacher. It is Pit's very first initiation of his project, i.e. to seek help from the teacher, and he sticks to it quite 'stubbornly', i.e. he does not refrain from pursuing a response until he receives it as the sequential analysis illustrates. Pit summons the teacher in line 1 (figure 7.2.), but as he does not establish mutual gaze with the teacher until line 4, he repeats his question framed by a summons in

line 4. Lerner (2003), investigating how current speakers select next speakers, illustrates how a summons and an address term (i.e. names for example) accomplish different kinds of work and project different opportunities for participation. Pit designs his turn in putting a summons at the beginning of the turn, selecting the teacher as recipient of the question (*tom wei get eh[: t=shirt gemolt?*) and thereby making him as the next speaker conditionally relevant even before he produces the question. Lerner (2003) argued that “when a turn-constructual unit (TCU) begins with the name of a coparticipant, then a sequence-initiating action that follows will almost certainly be treated as addressed to that participant - and it will be so treated, pretty much without regard to its other circumstances or of how that sequence-initiating action is composed” (Lerner, 2003). We can see this in Pit’s request which positions the teacher as the one who should produce the next relevant sequence-responding action which should be of telling or showing Pit how to spell t-shirt.

Even though we cannot see the teacher’s doings at the beginning of the sequence (line 01-04) due to the way the camera is positioned, it is possible to say that Pit has managed to establish the teacher’s gaze or some other action or doing establishing reciprocity (C. Goodwin, 1980). Pit’s design at the beginning of his turns (lines 01 and 04) is marked by a repeat of the summons at the beginning of his TCU, displaying Pit’s engagement in establishing the teacher’s reciprocity before moving on and formulating his request, the actual reason for his soliciting the teacher’s attention. Pit is overlapped by two fellow students who are however engaged in a different conversation, i.e. schism (lines 2 and 3) (Egbert, 1997; H. Sacks, et al., 1974) and by restarting and reformulating at the very moment he has the teacher’s reciprocity established, he also manages to get his question out in the clear (C. Goodwin, 1980; Schegloff, 2000a). Once the teacher’s reciprocity is established, Pit moves on and adds another segment to his turn, formulating a request. The teacher, however, produces a dispreferred response or action (Pomerantz, 1984a) as he is not producing a relevant uptake of Pit’s question. He overlaps Pit (Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff, 2000a), a possible indicator that he is not orienting to Pit’s request and consequently he is not providing the requested

assistance and expertise of how to spell t-shirt. The teacher's second pair part is not only in its design, but also in terms of content or topic ill-fitted, i.e. dispreferred, in that it is not designed as an answer to Pit's request, but towards a completely different topic (trouble in how to spell a word vs. trouble in procedural classroom management).

We cannot say whether the teacher is still in mutual gaze with Pit (due to camera angle/focus), but Pit is still gazing at the teacher who invites two people to move to another table (line 05). Also, Pit's subsequent reaction (line 07) to the teacher's request (lines 05-06: *hei (.) <<acc> t=kommen der zwee steck' zwee stéck heihinner;*) to move from one table to another, displays that he and the teacher are at that interactional moment engaged in mutual interaction, even though not on the same topic. agenda or interest. The teacher has not produced a relevant second pair part to Pit's question because the teacher's main concern at this interactional moment seems to be one of classroom management: he is organizing learners' seating order within the classroom and he wants to have two learners to move over to another table (cf. chapter 5 for details on the organization and seating order and rules for this specific classroom setting). Whether the teacher is ignoring Pit's request by simply not responding, or whether he might not have heard it, remains an open question because we i) have no verbal display of either ignorance or problems of misunderstanding, i.e. hearing and ii) the teacher, not being within camera angle, we cannot analyze any visual aspects being displayed and/or oriented to. However, what is visible, and consequently analyzable, is the fact that from Pit's perspective the teacher's response has not been provided and is consequently lacking. This lack of response has implications for Pit's subsequent doings and the repetition of his request.

Extract 7.2. Pit and Hugo (lines 07-10): ech* net

07 Pit: =ech* net (.) *wi get [t=*shirt (gemolt)?]
 =not me (.) how is [t=shirt (drawn)?]
pit *gaze to girls on his right side
pit *gaze to tom (fig. 7.3.)
pit *gaze over his right shoulder

08 Tom: [zwee stéck]*=Pit an [hugo hei
 [two of you] =Pit and [hugo here
pit *gaze to teacher

09 Pit: [nEE::.
[nOO::.

10 pit * (1.5)
pit *gaze to camera

In line 07 (lines are reproduced in extract 7.2., above) Pit rejects the teacher's suspension and his turn design marks his opposition and his refusal to move at the beginning of his turn (=ech net) (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1987). Also, he is pretty fast in doing so, as can be deduced from the latched turns. Pit displays being able to project what the teacher is about to ask for. In other words, already from the beginning of the teacher's turn, Pit, 'for all practical reasons' (Garfinkel, 1967) is able to project the outcome of the teacher's turn, or at least the impending manifestation of a TRP (Ford & Thompson, 1996). Pit and Hugo are about to be asked to move to another table as becomes clear in line 06 and 08. Pit refuses to move and moves straight on to reformulating his question again (wi get t=shirt (gemolt)?) after he has produced a dispreferred answer to the teacher's 'order' because he refused to move (ech net). At the same time, while producing a refusal to move, Pit gazes to two girls which are sitting to his left at the same table, then gazes to Tom and back into the direction of where the girls are sitting (figure 7.3.). One could suggest that this is a *deictic pointing gaze* which functions as an invitation by Pit for the teacher to choose the two girls as potential candidates for moving table. This seems even more so to be the case as Pit is verbally formulating this in line 23 below (=firwat net SI::?) and employing the same gazing structure: gaze to the girls and then to the teacher with an emphasizing, visible gesture by pointing with a pencil to the girls as potential candidates for moving table and thus potential candidates of fulfilling the teacher's request. Pit is not necessarily questioning the teacher's concern of classroom management. Pit however orients to accomplishing the task, and he sticks to that, and by that it is possible to argue that he questions the teacher's procedural management, or at least he does orient to it as being obnoxious or unnecessary. So Pit is questioning why they, i.e. Pit and Hugo, and not somebody else should move. After the teacher has more explicitly formulated who he wants to move in line 08 (zwee stéck pit an hugo hei), Pit refuses to move with an

increased pitch in his voice and a straightforward negative answer: *nEE:..*. He does so in overlap with the teacher's turn. Pit is working in a dyad with Hugo and the teacher wants two learners to move. Once he has uttered Pit's name in line 08, Pit is able to project the teacher is still engaged in the procedural management of the classroom (Mondada, 2006a; Streeck, 2009) and that he (and potentially his dyad partner) are about to be asked to move and so he produces his refusal to move before the teacher has come to the end of his turn, marking his opposition even more by putting it right at the beginning of his utterance (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1987).

In the previous extract (7.2.) the teacher does not produce a relevant sequential action to Pit's request for assistance and expertise. Pit, through the repeat formulation of his request, displays an orientation towards the teacher's lack of uptake, thereby making it accountable. Furthermore, by refusing to move table at the teacher's request, Pit is challenging the teacher's role as classroom manager. Pit's refusal to move can be interpreted as an "affective stance" (Cekaite, 2008a; Ochs, 1996) indexing not only opposition, but also the identity of a 'sulking' learner. Affective stances "are important aspects of language use and language socialization, in that they are part of what constitutes interactional competence" (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 11) (See also Ochs, 1996). Pit is thus constituting himself as a sulking and opposing learner who is orienting to and making a request upon the teacher's "responsibilities to assist students [and/or pupils] who [are] experiencing difficulties with work on an assignment" (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 18). Pit then self-selects and once again displays being able to project the teacher's goal, or rather next action, even before he has come to fully produce his turns. Pit is thereby also challenging the teacher's role as classroom manager (or at least not acknowledging it) and calling on him as the teacher in his role and responsibilities as literacy expert. It is fascinating to note how many overlaps are occurring in lines 1 to 9 and at first sight the conversation and interaction appears rather chaotic. However, as Jefferson has argued, overlaps are not the outcome of people not listening to each other, but on the contrary as our analysis also demonstrates, overlaps can "at least now and then, here and there, be a matter of

fine-grained attention” (Jefferson, 1984, p. 153) (see also: Jefferson, 1973; H. Sacks, et al., 1974; Steensig, 2003a). In other words, what at a first sight might look chaotic and be considered as sign of ‘interrupting’, has been demonstrated to be finely tuned interaction because overlaps, to a great majority, start up at places which can be considered as perfectly fine turn endings, i.e. transition relevant places and where “a turn is for all practical reasons completed” (Jefferson, 1974, p. 74).

7.2.4. Second request, i.e. first repeat for assistance and expertise, indicating pursuit for help

We now move on to the second extract 7.3. which follows below (line numbering continues to reflect sequentiality) and which shows Pit formulating his request for assistance and expertise for the second time. There is a substantial verbal pause (line 10) at the end of Pit’s first attempt to solicit the teacher’s attention and receive his assistance and expertise in getting to know how to spell t-shirt. During that pause, Pit gazes to the camera, then back to the teacher. He starts once again to pursue a response from the teacher, thereby displaying that he still wants to find out how to spell t-shirt and that he has not yet given up on his project. Pit produces a repeat and reformulates his question about how one spells/writes t=shirt (line 11). Similar to lines 01 and 04, he addresses the teacher directly by putting his name at the beginning of his question, thus making it explicit i) who the request is addressed to, and ii) who is supposed to be the next relevant speaker and supposed to deliver a relevant second pair part, i.e. relevant next action (Lerner, 2003). Drawing on Markee (Markee, 2000a) and Sacks et al.’s (1974) notion of ‘recipient design’, we argue here that Pit attentively designs his turn in order to fully solicit the teacher’s attention and to once more get around the teacher’s moving project and agenda of procedural classroom management. The teacher does not produce an uptake and displays being engaged with another learner, who is walking around the classroom and has neither chosen a dyad partner, nor a picture to write about (lines 12-19).

Extract 7.3. Pit and Hugo (lines 10-21): tom (.) wei get t=shirt geschriwwen?

10 *(1.5)
 pit **gaze to camera*

11 ->Pit: *tom (.) wei get t=shirt geschriwwen?
 tom (.) how does on write t=shirt?
 pit **gaze to teacher (fig. 7.4.)*

12 Tom: so (.) wat mechs dU?
 hey/say (.) are yoU doing?

13 leefs du hei rondere[m?
 are you running arou[nd (here)?

14 Man: [nee ()
 [no ()

15 Tom: hues d=eng foto rausgesicht?
 have you chosen a photo?

16 Man: ech sinn alleng.
 i am on my own.

17 Tom: ma da gei sich der eng foto raus;
 but then go an pick a photo for you;

18 wou=s de wells driwwer schreiwen (.)
 which you want to write about (.)

19 [schreiws de 'leng driwwer.
 [you write about it on your own.

20 Han: [tom=t[om

21 Pit: [*(ech sinn na net fäerdeg)=
 [(i am not done yet)=
 pit **gaze to teacher (fig. 7.6.)*

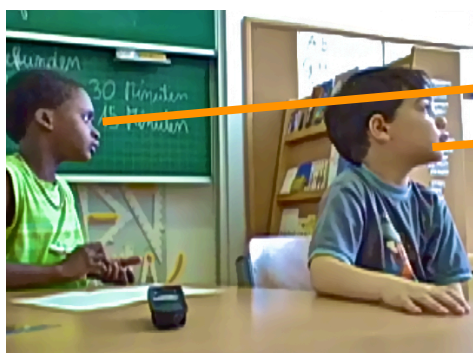


Figure 7.4.: gaze to parallel interaction



Figure 7.5.: parallel interaction



Figure 7.6.: ech sinn na net fäerdeg

As the camera focuses on Pit during the 1.5 second pause in line 10, we cannot see what the teacher is doing at that very moment. What we can deduce, however, is that the teacher is still not yet orienting to Pit's request for help, but as can be seen from the following lines (lines 11-19), he is engaged with another learner, i.e. Man (figure 7.4. and 7.5.). Pit then declares that he is not yet done with what he is doing (line 21: (ech sinn na net fäerdeg), figure 7.6), thus displaying i) that he is orienting to finishing what he is doing, and ii) that the teacher is, probably through gaze, orienting back to Pit. Pit's turn in line 21 shows that he is anticipating another possible request by the teacher to move table. Pit's utterance (line 21) is not audible to 100 %, but it can be understood as Pit anticipating that the teacher will pick up on his moving project again and that Pit is still displaying a continuous engagement with his learning activity and the trouble he has encountered in writing down a word. Pit is not ready to let it drop because for him the trouble has to be resolved.

7.2.5. Third request, i.e. second repeat for assistance and expertise

Pit's anticipation that he is about to be asked to move table again, is confirmed in the teacher's subsequent utterance as we can see from the next extract 7.4. (below; line numbering continues from previous extract to reflect sequentiality): the teacher produces once again an invitation to move (line 22: *komm dech heihinner setzen*). Pit gazes over to the two girls who are sitting at his table and points at them with his pencil, then gazes back to the teacher. With a rising

and prolonged pitch in his voice at the end of his turn, he is then asking why it is not the two girls who have to move (line 23: *firwat net SI::?*). His request is highlighted by a deictic pointing gaze (from teacher, to girls, back to teacher), positioning them as potential moving candidates (figure 7.8.). In fact, Pit is with that request also asking the teacher to account for his moving project and his insistence on why it is Hugo and Pit that have to move and not the two girls sitting at the same table. Pit thereby orients to them as also being members of this classroom, i.e. this shared community of practice, who should do what the teacher says and as potential moving candidates. The teacher does not directly uptake Pit's open refusal to move, neither the first time (line 07 and 09), nor this time (lines 21 and 23) where it is quite an explicit refusal. The teacher, also in his interaction (lines 12-19) with Manuel, is still orienting to his engagement with procedural classroom management. Through his invitation for the teacher to account for his project to move Pit and Hugo, Pit engages into the discussion of procedural classroom management. The teacher provides him, after asking them to stop arguing (line 24: *halt op matt streiden wann ech glifft;*), with a relevant second pair part and answer to this question and thereby accounts for his classroom management project (line 26: *well si firun aersch do sutzen*). Pit's turn in line 25 (*.h uah.*, figure 7.9.) is to be understood as a negative assessment of the teacher's request to stop arguing. Also the teacher's account on why they, and not the girls should move is assessed negatively by Pit (line 27: *egal.*, figure 7.10.). The teacher does not give up on his moving project as he keeps on trying to get Pit and Hugo to just move across to another table (line 28: *just hei firun aersch do*). Despite that, Pit does not give up on pursuing assistance and expertise from the teacher either and, now that he has solicited the teacher's attention, he produces his request once more. However this time he produces it quicker than the previous times (line 30, figures 7.11. and 7.12.).



Figure 7.7.: komm dech heihinner
setzen

Extract 7.4. Pit and Hugo (lines 22 - 30): `firwat net SI::?`

22 Tom: =*komm dech heihinner setzen=
 =*come and sit here*=
 pit **gaze to teacher (fig. 7.7.)*

23 Pit: =*firwat *net SI:?:?
 =*why not THE:m?*
 pit **gaze to two girls on table*
 pit **pointing with pencil to girls*
 pit **gaze to teacher (fig. 7.8.)*

24 Tom: halt op matt streiden wann ech glifft;
 stop (plural) arguing please;

25 Pit: [*.*h uah.*
 pit **gaze to pen in his hands (fig. 7.9.)*

26 Tom: [*well si firun aersch do sutzen.*
 [*because they sat there before you/first.*

27 Pit: **egal.*
 that does not matter.
 pit **starts to lift gaze to teacher (fig. 7.10.)*

28 Tom: *si sutzen firun aersch [do*
 they sat there before [you

29 Pit: [*<<acc> *awer wei*
 [<<acc> *but how*
 pit **gaze on teacher*
 (*fig. 7.11. and 7.12.*)

30 get t=shirt ge(schriwwen)?>
 do you (write) t=shirt?>



Line 26 (*well si firun aerch do sutzen.*) is a reaction to Pit's potential argument and request for an account in line 23 (*=firwat net SI::?*). More precisely, the teacher produces a relevant next action and produces an account for why he wants Hugo and Pit to move, and not the other two potential candidates: he is telling them that they have to move because the others sat at that table first (line 26: *well si firun aerch do sutzen.*). One might actually wonder how often do teachers give accounts for their decisions, as well as how often do learners actually ask for an account of a teacher's doings. It is thus probably fair to say that a learner asking an account for his/her teacher's doings is in general not part of 'normal' classroom discourse where, on the contrary, it is mostly the teacher that is understood to have more rights (to speak, act, do, etc.) than the learners (Hugh Mehan, 1979). Previously, we have seen the teacher requesting an account from Manual why he is not sitting down with a friend and doing the writing activity. The teacher in his role of classroom manager is strongly positioned to ask for an account of learner's behaviour in the classroom, especially if the teacher orients to a learner's behaviour as inappropriate. In the previous extract (7.4.), Pit, by asking an account from the teacher for his 'doings', i.e. his request for them to move table, is reversing the roles: Pit displays an understanding of the teacher's doings as inappropriate and questions his doings as a classroom manager. Pit even offers another solution by suggesting to move the girls to another table. Furthermore, the teacher's turns are assessed negatively by Pit twice (line 25 and 27). Pit, by positioning himself as being able to ask for an account by the teacher of his doings as well as by assessing the teacher's turns negatively, constitutes himself out of the role of the 'regular pupil'.

The previous extract demonstrates first of all, how complex it can be in a multi-party classroom to solicit the teacher's attention. Not only are there several competing interactions to be dealt with (Pit has a spelling trouble, Man has no dyad partner, the teacher is engaged with procedural management, and there are more dyad working on the same classroom as well) but there are obviously other problems to deal with, like the teacher's display of being engaged with quite a

different agenda or goal in his interaction. First of all, we have seen that Pit has to solicit the teacher's attention, and this is necessary for him to be able to share a common participation framework with the teacher. Secondly, Pit's turn-taking practices change the 'more traditional' participation framework of an ordinary plenary, i.e. teacher-fronted classroom (compare Lörscher, 1986). Pit thereby puts himself into a position somehow equal to that of the teacher. Pit, through his request for an account from the teacher thereby orients to having the same conversational rights as the teacher. The teacher does not challenge this as he actually provides an account of his doings. What the teacher does here is somehow very neat. He could for example have drawn on his institutional identity and role as a teacher and have said 'because I am the teacher/the adult' and thereby reconstituting himself as the one who has every right to control the classroom. However, he does not do so and hence displays an acceptance or tolerance towards Pit's complaint and his self-initiated turn-taking which changes the participation framework within the school interaction between learner and teacher. Also, in giving such a 'simplistic' account, one might wonder whether the teacher is actually orienting to giving some kind of account which is acceptable from a child's 'perspective', hence giving an account which children at that age would actually accept and respect because it is a kind of account children are very likely to produce themselves. However this is only a hypothesis, but what we can see from Pit's doings is that he then actually displays a 'moderate' acceptance of the teacher's doings: he moves on shifting the unfolding interaction towards his writing trouble once again in line 29-30: *awer wei[<<acc> but how get t=shirt ge(schriwwen)?> .* Pit's 'giving in' is lenient because he starts his turn with the discourse marker 'awer', signalling opposition, before moving on to a new first pair pair of an adjacency pair, in this case a renewed request for the teacher's assistance and expertise. The discourse marker 'awer' distances the upcoming talk from the immediately prior talk, and is employed as a sequential and transitional marker as it brings the previous activity to an end and anticipates a shift towards a next action, namely that of requesting assistance from the teacher. Pit's request for help, which is the second repeat of his request, is different to Pit's previous requests for help. Not only does he start with a strong

opposition marked right at the beginning of his turn (M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1987), but he also formulates his request with quicker pace than the previous times (lines 29-30: <<acc> awer wei get t=shirt ge(schriwwen)? >). The reason for this quicker pace is that Pit displays an orientation towards having the teacher's gaze and attention at the beginning of the sequence. Pit is formulating his question as quickly as possible, because he still has the teacher's attention. Pit thereby demonstrates not only being competent in soliciting the teacher's attention, but also in how to keep or secure that attention once it is established. Pit then is a young learner who displays awareness of the complexity and competitiveness of classroom discourse and that in such a setting the teacher might be orienting to a different goal or trouble or that he might in the next interactional moment be addressed by other learners also having troubles in accomplishing a learning activity. Pit and the teacher having established mutual attention, Pit making use of this secured attention, quickly reformulates his request and the teacher's next relevant action now becomes accountable if lacking (Lerner, 1993; Nunan, 1988; H. Sacks, et al., 1974).

7.2.6. Receiving the pursued response

In the next extract (7.5. below), which is the continuation of the previous one, the teacher eventually provides the requested for assistance and expertise. This time the teacher produces an uptake to Pit's request: he repeats Pit's displayed trouble source (line 31: <<p> t=shirt>). The teacher's repetition of the word t-shirt functions as a backlinking device to Pit's prior talk (De Stefani & Horlacher, 2008; Schegloff, 1996b; ten Have, 1999) and thereby displays his orientation towards Pit's trouble. Pit confirms his trouble source by repeating it (line 32 : t=shirt). Furthermore, through embodied action (figures 7.13. and 7.14.) the teacher displays an orientation to providing assistance in solving Pit's spelling trouble: the teacher walks to the blackboard (line 33), grabs some chalk and asks Pit which sound/letter he hears at the beginning of the word (line 35: wat heiers de (fir)?). Pit spells the word (line 36: [te] (.) i sch: er e t.) and is at the beginning overlapped by Hanna who, at a transition relevant place, has self-selected and started to produce the requested answer. However, Hanna stops and

Pit is able to finish his answer. The teacher repeats part of Pit's turn, namely the beginning (line 29), and repairs it through the modification of the pronunciation of the letter 't' (ti: . as opposed to Pit's tɛ). Pit acknowledges this in line 40 and the teacher continues writing the word onto the blackboard without giving any further explanations on the individual letters in the word. He adds that this is an English word (line 41: t=as [en (englescht wuert)) and then reads it outloud while writing it onto the blackboard (line 41: (.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)>). During lines 38 until the end of 42, the teacher is writing the word onto the blackboard (see figures 7.14. - 7.16.). The sequential marker 'oké' and the teacher's physical removal away from Pit (and out of the camera angle, figure 7.17.), marks the end of the teacher's assistance and also displays his understanding that the spelling trouble is resolved. The teacher's walking away thus highlights his getting back to his interactional business, i.e. that of procedural classroom management. Pit moves up towards the blackboard and gazes at how the word is being spelled while reading it out loud twice (line 46: (t=) shIrt=t=shirt). He then moves back towards his chair, sits down and starts writing (figure 7.18.).

Extract 7.5. Pit and Hugo (lines 31 - 30): t:=shirt



Figure 7.13.: (0.5) : teacher walks to blackboard



Figure 7.14.: wat heiers de (fir)?

```

31   Tom:   <<p> t=shirt>=
32   Pit:   =t=shirt
33
      * (0.5)
      tom   *walks to blackboard (fig. 7.13.)

```

CHAPTER 7 - Requesting third party assistance

34 St?: t:=shirt

35 ->Tom: *wat heiers de (fir)?
what do you hear (in front)?
tom *grabs chalk (fig. 7.14.)

36 Pit: [te] (.) i sch: er e t.
[te] (.) i sch: r e t. ((spelling))

37 Han: [te]

38 Tom: *t=as t.=
it=s t.=
tom *starts writing onto blackboard

39 Pit: *=jo.
=yes.
tom *writes

40 Tom: *t=as en (englescht wuert) (.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)>
it=s an (english word) (.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)>
tom *writes

41
tom *(2.0)
*writes t-shirt (fig. 7.15.)

42 Man: *(mu:o: mu:o:)*
pit *gets up and moves towards blackboard
tom *puts chalk down (fig. 7.16.) and turns
around to leave

43 Tom: *oké?
tom *walks away (fig. 7.17)

44 Pit: (t=)shIrt=t=shirt

45 Han: tom [(as dat doten gu=utt?)
tom [(is that one go=od?)

46 Pit: [*tz
pit *sits down again and starts to write (fig.7.18.)



Figure 7.15.: (2.0) : teacher writes



Figure 7.16.: (mu:o: mu:o:)



Figure 7.17.: oké?

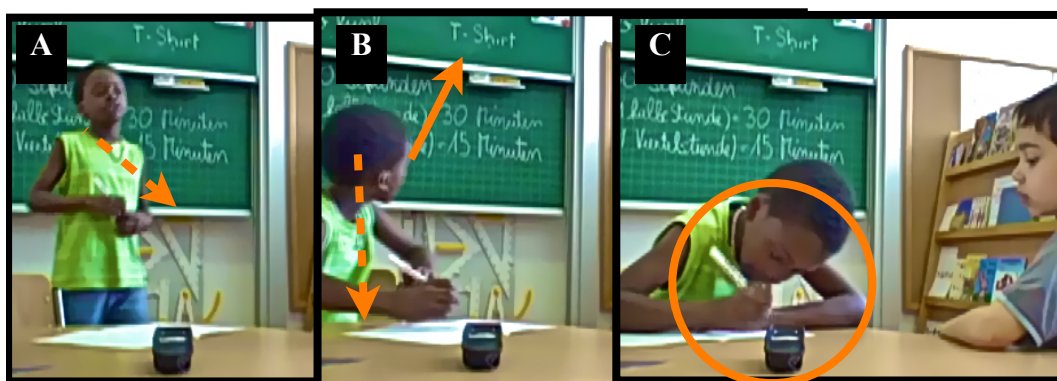


Figure 7.18.: Pit walks back to table, sits down, checks word again and writes

One might wonder why the teacher is writing the word onto the blackboard? Another possibility might have been to sit or kneel down next to Pit and collaboratively spell the word. Does he do it the way he does it to get over with it this reasonably quickly and to be able to get back to his initial and at this very moment main project: that of procedural classroom management which presently is one of the teacher's focus. It is evident during the few lines in this extract that the teacher is no longer orienting to the procedural management of the classroom, but to giving assistance and providing expertise to Pit. Pit has thus finally managed to draw the teacher's attention away from the procedural management of the classroom and towards the accomplishment of his task. Thus, it is possible to say that it is a break away from the teacher's project and that this is something Pit has demonstrated being capable of managing.

Another question we might ask ourselves is why does the teacher not react to the request right away? First of all, even though we demonstrated that the teacher engages in interaction with Pit, however with the goal to make him and Hugo

move table, we cannot be sure that the teacher was able to hear (or not) Pit's first and second request. If the teacher did hear the request, not answering a question as a teacher can also create space for other participants to help/answer a question and thus to invite and promote active student/learner participation. However, as we have seen from our analysis, no other learner is addressed by Pit, nor does anybody self-select and attempt to provide Pit with the requested assistance and expertise. Only Hanna speaks up, however she does so after the teacher has already displayed engagement towards solving the trouble after the teacher has asked which letter is heard at the beginning of the word. There might be several reasons for why no other learners initiate help. For instance they might not have heard Pit's request, as all the learners are actually engaged in a similar task. Or they might not know how to spell t-shirt. Alternatively, they do not provide an answer because they are not addressed by Pit. Finally, we might also mention that Pit's dyad-partner Hugo, who is supposed to collaboratively write the text with Pit, does not initiate a single turn during the sequence we have looked at. He is addressed by Pit, but nor does he initiate a turn by himself.

At first sight it looks like the teacher is ignoring Pit's project and/or Pit's request for assistance and expertise. On the other hand, the sequential analysis of the sequence has shown that the teacher is actually sticking to his project of procedural classroom management which is also part of being a teacher and the responsibilities it entails within classroom interaction. Competent classroom management is also at the basis of competent and 'successful' classroom interactions. Pit's motivation, persistence and willingness to continue requesting for assistance and expertise to have his spelling trouble resolved is fascinating because he does not give in to the teacher's project and wants to have his trouble resolved so that he can accomplish his learning activity. However, it is only once Pit actually joins into the discussion of the classroom moving project that he manages to solicit and secure the teacher's attention of which he makes use to pursue receiving a relevant next action to his request. Thus, one can argue that once the teacher displays being in 'explicit' interaction with Pit, Pit makes use of this interactional moment to further his personal goal, i.e. that of task accomplishment.

Two final comments are to be made about the lines just analyzed. First of all, the question answer sequence between Pit and the teacher reflects the structure of an *insertion sequence* as described by Schegloff (1972) question-answer pair with an inserted question-answer sequence which expands it. Of course, as our structure and the line numbering below shows, the insertion is much more complex than just a 4 turn QQAA as described by Schegloff. Still, the teacher's question and Pit's answer are inserted between a first and a second pair part. Also, if we look for example at the teacher's response (lines 38, 40 and 41), it becomes apparent that not only verbal talk is part of the answer provided, but also embodied action, namely that of writing onto the blackboard.

What is slightly different to the insertion sequences as described by Schegloff, is that here the teacher's question (line 35) does not serve to clarify how the first request (line 29-30) is to be understood. Rather, the teacher's question functions as an invitation for Pit to participate in the spelling of the word (see below). The question opens the floor to the learner and invites him to at least attempt to join into the activity of spelling the word. This sequence is an illustration of how scaffolding can be done by teachers: thus he does not simply provide the learner with the correct answer, but instead helps him to deconstruct the trouble source and take it step by step, or letter by letter.

Question 1:

```
29   Pit:   <<acc> awer wei
          <<acc> but how

30           get t=shirt ge(schriwwen)?>
          do you (write) t=shirt?>
```

Question 2:

```
35   Tom:   wat heiers de (fir)?
          what do you hear (in front)?
```

Answer 2:

```
36   Pit:   [te] (.) i sch: er e t.
          [te] (.) i sch: r e t. ((spelling))
```

Answer 1:

```

38   Tom:   *t=as t.=
          it=s t.=
          tom   *starts writing onto blackboard

40   Tom:   *t=as en (englescht wuert) (.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)>
          it=s an (english word) (.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)>
          tom   *writes

41           *(2.0)
          tom   *writes t-shirt

```

A second comment to be made is that from the teacher's continuously displayed orientation towards the procedural management of the classroom, one might argue that this very sequence of providing Pit with the requested expertise can be understood as a side sequence (Jefferson, 1972). Before providing the requested expertise and immediately afterwards, the teacher is engaged with the management of the classroom, and hence his providing help is just a short break-away from this orientation. As we have seen, Pit's doings and his request are at the origin of this break away.

7.2.7. Response received, now what?

After Pit has received the assistance and expertise he requested, he returns to his seat, sits down and starts writing, i.e. refocuses on his writing task (see figure 7.18). A few seconds after Pit sits down to write, the teacher displays being again engaged with the procedural management of the classroom (extract 7.6. below). He was not able to get Pit (and Hugo) to move to the other table, he now engages with Pit's partner Hugo and asks him to move by addressing Hugo's name first at the beginning of his turn (lines 01 and 02: [hei (.) hugo eh. du kanns (dech 'glifft) hei eriwwer setzen;]). After a complaint by Pit (line 03) and an account by the teacher (line 04) Pit and Hugo then eventually move table (line 07).

Extract 7.6.: oh: mär müssen emmer gon

```

01   Tom:   hei (.) hugo an. ( )
          hey (.) hugo and. ( )

02           wann ech glifft eriwwer setzen;

```

please sit over there;

03 Pit: oh: mär müssen emmer gon
oh: we always have to go

04 Tom: ma nee t=as einfach well si sutzen firun aerch hei;
but no it=s simply because they sat here before yoo;

05 (.) pit;

06 (0.8)

07 Tom: mina hat geschlafen (.)
mina slept (.)

08 mee wou huet et geschlof (.) bei we:m?
but where did she sleep (.) at who:se place?

09 *(27.5)
*Pit and Hugo move to the next table,
followed by the camera

[Participants of excerpt 1.1. : Pit, Tom, Han(na), Man(uel), St?=undefined speaker]

Pit, who throughout the sequence displays a continuous engagement towards the accomplishment of the learning activity as his main concern, or interactional goal, has quite a strong argument because he is trying to accomplish the pedagogical task which was set by the teacher. Also, his continued and focused display towards the task constitutes him as an engaged pupil within the classroom. He is quite stubborn in doing what he does and insists in getting it - up to the point that he might have an argument with the teacher.

The analysis of this sequence demonstrates that the teacher has to multi-task, or at least switch rapidly between different tasks and interactions consecutively: he is not only coordinating several learner groups and dyads at the same time, but also coordinating several tasks and providing help to several learners who request his assistance. We just had a look at how the teacher was eventually dealing with Pit's request, but just a few seconds after this he is already engaging in helping another learner (lines 7-8). While the teacher's project seems to be one of classroom management as the moment-by-moment sequential analysis has demonstrated, Pit's main interactional concern (and of other learners), is to focus on and accomplish the writing activity. Furthermore, the learners need to organize their requests for help and to engage in classroom management at the same time. We have seen that Pit and Hugo eventually are made to move table, which they do and

where they continue their collaborative writing activity. In this kind of classroom organization the learners are on the one hand taught to work, write and perform their learning activity autonomously. On the other hand there is space for them to negotiate with each other, but also with the teacher, and this changes the participation framework of a more traditional plenary classroom (cf. chapter 3) where the power structure is asymmetrical and the teacher is fully in control of the turn-taking system (Cazden, 1986). In the present context, there are several dyadic groups in the classroom, all engaged in the same free writing task and the teacher is moving around the classroom, sometimes stopping at one or the other group. A consequence of this classroom set-up is that there are several conversations going on in the classroom, and as the teacher is not standing ‘in front’ of the classroom and overlooking it, but constantly moving from one place to another, a learner using a non-verbal resource like hand-raising, might have to wait quite some time before being noticed. The learners need to draw on other resources in order to solicit the teacher’s attention, his assistance and expertise. Cazden (1986, p. 442) has argued that

“many times in a school day students need to ask the teacher for help. But whereas the teacher has the right to speak to any student at any time, students have much more limited conversational access to the teacher, especially when she is already otherwise engaged.”

Cazden also cites studies which have shown that a student requesting the teacher’s help is generally more successful if s/he does so nonverbally (i.e. by putting his/her hand up for example) because it leaves it to the teacher to be the first to speak, and to choose to enter an engagement framework. In our analysis we have however observed Pit deploying verbal resources along with nonverbal resources (gaze, body posture, etc.) in order to request the desired assistance. The multi-party classroom requests for rather complex interactional work and skills by the learners in order to solicit and also secure the teacher’s attention. How to request a next relevant action (assistance, help, literacy expertise, etc.) from the teacher in a more autonomously constructed classroom requires a number of interactional

skills from the learners: how to request help, when to request help and how to negotiate certain things with the teacher for example. Vice-versa, also the teacher has to engage into more complex interactional work as several issues (classroom management, request for help, 'misbehaving' learners) need to be managed, organized and taken care of at the same time. One might argue that this way of teaching might look chaotic at first sight, but our analysis has shown that at the very least it is creatively chaotic: the learners learn to work autonomously, independently, but also collaboratively in peer interaction with either their peer's help, assistance or expertise, or the teacher's such as in this case. At the same time, Pit has displayed that it is possible to ask for an account of the teacher's action, while eventually still accepting it - even though with a grudge.

7.2.8. The teacher as literacy expert

It is probably fair to say that within the classroom, the teacher is more often than not oriented to by the learners in his institutional role as literacy expert. Teachers are then constituted through learners' requests, expectations and practices as masters of literacy practices. In other words, the use of expert-novice-practices not only constitutes the peer, but also the teacher as expert, when learners are interacting as a dyad within a learning activity. We have observed that one way to gain access to the teacher's expertise, especially when in need for his/her expertise in order to overcome a trouble source during the accomplishment of a writing activity, is the use of requests, i.e. the use of a first pair part of an adjacency pair which makes the next action sequentially relevant.

In the previous sequence we had a look at how a learner, who is engaged in a learning activity and in need of help, manages to solicit the teacher's attention, even though the latter is displaying being in the midst of some other project within the classroom. Pit's request for help is a request for the teacher's knowledge or expertise in how to spell a word - in this case an English word: t-shirt. Why Pit is not asking one of his fellow peers to answer his request remains an open question. However, as we are within a classroom, it seems most obvious to address a request for assistance and expertise, especially in relation to a literacy issue, to the teacher. It's important to note that at this age the learners are learning how to spell

according to a phonemic chart. They are taught the writing of a grapheme according to its phonemes. The trouble with knowing how to spell t-shirt now, is that this word is written with a hyphen, and this might raise the question of how one can teach a hyphen for which the phonemes are irrelevant. Pit's request is directed directly to the teacher, who thereby is oriented to by Pit as potentially being in possession of the necessary expertise to assist him and provide him with the relevant writing, i.e. spelling expertise. Pit, as a member of this classroom community of practice, knows what they have been taught and what not, and he might be aware of the word being an unusual word, due to the hyphen. He probably knows which letters and signs have been introduced to them and which ones have not, and from this he can conclude that the likelihood that one of his peers knows how to write or spell something which has not yet been 'officially' introduced is rather small. In this sense, Pit's request to the teacher constitutes the teacher as literacy expert, a role which, as we have seen, is interactionally constituted in and through the use of expert-novice practices.

7.2.9. Intermediate summary: learner requests for help

Pomerantz (1984b) has argued that whenever a speaker is pursuing a response s/he might, or might not, be successful. The lack of a response might be due to misunderstandings, or people might still be busy with something or someone else, and not have heard the request or turn-at-talk. They might also have heard and/or understood the talk, but decide for whatever reason not to act or react. Whatever the origin of the lack of response, it is always accountable, and Pomerantz has argued that "if a recipient does not give a coherent response, the speaker routinely sees the recipient's behavior as manifesting some problem and deals with it" (Pomerantz, 1984b, p. 152).

In fact, Pomerantz enumerates three types of problems at the origin of not receiving a response and as a consequence there are three types of solving these problems:

1. “A recipient may not understand because a reference is unclear or a term unknown. To solve a problem of this order, a speaker may review his or her assertion [...] [and eventually] offer a more understandable reference to replace the troublesome one.
2. A recipient may be confused because a speaker, in referring to a matter, presumes that the recipient knows about it when he or she does not. This type of reference problem result from a wrong assumption of some particular shared knowledge. To solve a problem of this order, a speaker would go over with the recipient the facts and information upon which he or she based the assertion.
3. A recipient may be hesitant to respond coherently because he or she does not support, or agree with, the speaker's assertion. To solve a problem of this order a speaker may review his or her assertion [...]”.

(Pomerantz, 1984b, pp. 152-153)

The present research study now proposes that there is actually a forth type of problem: that of the participants orienting to two different projects of goals in their talk-in-interaction. A result of this is, as demonstrated through the analysis of the sequence, that the speaker might well get a response, however not the one s/he was pursuing. In order to receive the pursued response, the participant who is formulating the request, needs to engage in explicit interaction with the candidate expert. This means that first of all attention has to be solicited and secured. Secondly, for the appropriate expertise to be obtained, the problem or trouble source needs to be clarified and made available in a straightforward way. As the interaction between Pit and the teacher illustrates, this whole procedure can be a challenging undertaking in an environment where so many things and interactions are going on at the same time. To eventually secure somebody's attention and to draw that person away from an interactional business s/he is already engaged in, does indeed require some complex interactional skills. This undertaking is even

more complex if the participant requesting expertise is right from the start positioned as i) a non-expert or learner, and ii) in this position has less rights to speak than the expert. nevertheless we have demonstrated that Pit has displayed being able to secure the teacher's attention and expertise through the continued deployed of expert-novice-practices.

We will now move on then, and analyze a sequence in which the request is formulated by the teacher who displays being in need for some language expertise and which he, as the analysis below demonstrates, expects to receive from one of his learners.

7.3. Expert-novice-practices by learners as experts

Although it is not uncommon for a learner to request the teacher's assistance and expertise in a classroom, it seems to be unusual for a teacher to request a learner's expertise and thereby constitute himself as a learner. In our corpus (+/- 110 hours PluChiLu), we could only identify one instance of a teacher requesting a young learner's assistance and expertise.

The sequence is relevant for the present research project because it shows how the fact that the teacher constitutes himself as a learner, is i) NOT losing his face in front of the learners (Goffman, 1967) and ii) because he becomes himself a learner, he is ultimately able to keep a younger learner (i.e. his pupil) focused on the learning activity and to make him advance in his understanding of a German lexical word. In other words, by constituting himself as a learner of Portuguese, the teacher is able to then move his assistance a step further, and to draw on the learner's personal resources in order to move the learning activity forward and establish a mutual understanding between him and the young learner of the learning activity.



Figure 7.19.: teacher explanation

In the episode we analyze below, we have an instance of a teacher requesting assistance from his students. The teacher is going through a text written by Bertrand and points out a trouble source. Bertrand, the learner on the left of the teacher (figure 7.19.) has written ‘das klaut ist taschendieb/the steals is

pickpocket’ (line 36) which is syntactically incorrect and should be written: ‘der taschendieb klaut/the pickpocket steals’. Although we do not have a picture of the text in the notebook, analysis from a CA perspective demonstrates that in most cases one does not need secondary resources or data, as the participants themselves talk the writing into being (cf. conversational writing) and thus make the already written accessible for revision by the teacher, but also for analysis for us as researchers. Furthermore, not the writing itself is the focus of the present research: rather, we focus on how the teacher and the learners participate in and orient to the accomplishment of a learning activity. The detailed analysis “of the ways in which they participate in the activity of the moment, co-participants display to each other both their understanding of what is happening, and their alignment to those events (Goffman 1961a, 1981)” (C. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992) allows us to identify some of the resources and ‘methods’ (Kasper, 2009, p. 13) that the teacher and the learners employ to systematically accomplish the coordinated unfolding learning activity. The ‘methods’ are the procedures and practices “by which social members make sense of the social world they hold in common, and by which they produce their own actions and understand those of others in shared social activities (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b; Maynard & Clayman, 1991)” (Kasper, 2009, p. 13).

7.3.1. Identifying the trouble source

The first extract (7.7., below) shows the teacher pointing out (figure 7.20.) a trouble source in Bertrand's writing (line 01: (nee) der tAschendieb;). He gazes to Bertrand who does not produce an uptake (line 02). The teacher then reformulates his repair initiation (lines 03-04: du=muss=schreiwen (.) der TAsch[endieb]), modifying his repair initiation to make it more understandable and thereby orienting to the possibility that Bertrand might have troubles understanding him. Bertrand then produces an uptake (line 05: [dAs:] (.) klaUt; [(0.3) ist], figure 7.21.) which is rejected by the teacher (lines 06 - 09). The teacher 'interrupts' Bertrand by tipping him on his shoulder twice (figures 7.22. and 7.23.), in order to solicit his attention. The teacher also uses an embodied 'listening gesture', i.e. pointed finger (figure 7.24.) to secure Bertrand's attention and to make him listen attentively while initiating a repair sequence. Bertrand however at the end gazes to the teacher, lifting his right hand to his head, thus not displaying a readiness to write and to correct what is written on the sheet.

Extract 7.7.: der tAschendieb;



Figure 7.20.: (1.1) : gaze to Bertrand



Figure 7.21.: dAs: (.) klaUt;

- 01 Tea: (nee) der tAschendieb;
(no) the pIck-pocket;
- 02 * (1.1)
tea *gaze to bertrand (fig. 7.20.), then back to paper
- 03 Tea: du=muss=schreiwen (.)
you=have=to write (.)
- 04 der TAsch[endieb]
the PIck [pocket]

- 05 Ber: [*dAs:] (.) *klaUt; [(0.3) ist]
 [thAt:] (.) steals;[(0.3) is
 ber *points to paper (fig. 7.21.)
 tea *tips ber. on shoulder
 (fig. 7.22.)
- 06 Tea: [der tasch']
 [the pick']
- 07 Tea: *nee *der tAschendieb;
 no the pickpocket;
 tea *gaze to bertrand, tips him on shoulder (fig. 7.23.)
 ber *gaze to teacher
 tea *lifts pointed finger (fig. 7.24.)
- 08 * (0.9)
 tea *gaze to bertrand
 ber *gaze to teacher
- 09 Tea: *<<dim> klaut.>
 *<<dim> steals.>
 tea *gaze to bertrand
 ber *gaze to teacher (fig. 7.25.)



Figure 7.22.: klaUt

Figure 7.23.: nee der
tAschendieb;

Figure 7.24.: der tAschendieb;



Figure 7.25.: <<dim> klaut.>

The previous extract, which shows the teacher orienting to some trouble in Bertrand's writing, is at the origin for the teacher's subsequent orientation to the need for requesting assistance. In the next extract (7.8. below; line numbering

continues to reflect continuity), we then have the instance of the teacher formulating a request, seeking (Portuguese) language expertise from one of the young learners present in the classroom. Through his request, we argue, the teacher constitutes himself as learner, or non-expert of the Portuguese language and at the same time the potential next speaker is constituted as expert speaker of Portuguese.

7.3.2. First request for help

So in the next extract (7.8. , below), Bertrand does not produce an uptake (line 10) after the teacher's repair initiation and explanations thus not displaying understanding of the teacher's repair initiation. The teacher self-selects and initiates another repair attempt, but stops and formulates a request (lines 11-13). What exactly is the teacher doing here? To explain 'der Taschendieb/the pickpocket' to Bertrand, the teacher is looking for somebody who can translate the word into Portuguese, hence referring to the fact that Bertrand's first language (L1) is Portuguese and that a translation of the word into Bertrand's L1 might solve the lexical trouble. In line 11, the teacher, gazing across the table and across the room is displaying the search for some recipient to his question (figure 7.26.). Through his body positioning and gazing across the table / room, the teacher is shifting the participation framework and opening it up to the whole group, or at least to the participants in the next vicinity. As Goffman pointed out, "questioners are oriented to what lies just ahead, and depend on what is to come; answerers are oriented to what has just been said, and look backward, not forward." (Goffman, 1981:5) The teacher, just before asking his questions, already raises his upper body (figure 7.26.C.), displaying an orientation towards searching next relevant speaker. In line 13, he gazes across the table he is sitting at, but as nobody either seems to display reciprocity, i.e. willingness to provide an answer to the teacher's question, or from the teacher's perspective be a relevant/appropriate candidate with the necessary resources (i.e. knowledge of Portuguese) to provide an answer to the question, the teacher turns his body and gaze to the next table (figure 7.26.D.) and, having found a relevant next speaker, restarts his question in line 13 orienting to the established reciprocity (C. Goodwin, 1980) (figure 7.26.E) .

After a pause, a learner (who cannot be seen due to camera angle) produces the relevant second pair part (lines 15-16). The teacher, through repeating the answer, ratifies it (line 17). He touches Bertrand on his shoulder to re-establish Bertrand's attention to him as the teacher. At the moment, Bertrand gazes to the teacher, the teacher restarts his turn (line 17: roubar (.) roubar as klaUen;) and moves on, recycling St1's turn (line 17 and 19). The teacher then has to manage the shift in participation framework and to refocus Bertrand's attention away from the peer (St1) and back to the learning activity they were just engaged in. At the end of his turn, the teacher gazes to Bertrand who does not produce an uptake. Interestingly, it is then St1 who self-selects and who produces an extended turn which can be understood as explaining the term 'Taschendieb' to Bertrand (lines 21-22, figure 7.31.). Unfortunately, his turn is not hearable towards the end, but Bertrand orients to it in line 25 with marked intonation and a (Luxembourgish/Portuguese) change-of-state token (A: :h, figure 7.32.) (Heritage, 1984a), which is deployed to mark the immediately prior talk as informative and it produces "a change in its recipient from non-knowing to now-knowing" (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 118), or, as Heritage formulates it, it is a "display of understanding" (Heritage, 1984a). Heritage further argues that 'oh' as change-of-state token is most likely to occur in the environment of questions and tends to be imbedded within the structure [Question]-[Answer]-[“oh”] (Heritage, 1984a, p. 336). Bertrand's emphatic intonation of his change-of-state token, which is embedded in the question-answer -structure, is a display of his understanding which is thereby also made publicly available for the other participants. The teacher orients to Bertrand's display of understanding and attempts to re-shift the participation frame work towards the learning activity the two of them were engaged in (line 26, figure 7.33.). Also St1 confirms Bertrand's understanding through the repetition of the Portuguese translation of 'klauen' (line 27).



Figure 7.29.: using 'expertise' to explain



Figure 7.30.: gaze to Bertand

- 15 St1: rou*ba::r
ber *turns body and gaze to St1 (figure 7.26.D. and E)
- 16 ()
- 17 Tea: *roubar *(.) roubar as klaUen;
roubar (.) roubar is to steal;
tea *touches bertrand's arm, gaze to bertrand
ber *gaze to teacher
- 18 St?: ((coughing).h h, [.h hh, hh)
- 19 Tea: [der taschendieb (.) (ti' . tiro)
[the pickpocket (.) (ti' tiro)
- 20 *(2.5)
tea *gaze to bertrand
ber *gaze to table (figure 7.30.)
- 21 St1: *taschendieb* é *aqueles gaijos que (.) que roubão
taschendieb is the guy who (.) who steals
tea *stretches arm to bertrand, then midway
stops and withdraws (fig. 7.31.)
tea *gaze to st1
ber *gaze to st1



Figure 7.31.: listening to further explanations by St1

- 22 sempre coisas (.) ([)
always things (.) ([)
- 23 Tea: [ok?]
- 24 St1: [()

- 25 Ber: [A::h [ladroes. (fig. 7.32.)
[A::h [you steal.
- 26 Tea: [*tu sais?]
[you know?]
tea: *touches Bertrand on shoulder (fig. 7.33.)
- 27 St1: ladroes
you steal



Figure 7.32: A::h ladroes.



Figure 7.33.: tu sais?

Drawing on Pekarak-Doehler (2010 (forthcom.)) and her conceptualization of “situated cognition” and its observability in interaction, it is possible to talk about the analyzed sequence and Bertrand’s display of understanding as an illustration of a “micro-moment[...] of socially situated cognition (Kasper, 2009; Markee & Seo, 2009; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Schegloff, 1991). It implies that at least part of the process of learning is analysable as embodied in the details of social interaction, through such pervasive elements as repair, hesitation, repetition, turn-taking and sequential organization, but also gaze, gesture, body orientation and the manipulation of objects” (Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.)). Furthermore, the change-of-state token and the recycling of parts of St1’s explanation are produced with final falling intonation and thus proposes that the explanation given is understood as being complete (Heritage, 1984a). The explanation given by ST1, reveals itself as being rather complex, because it refers to the terms ‘klauen’ and ‘Taschendieb’ at the same time. Bertrand’s display of understanding is oriented towards the verb (line 25: *ladroes.*) and not the noun (*ladrão*) . Also, there are two different terms being used which function as synonyms of ‘klauen’: *ladroes* (to steal) and *roubar* (to rob). One of the terms, which is very similar to the verb is the noun *ladrão* (the thief). However, the teacher orients to this

potential trouble and provides, after having requested assistance once more, an extended explanation by positioning the terms next to each other (line 46, below).

It is interesting to note that gaze as well as gestures (touching the learner's arm/shoulder, the positioning of the paper) are employed as resources for gaining, establishing and controlling joint/mutual attention: while explaining (and pointing to the different words for example) the teacher is continuously establishing joint gazing with Bertrand as if to check he is paying attention and displaying understanding to what is being talked about. Furthermore, this establishment of joint attention is necessary for the teacher and Bertrand to co-construct a shared community of practice engaged in the same learning activity.

Finally, another interesting point about extract 7.8. is that, as soon as the teacher constitutes himself as 'non-expert' through the formulation of a request, learners take the invitation to participate, and the interactional roles between teacher as expert and learner as non-expert are shifted. This shift in identities influences and changes the participation framework, and St1 self-selects not only to provide the relevant translation, but also, once he has access to the floor, takes the opportunity and elaborates on the teacher's 'lack of knowledge', offering an extended explanation (lines 21-22 and 24). However, it is interesting to note that the learner only constitutes himself as expert and takes the opportunity to participate once the teacher has clearly formulated a request, and thereby his need or invitation for help and language expertise. Previous research has demonstrated that learners take the opportunity to participate in classroom interaction and to constitute themselves as experts, once the teacher has clearly declared being unable to provide relevant or requested knowledge, or visibly cedes the position of expert (Fasel, 2009, pp. 317-319). The fact that the teacher then 'publicly', i.e. in front of his learners, constitutes himself as non-expert, creates a shift in participation framework which again creates opportunities for learners to become experts in a certain field or domain and thereby also the opportunity to 'learn'. The learners having the opportunity to provide somebody else with expertise, they do it in and through talk which at the same time is an opportunity for language use, but also in and through that a learning opportunity.

7.3.3. Second request for help

The next extract 7.9. (below; line numbering continues to reflect continuity) shows the teacher's supplementary explanations and a further request for expertise of Portuguese language. More precisely, he is asking for another translation to be made into Portuguese. The extract below follows the first, assistance and language expertise provided by St1. The teacher moves on and tries to re-establish mutual focus with Bertrand and a shared attention to the writing in front of them (line 28 and 30, figure 7.37.). The teacher re-initiates his repair, trying to highlight (for Bertrand) where he sees the trouble: he formulates the 'correct version' (lines 32 and 35) and opposes it to the version Bertrand has written down (line 34). As Bertrand does not produce an uptake, the teacher once more formulates a request, asking how one says 'Taschendieb' (line 38). Even though the teacher does not explicitly refer to wanting the Portuguese translation, St1, orients to the teacher's previous request and provides the Portuguese translation of 'Taschendieb' (line 40: ladrão:○). Bertrand repeats it, displaying his understanding of the translation provided. The teacher then recycles St1's turn (line 42) and also adds part of St1's previous explanation (il ladrão' roubaba). We did not provide a translation for the teacher's turn, because it is not a 'grammatically' correct translation of the sentence 'der taschendieb klaut'. Nevertheless, we are interested in the interactional function it has and it is interesting to note that the teacher, a non-Portuguese speaker, displays making an effort to draw on Bertrand's resources (his L1) in order to explain to him some syntactical trouble in his written German sentence on his writing sheet. The teacher organizes his repair work then into some kind of sentence (line 45). Finally, he then structurally juxtaposes the two translated terms in his next turn (line 46: German-Portuguese / German-Portuguese). His turn can also be understood as a kind of summary of what has been going on before, as the turn is designed so as to pull together the previously provided translations and explanations. The teacher produces a pre-closing utterance (line 48) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973b) and finally invites (or rather orders) Bertrand to correct what he has written down (line 50: *verbesser*; , figure 7.40). The teacher also pushes the writing sheet back to Bertrand at the end

of the sequence. This is a very obvious gesture, not only closing down the teacher's explanation-s but also opening the floor for Bertrand to apply the corrections and to rework on what he has written. This gesture then, along with the verbal directive to correct the sentence not only marks the closing of the repair sequence, but it also shifts the participation framework for both participants: the teacher continues his repair work with other learners and Bertrand is invited to engage into an individual writing, i.e. repairing sequence.

Extract 7.9. wéi heescht (.) wéi heescht=et taschendieb?



Figure 7.37.: bertrand=bertrand



Figure 7.38.: der taschendieb

- 28 Tea: ok (.) [maja]
ok (.) [so]
- 29 St1: [()]
- 30 Tea: (.) *bertrand=bertrand *der taschendieb
(.) bertrand=bertrand the pickpocket
tea *pushes paper in front of bertrand (fig. 7.37.)
tea *pointing to paper, gaze to bertrand (fig. 7.38.)
- 31 (0.3)
- 32 Tea: der taschendieb (.) klaU:t
the pickpocket (.) steals
- 33 (1.1)
- 34 Tea: NEt (.) das klaut ist taschendieb
NOt (.) that steals is pickocket
- 35 Tea: der tASCHendieb klaut
the pICKpocket steals
- 36 St3: [.he he .h [ha ha
- 37 St?: [tick
- 38 ->Tea: *wéi heescht *(.) wéi heescht=et taschendieb?

CHAPTER 7 - Requesting third party assistance

how calls (.) how calls=one a pickpocket?
 tea *lifts head and gaze to st1
 tea *lifts right arm (fig. 7.39A.)
 39 (1.7)
 40 St1: ladrà:o
 41 Ber: *ladrào
 ber *gaze to teacher
 tea *gaze to bertrand, touches his arm (fig. 7.39B.)
 42 Tea: [il ladrào' roubaba'
 43 St3: [.he he .h



Figure 7.39.: wéi heescht=et taschendieb?

44 (0.7)
 45 Tea: der taschendieb (.) klaUt
 the pickpocket (.) steals
 46 klaut (.) rouba (-) taschendieb (.) ladrào
 steals (.) rouba (-) pickpocket (.) ladrào
 47 (0.4)
 48 Tea: ok?
 49 (0.5)
 50 Tea: *verbesser;
 correct (it);
 tea: *pushes writing sheet back to Bertrand (fig. 7.40.)



Figure 7.40.: verbesser;

The teacher's second request formulation once more constitutes himself as learner and non-expert of the Portuguese language (line 38). At the same time, St1, by providing the relevant answer and Portuguese language expertise which was requested, is constituted as an expert of the Portuguese language. The teacher's orientation to drawing on Portuguese resources for his explanations, as well as his requests, also constitute Bertrand as a 'native', L1 speaker of Portuguese, or at least more knowledgeable in Portuguese than in German. This shows that the identity work going on here is on one hand very complex, but on the other hand, by constituting himself as learner, it allows the teacher for drawing on one learner's expertise and to recycle and use that expertise in order to give explanations oriented to other learners and their resources. It is actually only in line 34 that it becomes clear (to us as analysts, but probably also to Bertrand) what the teacher is actually correcting: German syntax. But in order to do so, he is first making sure Bertrand understands what the different words mean. The teacher, in doing so, is displaying an orientation to what he understands Bertrand's problem is: he orients to it as being lexical in nature and not necessarily syntactical.

7.3.4. Intermediate summary: expert requests for help

Compared to the first sequence analysis in this chapter, where Pit has to deal with more complex interactional features in order to pursue a response to his request, it is fair to say that the teacher receives a response much quicker and easier than Pit. One reason for this could of course be that, even a teacher who constitutes himself as learner, still also remains in the teacher-identity and his institutional role which cannot really be 'escaped': when it comes to participation rights within the

framework of a classroom, the following interactionally relevant functions originate from our analysis:

- i) The teacher has more rights to speak (and consequently to receive answers and responses to requests) than his learners (Markee, 2000a),
- ii) learners are expected to provide answers to teacher-questions and,
- iii) learners who provide (relevant, correct) answers to teachers' request constitute themselves as active students engaged in learning (Mori, 2004, p. 539) because with their expertise they are able to help other learners in the accomplishment of their learning activities.

If one looks at the episode between the teacher and Bertrand as a repair activity, the repair activity starts in line 03 where the teacher tells Bertrand what he has to write. After line 03, one would then expect an uptake of the repair in the following line or lines. Thus one would for example expect a claim for understanding or assuming understanding but what the learner does in line 04 is in fact repeating the 'trouble source'. This displays that the learner has a different understanding of the interaction and the trouble source than the teacher. As we have then seen in the analysis, the first time we have a display of understanding by Bertrand is after St1's explanations in Portuguese. And even though the teacher draws on this a second time and recycles it in his explanations, the sequence actually closes without another display of understanding by Bertrand. Still, we see the teacher bringing the sequence to an end, as he directs Bertrand towards an individual repair sequence, i.e. to correct the already written.

7.4. Findings: request formulation as language competence

The analysis of the first episode demonstrates that i) to solicit the teacher's attention and to secure it once it is solicited in a multi-party interactional setting already demands complex interactional abilities on the part of the learners, and ii)

that even when the teacher's attention is secured, more complex interactional skills are required on the part of the learners in order to pursue the requested assistance and expertise. In this sense, not only soliciting and securing the teacher's attention reveals itself as unproblematic, but also to pursue a desired response is a problematic interactional business. As demonstrated, the formulation, and above all repetition of requests in a multi-party classroom is influenced by the context, i.e. the institutional environment, and the competitiveness which inevitably arises in such a context. Pit has demonstrated being in possession of relevant interactional skills (such as soliciting teacher's attention, formulating a request, etc.) necessary to solicit the expert's attention towards his interest, i.e. the accomplishment of the learning activity. As Cekaite also demonstrated, "being able to recruit the participation of the 'expert' and direct the teacher towards specific interactional tasks is one of the basic conditions for gaining access to the 'linguaculture' of the classroom" (Cekaite, 2008a, p. 19). Thus, Pit not only demonstrates being in possession of complex skills, i.e. expertise, to gain access to the teacher's attention and expertise, but he is thereby also able to gain access to resources necessary for the accomplishment of his learning activity. Finally, Pit has shown that to make a request on the teacher's identity and consequently expertise as literacy expert in the classroom, and at the same time constituting himself as learner in need of the teacher's expertise, is a complex interactional undertaking, but necessary in order to advance the accomplishment of the learning activity when encountering an unknown trouble source.

The second episode analyzed demonstrates that as soon as the teacher gives up his position as expert by making a request on one of his learner's assistance and expertise, learners take the opportunity to self-select and to actively participate in the interaction. The extract also shows that the turn-taking system is different to sequences where the teacher for example is engaged in the repair initiation sequence with Bertrand: first of all, the learners orient to being able to self-select once the teacher has giving up is expert identity (lines 15, 21, 24 in extract 7.6.). Secondly, the turns are produced quicker, and there are many overlaps, highlighting an active and strong participation in interaction. Finally, the extended

turn by St1 (extract 7.6., lines 21-24) also highlights an active engagement in participation, once the teacher gives the learners the possibility to constitute themselves as expert-s. The teacher had only requested a translation, but St1 actively, through his extended explanation, co-constructs (with the teacher) the expertise necessary for Bertrand to understand his lexical and/or written trouble oriented to and made visible by the teacher.

As in chapter 6, we can now argue that both episodes analyzed in the current chapter, demonstrate to what extent the formulation of requests (and other expert-novice-practices) is linked to the constitution of identity, i.e. expert and novice roles, as well as how the negotiation of expert-novice roles allows for changing the participation framework and thereby opening up possibilities for students to actively gain access to and engage in classroom discourse and culture.

8. Displaying forgetfulness: the case of the lexical item ‘schon méi/na méi’ as one kind of expert-novice-practice

8.1. Using the lexical time ‘schon/na méi’ in requests for information

In this chapter, we investigate one very specific form of request which occurs several times in our data on peer interaction. We focus on how young learners employ the discourse marker item ‘schon méi/na méi’ in requests and how it displays forgetfulness and thereby allows for drawing on the knowledge or expertise of others present. The sequences under investigation are drawn from what “extra-curricular activities” (Arminen, 2005, p. 116). This means that these activities are still taking place in the institutional context, but are not directly tied to the official curriculum classroom context. Nevertheless, as already pointed out by Arminen, these extra curricular activities are organized activities and are considered to

“offer a complement to curriculum activities. Neither are extra-curricular activities pedagogically empty, but are intricately linked to the pedagogic agenda. [...] The formal difference from other activities coupled with their strong tie to the overall goals of school work make extra-curricular activities an intriguing topic” (Arminen, 2005, p. 116).

For the present study these extra-curricular activities, which are generally taking place with one or more peers, are considered to be as much peer interaction as any pedagogically task-oriented activity *in* the classroom and we thus also consider them to be learning activities. They are considered learning activities, because they i) allow for creating opportunities to use language (in this case different L2 - Luxembourgish, but also German nouns are deployed such as ‘schwanger’ and ‘Quallen’ for example), and ii) they allow for discussing, and learning about

‘topics’ (pregnancy and jellyfish) which after all are constituent of general knowledge of social beings.

First, we will investigate a conversation which takes place between young learners (aged 7 to 9) while having lunch. As pointed out in chapter 5, all students stay at the school and have lunch together during the lunch break. Although the conversation is not taking place within the classroom, it is still institutional because it is taking place within school and therefore certain kinds of discourse and discourse practices are preferred to others. Learners are for example expected to treat each other respectfully and not use ‘bad names’ on each other, or they are for example also expected to behave autonomously and responsibly because they have to set and clean the tables themselves. Secondly, we will investigate a sequence where young learners engage in a free choice activity when having accomplished their official classroom activities. More specifically, the learners are engaged in a reading activity, and as the analysis will demonstrate, reading with peers involves in that specific context, and at that age, the application of a set of complex interactional skills in order to “do reading”, or rather enact and perform reading. Furthermore, the constitution and (non-)alignment of the interactional identities of expert and novice are once more oriented to and made relevant when learners make use of expert-novice-practices, and more specifically the use of the discourse marker ‘schon/na méi’ during request formulations. The deployment of expert-novice-practices is shown to have implications for the development of the interaction as well as for the learners' participation.

Although both sequences are not taken from the same (learning) activity (having lunch together vs. doing reading together), we argue that they are comparable because i) they illustrate that also in extra-institutional interaction learners orient to the deployment of expert-novice-practices, ii) both sequences stem from, as already mentioned, extra-institutional settings, and iii) in both cases the formulation of a request is oriented to other as being in possession of relevant knowledge and thus constituting other as candidate expert, and iv) the acquisition of the requested expertise and/or knowledge is oriented to as being necessary in order to move on and/or bring the conversation and activity to a close.

8.2. Displaying forgetfulness

Goodwin (1987) demonstrated how in the midst of a conversation, speakers quite often display uncertainty and/or forgetfulness about something they are saying. What is interesting about these displays of forgetting is that they “invoke and accomplish discrete forms of social relationships. This is true with respect to whether a word search invites another’s participation or proposes that the “other” remain silent as self performs an autonomous search” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 118). Thus, displaying uncertainty or forgetfulness can provide resources for participants to draw on to re-organize the participation framework of the current interaction. In a way this is reminiscent of our findings from chapter 6, where we argue that the constitution of a positive interpersonal relationship is necessary for a smooth, and above all coherent interaction to take place. A device which we have observed to be re-occurring when young children interact in extra-institutional activities is the production of ‘na méi’/‘schon méi’ (once again) during the formulation a request addressed to another peer. What is however different to Goodwin's findings, is that in our cases the children formulate requests which start with a wh-question word (w-question word in Luxembourgish), and do not really ‘display uncertainty or forgetfulness’: rather to gain access to the information they are orienting to as lacking is attempted to be attained through the straightforward formulation of a request for information. Because the discourse marker ‘na méi’/‘schon méi’ is used in these requests however, the request becomes more complex, i.e. interactionally challenging than a simple request for information like for example ‘what’s the time?’ (cf. chapter 2). The use of the discourse marker ‘na méi’/‘schon méi’ transforms the request into a potential scaffolding sequence because the discourse marker displays that the speaker does not know it at all, but is potentially able to evaluate or assess (positively or negatively) the missing information given to him/her. We will go into more details about this below.

We first want to remind ourselves that when formulating a request, the speaker constitutes the other peer-s as potential knower or expert of the requested

information or even more ‘elaborate’ knowledge. This means that at moments a simple name or noun of an animal, thing or event might be pursued, while at other times in order to eventually pursue this noun, a lot of interactional work such as comprehension checks, repair sequences have to occur. Because these various sequences are likely to occur, it is also possible for scaffolding work to occur, and consequently also learning opportunities as learners orient to collectively searching for the missing information.

The lexical item ‘*schon méi*’ functions also as a backlinking to prior talk, or shared experience in the past, allowing for creating a social relationship, i.e. interpersonal relationship between the learners as i) members who have lived and shared a same and common experience in the past, and ii) as knowing-participants of this shared experience in the past. In view that they are learners of the same class and school, who shared the same event, such an orientation to each other as knowing recipients and members of a shared experience, in the past is in fact not aberrant.

To come back to request formulations, we want to draw on Goodwin (1987, p. 122) who argues that when formulating a request, as opposed to displaying uncertainty, the speaker also needs to change the state of her/his displayed state of knowledge, and in doing so, “a complementary state of knowledge” is maintained:

Table 8.1. (adapted from Goodwin, 1987)

	Speaker	Recipient
Telling	<i>knowing</i>	<i>unknowing</i>
Request	<i>unknowing</i>	<i>knowing</i>

Goodwin’s table illustrates that “if recipient is *unknowing*, speaker is *knowing*, while if recipient is *knowing*, speaker is *unknowing*. The effect of this complementarity is that a speaker who wishes to address a knowing rather than an unknowing recipient must also change the state of his or her own displayed knowledge” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 122). If applied to our present data, we

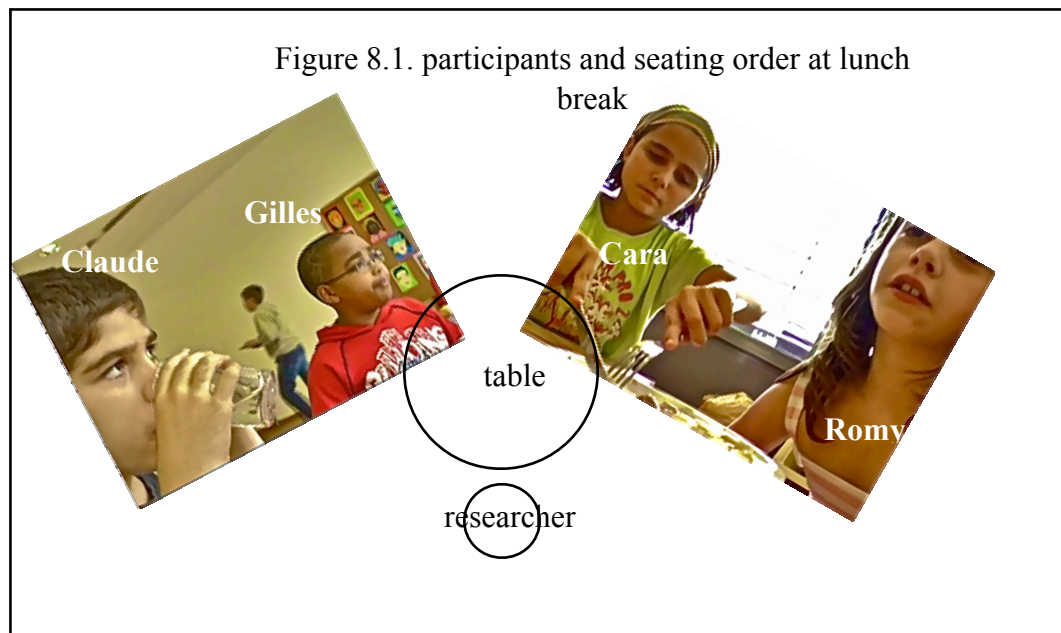
observe, however, that speakers produce requests for information and do not just display uncertainty. However, what is important is that the use of the lexical item ‘schon méi’ functions as a device for ‘downgrading’ their displayed state of lack of knowledge. In other words, because the lexical item ‘schon méi’ also constitutes speaker and hearer-s as members of the same experienced relationship in the past, the speaker displays a momentarily unavailability or lack of the missing knowledge, but that at least s/he is able to situate a potential knower of the lacking information because the speaker is able to refer back to a moment in the past when that knowledge has been shared between the participants. Furthermore, as already mentioned above, the discourse marker allows for displaying not only some kind of forgetfulness, but also situates the speaker as being able to assess or evaluate the information given to him or her. Thus for example, when asking for the name of an animal ‘how does one call x or y once again?’ the speaker displays being able to evaluate the answer w of y as being appropriate or not ‘oh yes, right’ versus ‘oh no, but not that one.’. The analysis of the two sequences below will illustrate this argument more clearly.

8.3. Collectively pursuing lacking information over lunch

In the first extract 8.1. of our first sequence (below), we have 4 learners and the researcher sitting around a table having lunch (cf. figure 8.1. below for the seating order). Just prior to the beginning of the extract, Romy has been telling a story about how they received a new teacher because the other one fell ill and left the school looking for another job (transcript omitted here but see full transcript in appendix I). She brings her story to a close by saying that they were all sad about her leaving (lines 1-2: *mir a' =alleguerten waren TRAUrech wéinst sofia=*). Claude then self-selects, formulating a request which is directly addressed to Cara, as he produces a summons right at the beginning of his question (lines 04-05: *Cara (hat) wei sees de (schon) méi äh wei ee bébé kritt?*). After a short pause, Cara produces a request, displaying trouble oriented towards Claude’s prior request. That she has trouble understanding Claude’s request is furthermore underlined by her quizzical face (cf. figure 8.2. below). Claude then repeats his question (line 7), producing an other-initiated repair (H. Sacks, et al., 1974;

Schegloff, 2000b). However, Cara does not provide a relevant second pair part. She stops cutting the meat (figure 8.3.) and produces once more an utterance with rising intonation at the end, displaying that she does not grasp Claude's question (line 8, figure 8.4.). Romy then self-selects, and produces a candidate answer (line 9). She is overlapped by Claude (line 10), and as a consequence his utterance is not very clear. Romy then produces a tag question (line 11), asking for a confirmation of her candidate answer. Claude produces a negative assessment, rejecting Romy's answer (line 12). Cara then self-selects, offering another candidate answer, which is produced with rising intonation at the end, thus inviting for an assessment by Claude (line 13: *Re' ähm SCHEIde?*). She first produces what could be interpreted as being the first part of the word 'regel', i.e. period, but then stops herself, producing a self-initiated self-repair (H. Sacks, et al., 1974) and produces another candidate answer to Claude's request. None of the participants treats it as strange, or kinky or provocative, that the word 'scheide/vagina' is being used. They all simply display an orientation towards pursuing an answer that they can all agree on to the initial request by Claude. Romy and Claude produce a negative assessment of Cara's answer (lines 14 and 15). Claude continues and repeats his question once again (line 15: *nä: wi ee bébé kritt;*). Romy self-selects, producing a state-of-change token (Heritage, 1984a), displaying that she now understands (line 16). She is, however, overlapped by Cara who self-selects again and produces another candidate answer, also produced with rising intonation at the end, thus inviting her peers to positively or negatively assess Cara's candidate answer (line 17: *schwanger?*). Both Romy and Claude display a reaction to Cara's candidate answer, however they both react in different ways. Claude produces a positive assessment of Cara's answer in the subsequent line (line 18) while Romy displays a straightforward opposition (line 19). Thus, both Claude and Romy challenge Cara's candidate answer and do not orient to her utterance as being the 'right' answer.

Extract 8.1. (lines 1-19): w' wéi kritt een naméi e bébé?



- 01 Rom: *mir a'=alleguerten waren TRAUrech
we all ware SAd
car *cutting romy's meat (until line 07)
- 02 wéinst sofia=
because of sofia=
- 04 Cla: =Cara (hat) wei sees de (schon) méi
=Cara how does one say again
- 05 äh wei ee bébé kritt?*
- car äh how one has a baby? *gaze to claud
(0.9)
- 06 Car: *wat?*
- what?
- car *pulling quizzical face (fig. 8.2.)
- car *gaze to claud
- 07 ->Cla: w' wéi *kritt een naméi e bébé? (--)
w' how receives one again a baby? (--)
- car *stops cutting meat (fig. 8.3.)



Figure 8.2.: wat?

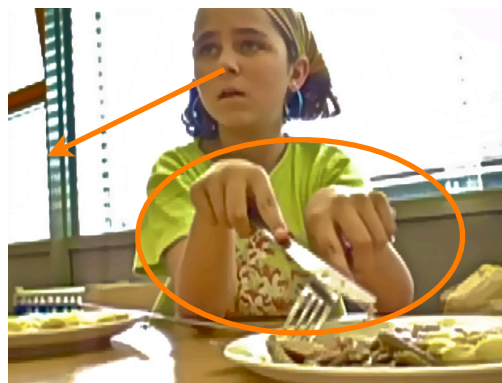


Figure 8.3.: gaze to Claude

- 08 Car: *ä:h?=
car *pulls quizzical face (fig. 8.4.)
- 09 Rom: =(dat war deen matt [den pellen]*)
=(that was the one with the pill(s))
car *continues cutting meat
- 10 Cla: [(kritt och eng)]
[(receives one too)]
- 11 Rom: (eh) nee?
(eh) no?
- 12 Cla: ne=e;;
no=o;;
- 13 Car: *Re' ähm SCHEIde?
pe' ähm VAgina?
car *cutting meat (fig. 8.5.)
- 14 Rom: nee
no
- 15 Cla: nä: wi ee bébé kritt;
no: how one gets/receives a baby;
- 16 Rom: Ah [eh t'
Ah [eh t'
- 17 Car: [*schwanger?
[pregnant?
car *stops cutting meat, gaze to claud (fig. 8.6.)
- 18 Cla: [jo t=as schwanger.
[yes she=s pregnant.
- 19 Rom: [nee:
[no:



Figure 8.4.: ä:h?



Figure 8.5.: Re' ähm SCHEIde?



Figure 8.6.: schwanger?

In the previous extract 8.1. Claude formulates a request to another learner sitting at the same lunch table. The question is produced at the end of Romy telling a story a has several functions. First of all, Claude self-selects and produces a request, thereby displaying engaged participation in the ongoing activity. Second, by addressing the request to Cara, he constitutes her as the candidate expert, expected to be able to provide the relevant second pair part. Third, the design of the request not only displays Claude's forgetfulness and/or momentarily unavailability to the requested for information but the discourse marker '(schon) méi' also functions as a device to constitute Cara as i) member of a community of practice with a shared experience in the past (they all know the teacher), ii) as knowing-participant and iii) as potential knower of the information Claude is pursuing. Also, the way the missing item is framed by the discourse marker 'schon méi', it is positioned by Claude as it needing somebody else's help and expertise to pursue the lacking information. At the same time, Claude is positioned as being able to assess whether the provided candidate answers are what he is looking for.

Thus, the discourse marker ‘(schon) méi’ (line 4) and ‘naméi’ (line 07) - which in fact are two identical expressions - functions as if to say ‘I know the answer but don’t have it ready now, but also now that you should/are supposed to know it’. Furthermore, Claude positions the material he is after so as to make it prominent, and thus manages to shift other participants’ attention towards this material, i.e. lacking information. In other words, “by marking something as problematic, a speaker can both bring the material being looked for into a position it would not otherwise have had, and make the task of searching for that material the primary activity that the participants to the conversation are then engaged in. This shift in activity changes the participation framework of the moment, and with it, the ways in which those present are aligned towards each other, as well as the behavior they are engaged in” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 116). By making the other participants engage in the search for that material, Claude has also created a learning opportunity in which anybody present can engage and participate into. Fourth, even though the other participants, bystanders (Goffman, 1981b) are not directly addressed, they self-select and thereby take the opportunity to actively participate in the unfolding interaction. Romy thus for example self-selects several times and thereby displays her eagerness in trying to help to provide the searched for material. On that account, and the fact that the interaction is characterized by rapid turn-taking (cf. latches) and also overlap, we argue that the searching for the relevant material turns out to be a collective achievement and engagement into a learning opportunity by the participants. Even though initially it was Cara who was addressed as potential expert, other learners engage into the activity as soon as the potential expert has ceded her position as expert (by not providing a relevant answer, i.e. second pair part) and thus the constitution of expert and novice is organized and negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis. The interaction turns out to be rich in learners’ taking the opportunity to self-select and participate to the extent that the sequence just analyzed resembles a lot to everyday conversation.

In the second extract 8.2. (below, line numbering continues to reflect continuity), the learners continue the conversation and activity as Claude, although he

positively assessed Cara's proposed candidate answer, situates it as a gloss, or at least as not being exactly what he was looking for. Claude self-selects, producing an utterance with slightly rising intonation (line 20, figure 8.7.) and thereby producing it as a prompt which invites for his peers's participation. Romy produces an uptake and by repeating Claude's utterance (line 21: d=joëlle an=ä:h) links it back to Claude's prior talk. However, she then produces an hesitation marker, displaying inability to immediately produce the missing component of the prompt produced by Claude. Cara (line 22) produces an utterance, however not linked to the ongoing discussion: although the camera is at this moment focusing on Claude, we can deduce from the cutlery noise that Cara has finished cutting Romy's meat and is now handing her back her plate and cutlery. Romy then produces a candidate answer (line 23: d=diane) to Claude's prompt, which is positively assessed through Claude's repetition of it (line 24: diane (an:)=). Claude is however overlapped by Gilles, the fourth learner at the table, who self-selects, offering an explanation about the teacher (Diane), who is on leave on who is pregnant. Gilles stops eating and lifts his gaze and head into the girls' direction (figure 8.8.) and mentions that she has already had her baby (line 25: diane huet schon e bébé] rauskritt=). Romy self-selects at the same time as Gilles, and thus her utterance is produced in overlap with Gilles (line 26: si eh si kreien bébé). At the end of her overlap, she produces a positive assessment which seems to be oriented to what Gilles was saying. Gilles then confirms again (line 27: hm=hm.) and the learners move on discussing the pregnancy of the teachers who have left school, presumably because they are on pregnancy leave. Romy produces an utterance which is in fact a recycling of Gilles' prior talk saying that Diane has already had her baby. She produces a tag question at the end, and the rising intonation invites her peers to positively assess her statement (lines 29-30: jo (.) an=ä:h d=dian=huet eh: bébé schon erAUSgeluet (.) ne?). As nobody produces an uptake (line 31), Romy self-selects and continues the story-telling (line 32: awa t=ass nach ëmmer an da' de: spidol;), pointing out that the teacher is however still in hospital. The next participant to self-select is Cara, producing a change-of-state token in turn beginning and gazing to Romy (line 33: ah gesÄIS de d=diane huet keen

bebe rauskritt., figure 8.10.). Her utterance appears to be a bit odd, because even though at the beginning of her turn she aligns with Romy's talk, the second component of her turn does in fact oppose Romy's talk. Romy self-selects suggesting that however the other teacher (Joëlle) is awaiting her baby (line 34: *j o mee d=joelle kritt awer (een)*). Cara confirms this by suggesting that she is only in the forth month (line 35). Romy confirms and then elaborates on this (lines 36 and 37), saying that Diane was already pregnant for six months. After a 1.5 second pause (line 38), Claude self-select and proposes that 'it last nine months' (line 39: *an t=dauert Ning méint;*), obviously referring to the duration of human pregnancy. The researcher, displaying she has not grasped Claude's prior talk, produces an utterance with rising intonation upon which Claude repeats his utterance (line 41, figure 8.11.). He adds another segment, suggesting that this is as far as he knows. After a pause, Cara self-selects, suggesting that Claude is well informed (line 44 : *hm=hm, (.) a wat wees Du awer schéi bescheed;*).

Extract 8.2. (lines 20 -42): *bébé schon erAUSgeluet (.) ne?*

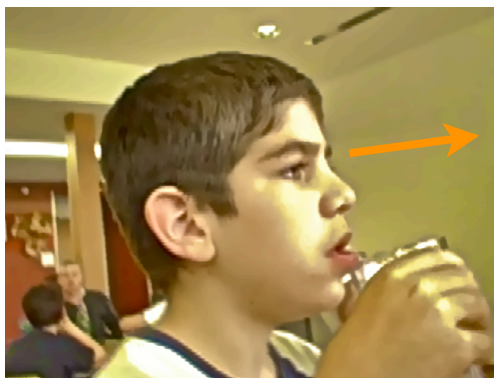


Figure 8.7.: *jOElle an,*



Figure 8.8.: *diane huet schon e bébé] rauskritt=*

- 20 Cla: *jOElle an,
 jOElle and,
 cla **gaze to cara (fig. 8.7.)*
- 21 Rom: d=joëlle an=ä:h
 joelle and=ä:h
- 22 Car: *hei.
 **cuttlerly is heard being put down on plate*
- 23 Rom: d=diane

- diane
- 24 Cla: [diane (an:)=
[diane (an:d)=
- 25 Gil: [*diane huet schon e bébé] rauskritt=
[diane has head already a baby] (coming out)=
gil *lifts head, gazes into girl's direction (fig. 8.8.)
- 26 Rom: [si eh si kreien bébé]
[they eh they are having a baby]
- 27 hm=hm.
- 28 Gil: *dach.
yes.
gil *nods head vertically (fig. 8.9.)



Figure 8.9.: dach.



Figure 8.10.: ah gesÄIS de

- 29 Rom: jo (.) an=ä:h d=dian=huet eh:
yes (.) and=äh diane=has eh:
- 30-> bébé schon erAUSgeluet (.) ne?
baby already (laid/put out) (.) right?
- 31 (0.4)
- 32 Rom: awa t=ass nach ëmmer an da' de: spidol;
but (it/she) still is always in th' the: hospital;
- 33 Car: *ah gesÄIS de d=diane huet keen bebe rauskritt.
ah (do) see you diane had no baby out.
car *gaze to romy (fig. 8.10.)
- 34 Rom: jo mee d=joelle kritt awer (een)
yes but joelle will have (one)
- 35 Car: jo d=joëlle *ass eréischt am véierten moUnt; (--)
yes joelle is only in the fourth month; (--)
car *gaze to romy
- 36 Rom: *mh=mh
rom *shaking head vertically, gaze to cara
- 37 d=diane amy war schon am sEchsten;
diane was already in the sixth;
- 38 (1.5)

39 Cla: an t=dauert Ning méint;
and it=lasts nine months;

40 Res: *hm?
res *turns camera to claud

41 Cla: *an=et dauert Ning méint.
and=it lasts nine months.
res *focuses camera on claud
(fig. 8.11.)

42 wei ech wees; (--)
as I know; (--)

43 (1.0)

44 Car: hm=hm, (.) a wat wees Du
awer schéi bescheed;
hm=hm, (.) and what you are well informed;

45 ((background talking 5.0))



Figure 8.11.: an=et dauert
Ning méint.

In the previous extract 8.2., Claude is re-initiates the pursuit for relevant information, thereby displaying that the information provided for by Cara is not exactly what he is looking for. Claude then evaluates the information given to him, a social action which is possible and acceptable because he positioned himself to be able to do so through the use of the discourse marker ‘schon méi’. Furthermore, because he assesses the candidate answers, the participants orient to this and go on searching for the missing material until they come up with a more appropriate answer. The discussion then goes on for quite some time. A reason for this could possibly be that neither the learners, and consequently nor we as analysts, can for sure determine what Claude is exactly after. In extract 1, Cara already displayed twice that she is having trouble understanding what kind of information exactly Claude is pursuing. We might point out at this moment, that Cara is the most proficient speaker of Luxembourgish in this round, but all 4 of them are L2, or ‘non-native’ speakers of Luxembourgish. This can be deduced from the fact that i) their utterances are not always produced 100 % ‘normatively correctly’, and ii) they sometimes use words in a strange way, such as for example Gilles in line 25 and Cara in line 33 where the talk about ‘putting a baby out’. Nevertheless, we decided to not mark these ‘errors’ in the transcript because, as the analysis demonstrates, the learners themselves do not orient to these utterances as being problematic in terms of being lexically wrong for example. Consequently, they do not initiate repairs of these utterances. They do of course

display that they have troubles understanding what Claude is after. An interesting consequence of this is that eventually all students self-select and actively participate in the conversation and the activity of searching for the missing information. The turns being produced quickly (cf. latches) and with several overlaps display the eagerness and willingness of the learners to be actively involved. Sitting together over lunch then, the learners' conversation very quickly resembles everyday mundane interaction and through collaborative engagement and continued orientation towards accomplishing the activity they manage to create interpersonal relationships and consequently a community of practice (C. Goodwin, 1987). Because they all engage in the activity they constitute each other as being potentially able to help and at the same time also as members of this community of practice: eventually, while initially they were engaged in collective storytelling, they have now moved towards a collective pursuit for missing material and all four of the young learners have moved from peripheral to very active and central participation, thereby creating a learning opportunity where a conversation about 'pregnancy' is being co-constructed and co-performed.

Of course, the discussion is not taking place 'within' the classroom, turns are not pre-allocated and the roles and identities (i.e. *situated* identities) are not asymmetrical and pre-assigned. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that all participants in interaction orient to a goal, i.e. namely that of finding and co-constructing the knowledge and/or information to resolve Claude's displayed lack of information. We have demonstrated that all learners actively engage in the discussion, and thereby not only display willingness to participate, but also motivation to collectively search for the missing information. We do not want to suggest that 'actual' or even 'factual' learning is taking place here. Still, the learners constitute each other from one interactional moment to the next as expert or more knowledgeable peer as well as learner and less knowledgeable peer, thereby orienting to relevant cultural knowledge and discussing to a certain extent 'how' as well as 'where' babies are coming from. These learners display an orientation to drawing on each other's expertise and thereby manage to collectively i) tell a story, and ii) to clear out Claude's lack of information. Moment-by-moment they

draw on each other's knowledge and expertise and thereby also align to each other as valuable 'bearers and providers of knowledge' because at no moment they display neither a strong opposition to each other, nor do they ever disalign in and through the constitution of their interactional identities so as to produce a fight (such as for example in case 4, cf. chapter 6). At the origin of the interaction we have just investigated is actually Claude's display of lacking knowledge and his request for Cara's help and expertise to discard that lack of knowledge. Also, even though the discussion at first sight looks chaotic or incomprehensible, the learners manage to constitute orderliness and social relationships in this unfolding talk-in-interaction by drawing on methods and procedures, i.e. expert-novice-practices, which they collectively accomplish and share. Finally, we might add that possibly the collective pursuit of a satisfying answer, was oriented to the researcher sitting at the same table and having lunch with the children. In other words, it is possible that the children eventually engage into this activity because they aim at telling a story (about the school and its teachers, etc.) to the researcher, who is still 'new' to this community of practice. Nevertheless, as the analysis demonstrates, the learners do at no moment during their collective pursuit of the missing information orient to the researcher or address her. It is only at the very end, that the researcher self-selects and produces an utterance which is interpreted by Claude as a request for confirmation. At no moment though, are the learners disengaged from their activity of collectively pursuing an answer that they can all agree on to be the most relevant information and answer to the initial question by Claude in line 4.

8.4. Collectively pursuing lacking information during a reading activity

In the second example we analyze another instance where, in an extra-institutional activity, learners address each other with requests which make the knowledge about a relevant activity, topic or similar relevant. This can for instance be a request for 'knowledge', i.e. information which requires an 'expert' answer (or collectively constructed expert answer) by other-s such as in excerpt 8.1. where Tim, who is reading a book about sea animals, is asking another learner (Mia) for the name or designation of an animal that is represented in the book. However,

how the request is brought about, and how it is being formulated and performed so as to pursue an answer from Mia, is what is particular interesting to the present research project because the request is also designed so as to use the discourse marker ‘schon méi’. The extract starts at the moment the learners are just turning over a page in the book in front of Tim and discussing over a double page in the book in which ‘quallen’ (jellyfish) are depicted and presented.



Figure 8.12.: Participants ‘quallen’

The sequence chosen for investigation is about pursuing the name of an animal which is depicted in the book that Tim is reading. More precisely, the learners are searching for the name of the animal which is called jellyfish; i.e. ‘quallen’ in German or Luxembourgish. Isaacs and Clark (1987) have pointed out in relation to learning proper names - of buildings though, - that it takes a lot more than only learning the name of the building. One also has to know the specific features of the building in order to know which building is being meant and to be able to distinguish it from other buildings for example. In this sense, also the learners need to already ‘know’ something about the object or material of which they are searching the name. They need to be able to draw on at least on some resources in order to clarify to others what the object is or looks like, or to situate it contextually so as to make clear what object they are searching the name of. Thus, it takes a lot more than only learning the name of a object: it takes some interactional competence to make clear to others what the trouble source is and how one is expected to have it resolved.

Tim is sitting in the reading corner of the classroom reading a book. Learners who have finished whatever pedagogical learning activity they have to accomplish in the classroom, are free to sit here and choose a book to read from, while waiting for their fellow learners to finish their respective learning activities. Tim has chosen a book on animals (“Tiere in Bild und Wort” published by Ravensburger) and is browsing through it, while commenting on the pages in the book.

To his left a fellow learner named Ben, is working on some kind of math learning activity and to his right there is Mia. Due to the limited camera angle, it is not clear what she is working on. Tim has been browsing over several double pages, when he turns the page once more and comes to the double page under investigation in extract 8.3., below. Tim in doing his reading activity, displays being very active: there is a lot of pointing going on and even though Ben is supposed to be working, Tim manages to solicit Ben’s attention, who then joins into the reading activity.

In lines 01 to 03 (extract 8.3., below), Tim is still engaged with the previous pages on fish before turning the page (line 03). His gaze goes from the left side of the book to the lower right part of the book until Ben also points to the page: Tim then gazes to where Ben is pointing at, and at the same quickly moves his finger to the same spot in the book (cf. figure 8.13., below) (line 5). Tim stops himself and produces a repair precisely at the moment that Ben starts to point to something in the book. Also, from that moment on his turn is produced quicker and with higher pitch, displaying emphatic participation in the reading activity (line 5: <<all> dat=hei>= AH:: mär hunn dat eng Keier gesinn).

Extract 8.3.: (mmh) *wei seet ee *schon=méi?*

01 TIM: jo (.) wat kann de fesch? (.)
yes (.) what can the fish (do)? (.)

02 pick=dann kennt eng pick eraus
sting=then a sting comes out

03 *kann e pick(sen)*=.hh ech hat) eng keier dat gesinn
it can sting=.hh I saw this once
tim *turns the page (fig. 8.13.)

```

tim                                *gaze to left side of book
04      *dat hei*ten
        this here
tim      *pointing to lower middle part of book (fig. 8.14.)
tim      *gaze to lower middle part of book

```



Figure 8.15.: AH::



Figure 8.16.: mär hunn dat eng Keier

[illegible]

```
07    BEN:      [dat as]=dat a(s esou);
                [that is]=that i(s like);
```

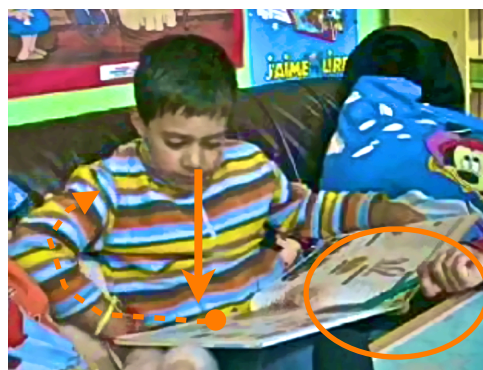
Figure 8.17.: `gesinn;`

Figure 8.18.: jo mee kuck

08 BEN: *jo mee kuck;
yes but look;
ben *still pointing to same object in top middle of book
tim *gaze to lower part of book (fig. 8.18.)

- 09 tim *(0.8)
 **gaze to ben's pointing (fig. 8.19.)*
- 10 TIM: *jo ech wees.
 yes i know.
 tim **gaze to lower right part of book*
- 11 ->BEN: *(mmh) *wei seet ee *schon=méi?*
- (mmh) how say one=again?
- ben **points with pencil to a pic. in the book (fig. 8.20.)*
 ben **lifts pencil away from picture (fig. 8.21.)*
 tim **gaze to object (fig. 8.21.)*
 tim **gaze to ben (fig. 8.22.)*



Figure 8.19.: (0.8) : gaze to peer's pointing

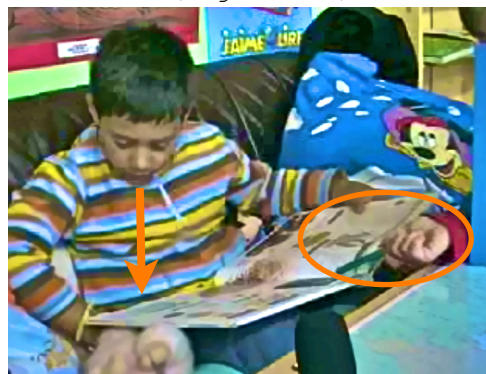


Figure 8.20.: (mmh)



Figure 8.21.: wei seet ee



Figure 8.22.: schon=méi?

Tim links the object in the book to a shared experience in the past (lines 5-6: *mär hunn dat eng Keier gesinn (.) .h colonie (.) colonie*). Tim also includes Ben and Mia (*mär*) in the experience of having been together on a school trip (*colonie*) where they saw the animal they are both pointing at in the book



Figure 8.23.: quallen

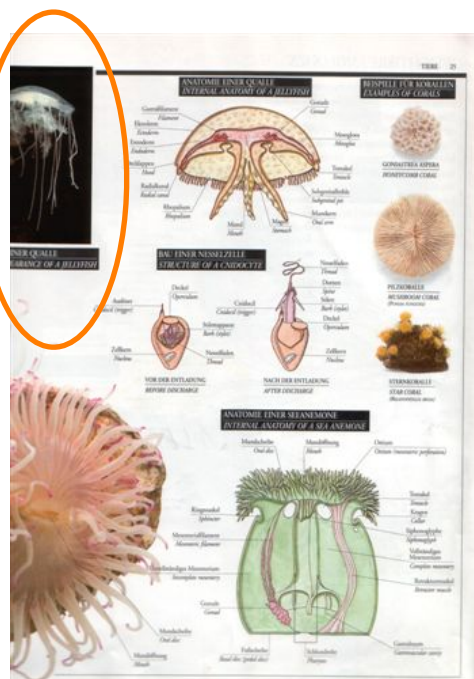


Figure 8.24.: representation in text book

(cf. figure 8.24.). Moreover, the use of ‘mār’ constitutes Ben, but also Mia, as a peer and/or friend of Tim, thus creating an interpersonal relationship with them, i.e. a positive identity and social relationship. Ben, in overlap with Tim, seems to attempt to provide a candidate name for the object they are pointing at (line 7). Ben produces a restart because (as he is in overlap with Tim’s turn) Tim’s gaze has already wandered to the right and then to the lower left part of the book. Hence, no mutual gazing is established and Ben’s restart (line 7: *dat as=dat a(s esou)*) is one way of attempting to do so (Goodwin, 1980). As Tim’s gaze wanders off to the lower part of the book, Ben self-selects and, continuing to point to the object, invites Tim to look at it (line 8: *jo mee kuck*, figure 8.18.), thus trying to establish mutual attention. During the brief pause Tim moves his gaze for a brief moment to where Ben is pointing (line 09, figure 8.19.). He then self-selects, his gaze already moving back to the lower part of the book (figure 8.20.), and states that he knows what Ben is talking about (line 10: *jo ech wees.*). Tim’s turn is produced with falling intonation and thus can be understood as displaying a close of this conversation, as well as an unwillingness to engage with what seems to be of interest to his peer. Ben, however, initiates another turn, asking how this thing/animal is called once again (*schon=méi*). The discourse marker *schon=méi* as deployed in a request formulation implies similar functions as established in the

previous sequence with the learners having lunch together. First of all, Ben, through the use of the question word ‘*wei*’ is displaying that the information he is pursuing is unavailable to him. Furthermore, Ben, by positioning the material of information he is in pursuit of as salient, displays that he is in search of information he is lacking and at the same time, through the production of a request with rising intonation at the end, invites Ben to assist him in doing that word search. Also, as previously already pointed out, the discourse marker ‘*schon méi*’ constitutes the speaker into a specific position of ‘I don’t know the name right know, but know that you can or should be able to help me’, and that the speaker is actually potentially able to assess or evaluate the candidate material being provided to him/her. In a way then, Ben, through the use of the discourse marker ‘*schon méi*’, displays that he probably used to know what it is called, but now the term has slipped him or he cannot remember it. However, he positions himself as being able to recognize it once somebody else offers it to him.

In the previous extract 8.3., we have demonstrated that Tim constitutes himself as being in charge of the reading of the book. By using a louder voice and pointing very quickly to the spot Ben is pointing to as well, Tim does not leave room for Ben to take the floor (figures 8.15. and 8.16.). In other words, Tim is displaying that he is not only in charge of the book (the book is lying on his knees and Ben actually, from his perspective, has to ‘read and look at it upside down), but also that he is in charge of ‘how’ the reading of the book is interactionally organized. Thereby Tim displays being the expert of how to read the book, as well as of the unfolding activity, because he does initially not leave space for Ben to take the floor. He then changes the participation framework and invites Ben to do the reading with in several occasions (see full transcript in appendix I). Nevertheless, we have also demonstrated that also Ben displays being able to establish mutual attention. More specifically, he manages to re-establish Tim’s attention to the object he points to, and through the production of a request constitutes Tim as knowing-participant and potential expert. Tim’s orients to this and thereby establishes mutual attention. At the same time, the way Ben addresses his question to Tim, makes Tim’s production of a relevant second pair part conditionally relevant. Also, by addressing the question to Tim, Ben displays an expectation that

Tim knows the answer, and thereby constitutes him as the more knowledgeable peer and as potential expert. Even though Tim displayed not being willing to cede his place as ‘manager’ of the reading of the book, it is by being constituted as expert by his peer, that he refocuses his attention to Tim’s request. Ben thus has to use more elaborate interactional skills or competences for soliciting Tim’s complete attention than the simple formulation of a statement (line 07) which is glossed over by Tim even before it has been uttered ‘completely’. Tim then makes use of gestures, a request and the discourse marker ‘schon méi’ to solicit Tim’s attention and to gain access to his expertise, relevant for naming the object, i.e. animal he wants to talk about.

In the next extract 8.4. (below, line numbering continues to reflect continuity), Ben self-selects after a pause, because Tim did not produce an uptake. However, he is overlapped by Tim (line 14) who gazes to his right to Mia and produces a request. The request starts with a summons and is thus directly addressed to Mia, constituting her now as knowing-participant, candidate expert and potential knower of the answer. Tim thus, after a one second pause, addresses another learner, Mia, directly (line 14) and produces a request asking her for the name of the animal in the book. Tim thereby also displaying his state of knowledge and that he is lacking the requested information. In order to make clear what he is talking about, he lifts the book into Mia’s direction and points to the animal / picture in question (cf. picture 4) By producing a request for information, i.e. a first pair part of an adjacency pair, Tim makes Mia’s answer, or in CA terms, the production of a relevant second pair part relevant. If she were not to produce a relevant second pair part, the very absence of it would be made accountable. Tim, by designing his question with an address term at the very beginning of his utterance, inevitably positions Mia as the next speaker (line 14: *MIA wei heeschen dat schon méi*). Furthermore, he positions himself as lacking the requested information, and by recycling Tim’s request and re-using the lexical item ‘schon méi’ he i) displays his state of knowledge and that he is lacking the requested information, ii) he minimizes this lack of knowledge and ii) constitutes Mia as member of the same shared experience in the past. Tim, in the design of

his request also uses a deictic term (*dat*), pointing gestures and gazing, to underline not only that he is asking a question, but also to elicit what he is asking for (*wei heeschen dat*). As previously mentioned, Tim's use of the lexical item *schon méi* implies that even though he is lacking the information at this interactional moment, he was part of an experience in the past where the lacking material was salient. This becomes even clearer when Tim produces an turn, adding that they saw this animal during a school trip (*hunn mär an colonie gesinn.*). As before, the *mär/we* constitutes Mia as member of a shared experience in the past. Tim's TCU is thus designed to include Mia and to constitute her as member of that shared experience in the past.

Tim asking for Mia's expertise makes a response by her conditionally relevant. Mia replies without delay and delivers a preferred response by offering the right answer without overlap nor gap at the next transition relevant place (line 16: *eng qua:11.*). Mia's candidate answer is through repetition positively assessed by Tim (line 17: *quallen†*). Furthermore, this positive assessment is highlighted by the dropping of the book onto his lap and back into a from Tim's perspective more comfortable reading position (figure 8.26.). The embodied action and return of the upper body, head and book into initial position also brings, from Tim's perspective, the searching for the relevant missing information to a close (Schegloff, 1998a). At the same time, it also displays an exclusion of Mia in the ongoing activity. What is more, Tim not only repeats the given answer, *eng qua:11.*, he also slightly modifies it and puts it into the plural version *quallen†*. Ben however, displays not being fully satisfied with the answer: he self-selects (line 18: *et gett och eh eh*), not producing an assessment of Mia's candidate answer, but initiating the production of another candidate answer. He produces several hesitation markers and then, after a pause, produces another candidate answer which is however immediately downgraded through displayed uncertainty (line 20: *oder sou;*). Ben, by producing another candidate answer, also challenges Mia's answer as well as her ratified status as expert by Tim. However, Tim self-selects and opposes Ben's candidate answer (line 21: *dat sinn net klopfen*). He is overlapped by Mia, who repeats her previous candidate answer,

thus not only aligning with Tim, but also reaffirming her state of knowledge and expert as well as challenging Tim's candidate answer (line 22: *t=si (.)t=si qualle(n)*, figure 8.28.). Tim, by turning the page (line 21-22, figure 8.29.), re-assumes his identity as manager of the reading activity and thereby also brings the discussion to a close (see appendix I for the continuation of the transcript).



Figure 8.25.: MIA wei heeschen dat schon méi; (.)

Extract 8.4.: MIA wei heeschen dat schon méi

- 12 (1.0)
- 13 BEN: [eh:
- 14 TIM: [*MIA wei heesch*en *dat schon méi; (.)
MIA how does one call that again; (.)
tim *gaze to his right to Mia
tim *gaze to book, lifting book up
tim *gaze to book, pointing to picture
(fig. 8.25.)
- 15 TIM: hunn *mär an colon*ie *gesinn.
we have seen it on the school trip.
tim *gaze to mia
tim *gaze to camera
tim *gaze to mia
- 16 MIA: eng qua:ll.
a jellyfish.
- 17 TIM: *quallen†
jellyfish†
tim *gaze to book which he drops
onto his knees (fig. 8.26.)
- 18 BEN: *et gett och eh ehm
there also exists eh ehm
ben *gaze to book (fig. 8.27.)
- 19 *(1.8)
- 20 klopf(en) oder sou;
knock(ing) or so;
- 21 TIM: *dat sinn net [klopfen
that are not knocking

tim **starts turning the page*
 22 MIA: [t=si (.) *t=si qualle(n) *
 they=are jellyfish
 tim **gaze to mia (fig. 8.28.)*
 tim **has turned*
 to next page
 (fig. 8.29.)



Figure 8.26.: quallen↑



Figure 8.27.: et gett och eh ehm



Figure 8.28.: t=si (.) t=si qualle(n)



Figure 8.29.: turns to next page

From the second sequence, which consists of extracts 8.3. and 8.4., we can draw similar findings as from the analysis of the first sequence where the children were having lunch together. We have demonstrated how learners in pursuit of lacking information are able formulate and design requests for information which i) display their state of lack of knowledge, while at the same time ii) through the use of the discourse marker ‘schon méi’, downgrading or minimizing this state of lack of knowledge because the speaker is possible to evaluate whether the information provided to him/her is the appropriate information. iii) The request for information invites others, which are constituted as knowing-participants and potential experts in possession of the lacking material, to engage into the pursuit of the lacking information. In addition, the use of a request formulation, which contains the

discourse marker ‘schon méi’, positions the speaker as being able to assess the information given to him/her and it also allows for the constitution of a personal interrelationship with the other participants who are invited to join into the search for the lacking information and thereby become members of a shared community of practice.

8.5. Findings: request formulation and social membership

The analysis presented in this chapter supports what has also already been argued by other researches, such as Heritage (forthcoming) who argues that questions do not only ask for information, but the way questions are designed, they also convey information and/or knowledge, forge relationships, assert, validate and rebuff identities and finally take risks (Heritage, forthcoming, p. 27). This is exactly what Ben and Tim are doing: they forge the relationship with their fellow learners by referring back to the school trip they experienced together. This also validates their identities as learners who have been on a trip and who had a shared experience with the animal in question. Tim and Ben also convey the information that they know that their co-participant is expected to know the name of the animal, and at the same time they take a risk by positioning themselves as less knowledgeable peers for being ignorant of what ‘they know they should know’. Similar to Tim and Ben, Claude from the first sequence takes the risk of constituting himself as the less knowledgeable peer when he produces a request for information. However, like Tim and Ben, the use of the discourse marker ‘schon méi’ is employed as a downgrading device of his state of lack of knowledge and in both sequences we have observed learners engaging and participating in a collective search for the missing information thereby creating learning opportunities for all participants.

In this chapter we have then demonstrated that learners produce requests for information to knowing participants, and thereby constitute these knowing participants as bearers of the lacking knowledge. In both sequences it appears that the speakers are orienting to telling a story: about pregnancy and/or teachers who are away in sequence 1, and about jellyfish and/or other sea animals in sequence 2. However in both sequences we have observed that the story initiators (Claude

and Ben) are lacking information or material relevant for their storytelling. Goodwin has demonstrated that speakers who are telling a story designed for unknowing participants, and who then display a lack of relevant information necessary for continuing the storytelling, consequently need to include a knowing participant. When doing so they need to take into consideration a number of opposing constraints:

1. “Speaker is not only already informed about the material being talked about at the moment, but is using that status as the basis for acting as a teller to unknowing participants.
2. The action to the knowing recipient must treat its addressee as already informed about the substance of the talk; and
3. Many of the actions available for doing this propose a complementary distribution of information between speaker and hearer, with the effect that the speaker must display his or her self as lacking the information being requested” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 122).

The discourse marker ‘*schon méi*’ functions as a device for a “process of minimization” (C. Goodwin, 1987, p. 122) and the learners display employing this marker to constitute themselves as ‘already being informed about the material that is being talked about’ (cf. Goodwin’s first point). At the same time, because the discourse marker is used within the design of a straightforward request, it also includes the second and third point as enlisted by Goodwin: by addressing the request to a recipient, that recipient is treated as knowing the talk under consideration, and, at the same time, by formulating a request, we have seen that the speaker constitutes himself as lacking and not being able to provide the requested information.

We have to point out that while the participants in Goodwin’s sequence are orienting to telling a story to unknowing participants, this is not necessarily the

case in the sequence analyzed here. As for the unknowing participant the story is oriented to, it appears to be the researcher in the first sequence. In this first sequence, Claude is not in the midst of telling a story when formulating a request. However, prior to his talk, Romy was telling a story about a teacher who left school due to illness, when she displaying bringing her story to a close. Claude self-selects at an appropriate place (TRP) when he produces his request. It is of course possible that he too wants to tell a story, which is likely to be about two other teachers having left the school, not due to illness, but for maternity leave. In this sense, the story of teacher's leaving school is linked to the Romy's prior storytelling. However, in collectively pursuing the lacking information which satisfies all participants, the learners are eventually collectively telling a story. In the second sequence, it appears that initially the children are not engaged in a story-telling activity, but in a reading activity which turns out to be a collective pursuit of the name of an animal which all of them have had an experience with during a shared experience in the past. However, it is possible that Ben oriented to telling a story to Ben because his story is in the first place oriented to Tim, who, as his request and further elaboration on the topic to Mia displays, is not an 'unknowing' participant. He was also present during the school trip and is consequently, at least to some extent, a knowing participant. It is then possible to argue that, storytellings can also be addressed to knowing participants and thereby function to i) establish an interpersonal relationship as well as ii) allow for more 'peripherally' positioned learners, i.e. less active learners to move to a more central participation framework in an activity (take more turns, more actively engage in the conversation, or the search for lacking information, etc.).

This chapter then demonstrates that not only how these request are *formulated*, but also how they are *treated and oriented to* by other participants is relevant and has implications for the unfolding interaction. In both sequences such a request is at the origin of a very active and rich interaction, in which learners collectively engage and through rapid turn-taking practices display an emphatic engagement in the searching for a lack of knowledge which has become salient - the rapid turn-taking being but one indicator for how learners manage to rearrange the structure

of the interaction and to move from a peripheral to a more central participation framework. The alignment of each others as sharers of a same experience in the past (experience with pregnant teachers or jellyfish) not only constitutes a strong positive interpersonal relationship between the participants, but it also provides them with resources relevant for the accomplishment of the activity which has turned out to be a learning activity: thus, they display orienting to and drawing on each others' expertise and thereby collectively fill the lack of the missing information.

9. Conclusions

9.1. Peer interaction and expert-novice-practices

Our aim in this dissertation was to understand learning and social interaction taking place in peer group-s, and how the participants orient to the sequential organization of social interaction. Peer interaction was depicted as a community of practice within which learning is situated and observable as learners in and through the deployment of expert-novice-practices orient and adapt to micro-shifts in the participation framework when accomplishing a learning activity.

In the introduction to the research study we presented the following research question:

How do young learners (aged 7 to 9) accomplish classroom interaction, and more specifically peer interaction within the multilingual primary classroom in Luxembourg?

As well as the following subquestions:

1. How do young learners accomplish the organization of peer interaction?
2. Which social practices do they employ in the organization of peer interaction?
3. Which resources do young learners in the Luxembourg classroom draw on for construction the accomplishment and organization of that peer interaction, and consequently also their immediate social reality?
4. How do learners learn in these interactions?

The previous three chapters have allowed us to focus on the micro-sequential details of the social actions learners deploy when engaged in peer interaction and oriented towards the accomplishment of various learning activities. Pulling

together the results of these analytical chapters (6, 7 and 8), this study has demonstrated that in peer interaction in the primary classroom young learners, under all circumstances are *active* participants. It has been demonstrated that they employ various expert-novice-practices for organizing peer interaction on a moment-by-moment basis and that these practices are actually also inextricably linked to the constitution of expert and novice identities. In fact, these identities are oriented to by the learners as a resource for the organizational development and accomplishment of the interaction. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that for the development and accomplishment of the learning activities to be smooth and ‘successful’, there is a need for participants in peer interaction to constitute each other into i) positive identities, as well as ii) complementary identities.

As we focused on learners, their talk-in-interaction and the co-construction of expert-novice-practices for accomplishing learning activities in a community of practice for learning, it became apparent that in and through their social actions, learners constantly re-arrange the structure of the unfolding interaction and thereby adapt to shifts in the participation framework. The most prominent practice for doing so was found to be the formulation of various kinds of requests which allows the speaker to constrain to a certain extent the unfolding of the interaction and to make clear what the next expected is expected to be (cf. chapter 6). Additionally, request formulations are prone to invite a shift in the participation framework as the recipient is invited to take an active part in the accomplishment of the learning activity. In chapter 8 for example, request formulations created the opportunity for a collective engagement by several participants to pursue missing information. Request formulations then create opportunities for scaffolding work to take place and thereby create opportunities for language learning but also learning in terms of ‘content’ such as about pregnancy or jellyfish in chapter 8. Furthermore, we saw that even when learners engage in the same context and in the same learning activity, the learning activity can be accomplished and carried out in many different ways even though similar social practices for doing so are put to use. This then demonstrates how learning activities are situations where peer interactions can unfold in the most unpredictable ways. Along the lines of

previous research which has shown that when participants are engaged in collaborative work, participants in peer interaction then prove to be able to accomplish tasks and activities which might not have been possible on an individual basis (de Guerrero & Villami, 2000; Mori, 2004; Ohta, 2001).

At the same time peer interactions allow for the constitution of communities of practice where the peer, and his knowledge and expertise, are oriented to as resources for the accomplishment of the interaction. The peer is often oriented to as potential expert or bearer of knowledge which is relevant for accomplishing the learning activity. In chapter 6, the peer's expertise is oriented to as relevant for the accomplishment of the writing activity, and in chapter 8 the peer's expertise is oriented to as relevant for the continuation or introduction of a storytelling sequence.

The formulation of requests has been determined as the most prominent expert-novice-practice for gaining access to the other's expertise and we illustrated to what extent request formulations are inextricably linked to the constitution of expert-novice identities. Identity is actually oriented to for practical use, and it is made available by the participants in and through the deployment of expert-novice practices. Identity work, and especially positive identity worked, needs a lot of complex interactional skills and learners need to actively engage in interaction and from one moment to the next adapt to the contingencies, needs, interests, etc., as displayed by the co-participants, but also to the interaction and its 'context'.

As the context, in this case that of a community of practice for learning, is constructed and oriented to by the learners, many shifts in the participation framework occur and the learners have to adapt to these. The learners need for example to organize the shift from individual writing to the negotiation of candidate writing segments or the other way round (cf. chapter 6). Another example is where the learner has to solicit the teacher's attention in order to establish a shared participation framework with him and thereby gain access to the teacher's expertise. The learners then possess and are able to make use of a range

of interactional competencies for doing so. Consequently, different participation frameworks ask for different, or more or less complex interactional skills. What is most fascinating about this, is that the learners demonstrate aptness in organizing, but also triggering these shifts in the participation structure even though they have not been explicitly taught or told how to do it. The learners in chapter 6 for example constantly shift between participations frameworks, but the teacher did not tell them how to ‘organize’ or accomplish these: They were not told how to organize themselves when shifting from individual writing to candidate writing negotiations for example. In chapter 8 the learners autonomously shift the participation framework as they move from peripheral to more active participation: from a single request formulation to a collective pursuit of the missing knowledge for example. Thus, in all sequences analyzed we have seen the learners actively participating and adapting to the constantly changing ‘conditions’ for participating, either more or less actively. And it is in and through this participation in a community of practice, that learning opportunities occur as learners move from a more peripheral to a more legitimate participation structure.

9.2. Peer interactions as sites for learning

Whether actual learning is taking place throughout the analyzed sequences remains from a CA perspective a critical question. However, what can be observed in the extracts and the learner’s sequential establishment of social order and intersubjectivity in and through their interaction, are that there are “micro-moments of potential learning as observable through a sequentially contingent cognition in action” (Pekarek-Doehler, 2010 (forthcom.), p. 9). In and through the interactional organization which is mutually established by the participants, they display an orientation (at moments) towards the accomplishment of the writing and thereby actively participate in the unfolding interaction, a consequence of which is that they ‘learn’ to participate in interactions with other peers - undeniably a necessary skill or competence of responsible and engaged and active subjects in society. Also, as already mentioned, they display interactional competencies in adapting to the contingencies of the unfolding interaction,

thereby displaying active participation and this, for us and has been demonstrated by the analytical chapters, is evidence for learning.

Engaging learners in group activities also enables learners to gain additional practice in the target language. The increased possibility to negotiate meaning and language forms may lead to an increased knowledge of certain forms of language, leading eventually to a quicker, but also ‘better’ language development as well as an increased repertoire of interactional competence.

How is learning conceptualized in the present study? First of all we might say that learning, under whatever form, is intrinsically linked to the concept of school, classroom and pedagogical activities. After all, the ultimate goal of any classroom activity is learning. Learning at school is also strongly connected to socialization, i.e. the ways in which learners ‘learn’ how to behave, react to, do things, etc., in and outside the classroom. For the present study then, we argue that in and through participation in peer interaction, which, as we have demonstrated, involves adapting to the unfolding of the talk-in-interaction and with it to the constitution of and into certain identities, young learners learn to socialize into certain social contexts, in this specific case that of interacting meaningfully in peer interaction. Furthermore, as young learners engage in peer interaction, we have demonstrated also that learning is not only connected to the socialization process, but also the way knowledge is displayed and organized, or, as Arminen put it, young learners are “learning to learn” (Arminen, 2005, p. 116). Ultimately the goal of school is to form and educate responsible subjects which know how to participate in “the complexities of modern life” (Arminen, 2005, pp. 116-117).

The present study thus adds to previous research on classroom interaction, but contributes above all what has up to now been lacking from previous research:

The study fills the lack of previous studies’ investigation not only of peer interaction, but also above all at i) fundamental (primary) school

level in Luxembourg, and ii) from a micro-analytic and sequential perspective.

CA thus allows for investigating the meticulous details of peer interaction, but CA is in the present study used ‘only’ as methodological framework, and we argue that the findings are still always responsive to deductions and reasonings beyond empirical detail (cf. also Arminen, 2005, p. 112).

The investigation of individual and specific sequential activities in the fundamental classroom allows for demonstrating how various activities in the classroom are connected to each other: all episodes analyzed have demonstrated that the deployment of expert-novice-practices and the constitution of expert-novice identities allow for retrieving or exchanging relevant or missing knowledge, and thereby organize this knowledge into the unfolding of the interaction. Furthermore, through shedding light on the micro-sequential details of such activities, we are also reveal the link between the individual activity and the wider context, because in order to understand a specific activity, it needs to be seen in its specific context, such as learning activities in the classroom for example.

Last but not least, we want to point out that on another level, the analysis and the developed argument demonstrate the importance and the value of using naturally occurring interaction stemming from the primary classroom for exploration of i) the organization of peer interaction, and ii) the deployment of expert-novice-practices in relation to this. Furthermore, the study the investigation of naturally occurring interaction stemming from the fundamental classroom not only functions as a basis for empirical analysis, but the findings of these empirical analysis are also fruitful for deductions and reasonings beyond empirical detail. As the peer interaction under investigation stem from the classroom and consequently from the educational, i.e. an ‘official’ learning context, we do not

want to conclude without saying a few words about the relation of our study of peer interaction and the conceptualization of learning.

9.3. Strengths and limitations

One limitation of the present study is of course that the analyzed expert-novice-practices only represent a small part of the social practices deployed by learners in the primary classroom in Luxembourg. The relationship between the organization of peer interaction in the primary classroom and the organization of the larger structure, pattern of fundamental classroom has not been analyzed in great detail and we therefore suggest that future research might embark upon this project. In the future it would be worth the effort to connect the study of interactional practices deployed by learners in the classroom with the conversation analytical description of the overall structure or organization in the primary classroom because after all, it is possible then when young learners engage in peer interaction, they are imitating the teacher and his social practices as deployed in the general classroom, i.e. teacher-fronted classroom.

Another limitation of the study is that even though there were so many instances of peer interaction in the data set, there were only a few recordings of different groups engaged in the same activity. Thus, it is not possible to generalize from only a small number of groups as to which social practices young learners at that age employ when engaged in peer interaction. A suggestion would be to collect a data-set which specifically only focuses on group, or even dyadic interaction at primary school level.

A strength of the conversation analytical perspective applied to investigate peer interaction in the primary classroom is that it enabled us to identify that the deployment of expert-novice-practices is, in the specific setting under investigation a recurrent interactional phenomenon. It is an interactional practice young learners orient to and make active use of when orienting to the accomplishment of a learning activity in peer-interaction. Thus it can be argued that we now know a little bit more about which social practices, such as the

formulation of a request in peer interaction are deployed and how these practice are relevant for the accomplishment of a task or activity and how it inevitably allows for the constitution of expert-novice-practices in peer interaction.

9.4. Implications for the Luxembourgish context

Finally, this research has implications for the field of (fundamental) teacher education because it clarifies *what* is going on in peer interaction, but also on *how* the what is going on in peer interaction. The findings of this research highlight the importance of identities in peer interaction and to what extent they influence (positively and/or negatively) the unfolding interaction. More precisely, the present research study describes and analyzes which resources and methods learners orient to. Furthermore, we analyzed ‘longer’ stretches of interaction between peers because we wanted to depict what they are actually doing when engaged in interaction, and we did not just aim at describing one sole and specific social practice. We have first of all demonstrated that a variety of social practices are being deployed by the young learners when orienting to the accomplishment of the learning activity, but and that even similar quite similar ‘task-oriented’ activities allow for the most various scaffolding and learning opportunities to occur (or not). This then highlights for present and future teachers that first of all learning activities can be accomplished in many different ways. Secondly, learners displayed being *active* in and through the accomplishment of the task - off-task talk did, at least at this age level, not occur frequently and it is fair to say that in general learners were orienting to the actual task. Third, having argued that learning takes place in and through interaction, it raises the question of how much the ‘end-product’ is sufficient for evaluating the learners’ competences. A question which could lead to another research project.

We are aware that in the general education research discourse in Luxembourg, the micro-detailed analysis of such peer interactions might seem an obscure, and maybe even non-practical curiosity because it might be considered to have ‘nothing to do’ with the real and everyday issues of the Luxembourgish classroom. However, as has already been pointed out by other researchers (cf Schegloff,

1996a; Sahlström 1999) these very details are part and parcel of the cultural supplies of human society. Schegloff (1996a) argued that one needs to be aware of and have knowledge of these if one wants to vocalize a theoretically (and scientifically) educated understanding. We argue then that specifically in relation to learning, these micro-sequential details are not to be ignored. Furthermore, these understandings as depicted in the present research project can also serve as basis or starting point for future research in the Luxembourg schooling context – a context which up to date is but emergent in research projects.

Finally, we want to add that our ‘expertise’ is not such that we want to tell neither teachers, teacher-students or university teachers what to do or what is the ‘right’ way to do it. After all, chapter 7 for example demonstrated how complex and challenging a teacher’s job and task actually can be and how teachers, probably on a daily basis, are expected to orient to several interactional tasks and contingencies at the same time. However, we want to show them, by shedding light on what is going on in peer interaction, *how* one can think about planning or organizing peer interaction, and how the micro-sequentially organized details of peer interaction are not to be neglected as meaningless. We hope to have shown that even in the finest details of talk-in-interaction, learning can occur and *is* occurring, and that whenever learners engage in peer interaction, a majority of the talk is actually oriented to the accomplishment of the task or activity and that what looks at first sight chaotic, are in fact sequentially organized expert-novice practices - because, after all, there is order at all points.

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11. APPENDIX I - Full transcripts

20070607_jj_t21_5122_100

- 001 Tea: gidd där mär d=blat eng keier wannechglifft?
can i have your sheet of paper please
- 002 Nan: das ist
that is
- 003 (8.6)
- 004 Nan: da:s
that
- 005 (0.7)
- 006 Nor: wie heescht da=doten=wou=mär=waren?
what is the place called where we stayed?
- 007 (2.0)
- 008 Nan: eh=eh:: kacka
shit(e)
- 009 Nan: hi=hi=hi=hi,
- 010 Nor: jo (schischi)
yes (thingy)
- 011 (2.6)
- 012 Nan: oder toilet,
or toilet
- 013 (0.6)
- 014 Nor: eh=he.
- 015 oder pab[eier;
or paper
- 016 Nan: [daer däerf ais net filmen well'
you must not film us because
- 017 (5.1)
- 018 Nan: das;
that
- 019 Nor: AH:: wou as meng bleist' ah hei.
where is my penc' ah here
- 020 Nan: (mh::::)
- 021 Nor: oh (d=sara) huet dat do () bei meng bleistefter dragemeet
oh (sara) put that in () next to my pencils
- 022 Nan: ist
is
- 023 Nor: (dat war) () bleisteft (voll ze sinn)
(that was) () pencil (to be full)

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024 (0.9)

025 Nor: oups

026 Nan: das ist
that is

027 Nan: das ist.
that is

028 (0.8)

029 Nor: oh. nach=eng=keier
oh once again

030
nor *(12.4)
nan *nora sharpens pencil
*walks of to other table

031
nor *(22.2)
*grabs paper, erases what has been written by Nan and
then writes

032
nan: *(0.6)
*returns to table

033 Nor: hm.

034 (2.2)

035 Nan: wat mechs du::?
what are you doing

036 Nor: *he he he
nor *pushes paper over to nanna

037 Nan: das ist
that is

038 Nor: das ist wat?
that is what?

039 Nan: wo:
where

040 mIr
we

041 Nor: wo[:
where

042 Nan: [nEE <<acc>ech=schreiwen> een satz (.) du
no i write a sentence (.) you

043 Nor: ah.

044 Nan: wo:
where

045 Nor: hh..

046 (0.9)

047 Nan: mm::[:

048 Nor: [hallo
hello

049 Nor: das [ist wo mir;
that is where we

050 Nan: [ist wo mIR;
is where we

051 (3.5)

052 Nor: GE: schlafen geschlAFT
slept slept

053 Nan: geschlaft hunn
have slept

054 (1.0)

055 Nor: soll ech der=t schreiwen?
should i write if for you?

056 *(16.0)
nan *nods, moving paper to nor who starts writing

057 Nor: fAERDeg.
done

058 nanna.

059 *(1.6)
nan *returns to table

060 Nan: das ist.
that is

061 wo mir [geschlaft
where we slept

062 Nor: [geschlaft
slept

063 haben.
have

064 (0.6)

065 Nan: ()?

066 Nor: hm=hm

067 Nan: oh::::

068 ma dat muss zesumme sinn.
but that has to be together

069 Nor: wat?
what

070 (1.4)

071 Nan: do.
there

072 (0.2)

APPENDIX I

- 073 Nor: wat zesummen sinn?
what to be together?
- 074 (6.9)
- 075 Nan: (an dann sou)
(and then like that)
- 076 (-) geSCH L: A:ft
slept
- 077 <<p> das ist wo m(ä)r
that is where we
- 078 GE:: SCH:: L:
sle
- 079 Nor: A:ft.
pt
- 080 Nan: T.
- 081 Nor: den t.
the t.
- 082 Nan: schla[:
slep
- 083 Nor: [te=e
- 084 (2.8)
- 085 Nan: komm mär schreiwen direkt méi proper
come let=s write it straightaway cleaner
- 086 net wei schwein
not like pigs
- 087 Nor: jo.
yes.
- 088 (6.3)
- 089 Nor: komm mär ()
come we
- 090 an dat (geet deck méi schéin)
and that (becomes immediately more beautiful)
- 091 Nor: jo. ous.
yes ous
- 092 oh ech hunn (zwee) bleisteft
oh i have (two) pencils
- 093 (zesummen)
(together)
- 094 (1.1)
- 095 Nor: ech kucken wei dat geet
i see how that works
- 096 (1.0)
- 097 Nor: jo. meng geet super

- yes mine works great
- 098 Nan: komm mär schreiwen alles fresch an dann GANZ schéin
come on let=s write it all again and then very
beautiful
- 099 a ganz lues (.) ok?
and very slow ok
- 100 Nor: jo.
yes
- 101 (0.4)
- 102 Nor: ech hellefen der
i will help you
- 103 Nor: elo u MÄr.
now it=s my turn
- 104 (3.7)
- 105 Nor: mär müssen ganz proper ewegman
we have to erase it very cleanly
- 106 well soss get et net schein
because otherwise it is not beautiful
- 107 wees de firwat?
do you know why
- 108 well esou gesait een e bessn ()
because like that one sees a little bit
- 109 (1.1)
- 110 Nor: t=as elo schon ganz ganz proper
it=s already very very clean now
- 111 (6.9)
- 112 Nor: moien
hello
- 113 (20.2)
both girls engage in erasing
- 114 Nor: däerf ech e satz ganz ganz wonnerschein?
may i one sentence very very beautiful
- 115 Nan: w::::: wuart.
wait
- 116 Nor: oder mechs du et?
or are you doing it
- 117 (0.2)
- 118 Nan: komm mär schreiwen ganz fest.
let=s write very hard
- 119 Nor: ech mengen ech war net (dran)
i think i was not (in)
- 120 Nan: oh. ech kann net gutt schreiwen.
i cannot write very well

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- 121 Nor: ech schreiwen ganz gutt
i write very well
- 121 (hm hm=hm)
- 122 (0.3)
- 123 Nor: so firwat sees du dann datt (net) schreiwen ech?
hey why don=t you say that (not) i write
- 124 sou kann ech () machen
like that i () do/make
- 125 (1.4)
- 126 Nor: wat soll ech schreiwen?
what should i write
- 127 Nan: wuart=ch () vun der joffer
wait=i from the teacher

20070619an22_jj_t22_0000_0436

- 001 Tea: gidd där mär d=blat eng keier wannechglifft?
can i have your sheet of paper please
- 002 Nan: das ist
that is
- 003 (8.6)
- 004 Nan: da:s
that
- 005 (0.7)
- 006 Nor: wie heescht da=doten=wou=mär=waren?
what is the place called where we stayed?
- 007 (2.0)
- 008 Nan: eh=eh:: kacka
shit(e)
- 009 Nan: hi=hi=hi=hi,
- 010 Nor: jo (schischi)
yes (thingy)
- 011 (2.6)
- 012 Nan: oder toilet,
or toilet
- 013 (0.6)
- 014 Nor: eh=he.
- 015 oder pab[eier;
or paper
- 016 Nan: [daer däerf ais net filmen well'
you must not film us because

017 (5.1)

018 Nan: das;
that

019 Nor: AH:: wou as meng bleist' ah hei.
where is my penc' ah here

020 Nan: (mh:::)

021 Nor: oh (d=sara) huet dat do () bei meng bleistefter dragemeet
oh (sara) put that in () next to my pencils

022 Nan: ist
is

023 Nor: (dat war) () bleisteft (voll ze sinn)
(that was) () pencil (to be full)

024 (0.9)

025 Nor: ouns

026 Nan: das ist
that is

027 Nan: das ist.
that is

028 (0.8)

029 Nor: oh. nach=eng=keier
oh once again

030 *(12.4)
nor **nora sharpens pencil*
nan **walks of to other table*

031 *(22.2)
nor **grabs paper, erases what has been written by Nan and
then writes*

032 *(0.6)
nan: **returns to table*

033 Nor: hm.

034 (2.2)

035 Nan: wat mechs du::?
what are you doing

036 Nor: *he he he
nor **pushes paper over to nanna*

037 Nan: das ist
that is

038 Nor: das ist wat?
that is what?

039 Nan: wo:
where

040 mIr

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we

041 Nor: wo[:
where

042 Nan: [nEE <<acc>ech=schreiwen> een satz (.) du
no i write a sentence (.) you

043 Nor: ah.

044 Nan: wo:
where

045 Nor: hh..

046 (0.9)

047 Nan: mm::[:

048 Nor: [hallo
hello

049 Nor: das [ist wo mir;
that is where we

050 Nan: [ist wo mIR;
is where we

052 (3.5)

053 Nor: GE: schlafen geschlAFT
slept slept

054 Nan: geschlaft hunn
have slept

(1.0)

055 Nor: soll ech der=t schreiwen?
should i write if for you?

056 * (16.0)
nan *nods, moving paper to nor who starts writing

057 Nor: fAERDeg.
done

058 nanna.

059 * (1.6)
nan *returns to table

060 Nan: das ist.
that is

061 wo mir [geschlaft
where we slept

062 Nor: [geschlaft
slept

063 haben.
have

064 (0.6)

065 Nan: ()?
 066 Nor: hm=hm
 067 Nan: oh:::
 068 ma dat muss zesumme sinn.
 but that has to be together
 069 Nor: wat?
 what
 070 (1.4)
 071 Nan: do.
 there
 072 (0.2)
 073 Nor: wat zesummen sinn?
 what to be together?
 074 (6.9)
 075 Nan: (an dann sou)
 (and then like that)
 076 (-) geSCH L: A:ft
 slept
 077 <<p> das ist wo m(ä)r
 that is where we
 078 GE:: SCH:: L:
 sle
 079 Nor: A:fT.
 pt
 080 Nan: T.
 081 Nor: den t.
 the t.
 082 Nan: schla[:
 slep
 083 Nor: [te=e
 084 (2.8)
 085 Nan: komm mär schreiwen direkt méi proper
 come let=s write it straightaway cleaner
 086 net wei schwein
 not like pigs
 087 Nor: jo.
 yes.
 088 (6.3)
 089 Nor: komm mär ()
 come we
 090 an dat (geet deck méi schéin)

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- and that (becomes immediately more beautiful)
- 091 Nor: jo. ous.
yes ous
- 092 oh ech hunn (zwee) bleisteft
oh i have (two) pencils
- 093 (zesummen)
(together)
- 094 (1.1)
- 095 Nor: ech kucken wei dat geet
i see how that works
- 096 (1.0)
- 097 Nor: jo. meng geet super
yes mine works great
- 098 Nan: komm mär schreiwen alles fresch an dann GANZ schéin
come on let=s write it all again and then very beautiful
- 099 a ganz lues (.) ok?
and very slow ok
- 100 Nor: jo.
yes
- 101 (0.4)
- 102 Nor: ech hellefen der
i will help you
- 103 Nor: elo u Mär.
now it=s my turn
- 104 (3.7)
- 105 Nor: mär müssen ganz proper ewegman
we have to erase it very cleanly
- 106 well soss get et net schein
because otherwise it is not beautiful
- 107 wees de firwat?
do you know why
- 108 well esou gesait een e besser ()
because like that one sees a little bit
- 109 (1.1)
- 110 Nor: t=as elo schon ganz ganz proper
it=s already very very clean now
- 111 (6.9)
- 112 Nor: moien
hello
- 113 *(20.2)
**both girls engage in erasing*
- 114 Nor: däerf ech e satz ganz ganz wonnerschein?

- may i one sentence very very beautiful
- 115 Nan: w::: wuart.
wait
- 116 Nor: oder mechs du et?
or are you doing it
- 117 (0.2)
- 118 Nan: komm mär schreiwen ganz fest.
let=s write very hard
- 119 Nor: ech mengen ech war net (dran)
i think i was not (in)
- 120 Nan: oh. ech kann net gutt schreiwen.
i cannot write very well
- 121 Nor: ech schreiwen ganz gutt
i write very well
- 122 (hm hm=hm)
- 123 (0.3)
- 124 Nor: so firwat sees du dann datt (net) schreiwen ech?
hey why don=t you say that (not) i write
- 125 sou kann ech () machen
like that i () do/make
- 126 (1.4)
- 127 Nor: wat soll ech schreiwen?
what should i write
- 128 Nan: wuart=ch () vun der joffer
wait=i from the teacher

20070619_jj_t03_writingpicturestory2_0000_0445

- 001 Mia: (.ph .h .h)
- 002 *(3.3)
**both girls are grinning*
- 003 Mia: *dann musse mer dat=dat ((grinning) doten) (-) rof) (--)
then have to we that=that here (-) out/away (--)
then we have to that=that here (-) out/away (--)
*mia *pointing to papers*
- 004 daNIEla säin [HA:nd
daNIEla her [HA:nd
- 005 Ela: [Nee: nee (.) da maan mer
[No: no: (.) then do we
[No: no: (.) then we'll do
- 006 *sou kuck; (--)
like this look; (--)
*ela *opens hand with back of hands to table*

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007 Ela: hei molen mer eng Hand (---)
here draw we a hand (---)
here we'll draw a hand (---)

008 an dann maan mer fr' ee fräsch'
and then do we fr' a frag
and then we'll do fr' a frog

009 e f' (.) e [frösch(e)]
a f' (.) a [frog

010 Mia: [KANns dat maan,
[CAN do that,

011 Ela: JO:,*
YES:,*
ela *gaze to paper

012 *(0.2)
mia *gaze to paper

013 Ela: awer (.) kreien ech dei *geSCHICHten?
but (.) get i those stories?
but can i get those stories?
mia *gaze to ella

014 (1.1)

015 Ela: oder wells de (du se) haalen?
or want you (you them) keep?
or do you want to keep them?

016 (0.2)

017 Ela: oder wells de (DU se)
or want you (you them)
or do you want to

018 haalen, (.) dei geschichten
keep, (.) those stories

019 Ela: (mir hunn) keng photocopie
(we have) no photocopie

020 Mia: jo mee mär müssen joffer froen
yes but we have to ask Miss

021 (wann) mär dürfen
(if) we can/are allowed to

022 (0.7)

023 Ela: (ehe)

024 (0.8)

025 Mia: oké
okay

026 (mee ks=ks) geschichten ass färdech
(but ks=ks) stories is done/finished

027 an mir hat' (geschriwwen)
and we have (written)

028 (0.2)

- 029 Mia: oké?
okay?
- 030 Ela: ja: (.) ja=ja=
yes: (.) yes=yes=
- 031 Mia: *=ALLEZ (.) *SCHNELL
=COME ON (.) QUICK
mia *in writing position
mia *pulls hair behind ear with writing hand
- 032 (0.5)
- 033 [((touches El's arm with right hand) SCHNELL);
QUICK;
- 034 Ela: [(ech kennen AWer keng) (-)
[(i know but none) (-)
[(BUt i don't know any) (-)
- 035 (0.4)
- 036 Mia: .hh [ech (well)
.hh [i want
- 037 Ela: [(.) *schreiw ega'* .hh NEE
[(.) write what(ever) .hh NO
ela * gaze to paper until (line with männschen)
mia *lifts paper with left hand
- 038 da schrei:w,
then wri:te,
- 039 *(1.1)
ela *grabs paper, puts it back on table
- 040 Ela: =die frösche(n) sind auf daniela=s ha*nd;
=the frogs are on daniela=s hand;
mia *gaze to ella
- 041 Mia: nee: nēt sou (.) sind *auf
no: not like that (.) are on
mia *circling gesture with right
hand (until end of next line)
- 042 daniela (.) seine (.) *hand;
daniela (.) her (.) hand;
mia *gaze to paper
- 043 (0.6)
- 044 jo t=ass méi besser; gell? *
yes it=s more better; right?
mia *gaze to ella
- 045 (0.2)
- 046 Ela: nee=h=*ee;
no=h=oo;
mia *gaze to paper
- 047 (3.1)
- 048 Ela: kuck wat=ch gema hunn;
look what=I have done;

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049 (0.3)

050 MÄNNche:n;*
small man / figure
ela *grinning, gaze to mia

051 (1.6)

052 Ela: (wat mecht heen);=
(what is he doing);=

053 Mia: he:n (.mt)(.) ah:m
he: (.mt) ah:m

054 ((bends towards camera))

055 (que tu estás a fazer),
(what is it you are doing),

056 (0.5)

057 ('tás=a:: nos grabar?) (.)

058 ((imitates glasses with her hands) (beramare),)

059 Ch1: é um estudo (.) para=para
it is a study (.) for=for

060 comparar a antiga:=äh scola
compare the old=äh school

061 com a nova scola
with a new school

062 Mia: Ah: tu 'tás a fazer iso para mostrar

063 a escolas com un: escola,

064 Ch1: a universidade (.) sim (.) boe'=
at university (.) yes (.) xxx

065 Mia: =(sim te ue:)=
=(yes you are a:)=

066 Tea: =SH:::

067 Mia: <<dim> ()>*
mia *sits back in her chair

068 Tea: Sou ech hunn är F0toen; ech GInn ärch se:
Right i have you PICTures; i give them to you:

069 mee dir schreiwet nach näischt [drop gell;&
but you don't write anything [on ti yet(.) right;&

070 Mia: [(impo ka) ais fir ze
[(impo ka) us to

071 Tea: &t=ass just fir
&it=s only for

072 dat der kënnt kucken hein,
that you can look ok;
you to have a look at

073 Mia: (aus fir ze dann)

- (put for them then)
- 074 Ela: <<dim> (mär hunn .t)>
(we have .t)
- 075 <<pp> (mär hunn [selwer])>
(we have [ourselves])
- 076 Mia: <<p> (ech hunn eng idee);>
(i have an idea)
- 077 Ela: *.hh ECH hunn Och eng Idee;*
.hh I have Also an idea
ela **quick hand gesture over paper*
ela **puts both hand on paper,
holding writing tool in right hand*
- 078 *(2.2)
**both girls gaze to paper*
- 079 Mia: und die FRöschen:
and the frogs
- 080 Ela: nee *[(ech=muss)]
no [(i=ve got to)]
- 081 Mia: [=spRA:ngen
[=jumped]
- 082 *um daniela seine hand (-) und lAch(),*
around daniela [her hand] (-)and laugh(),
ela **erases sth. on paper*
ela **finishes
erasing*
- 083 Ela: *<<p> die=frösche(n)=sind auf>
<<p> the=frogs=are on>
ela ** gaze to paper*
- 084 *(1.4)
tea **gives picture to the girls*
- 085 Ela: .h kuck *eng=ke(i)er
.h look once
ela **reaches towards picture*
- 086 *(0.5)
ela **grabs picture*
- 087 Mia: *(t=as) méi BESSer,
(it=s) better,
ela **puts picture into the middle of them*
- 088 *(1.7)
ela **turns picture around*
- 089 Ela: ((singing) *hm* te=de=de)
ela **pulls picture closer to her*
mia **puts left hand on bottom of picture*
- 090 ech kann dat Awer net mOlen;
bUt i cannot drAw that;
- 091 wéinst dem *FOUß do;
because of that FOOT there
ela **points to picture*

APPENDIX I

- 092 (0.3)
- 093 Tea: Hei (.) bëssen méi lues sinn
hey be a bit quieter
- 094 Mia: (.h .hm .hm)
- 095 (0.8)
- 096 Mia: *(firwat muss hat den hand .h ?)
(why does she have the hand. h ?)
mia **sweeping with top of pencil over picture*
- 097 Ela: nee nët méi hei;
no not here anymore;
- 098 soss geet d=fuarw eraus; (--)
otherwise the color goes off; (--)
- 099 du kanns (heihinner molen)
you can (draw here)
- 100 (0.6)
- 101 Ela: NEE=NET (.) soss kënnt faarw eraus;
NO=NOT (.) otherwise the colour comes off;
- 102 Ela: [(hei kanns de)
[(here you can)
- 103 Mia: [()
- 104 (2.0)
- 105 Ela: *komm mär lossen se hei;
let=s leave it here;
ela **pushes picture aside*
- 106 *(2.6)
ela **scratches her arm, gaze into camera*
- 107 Ela: *.h komm mir kucken* an t=KAmera;
.h let=s look into the=cAmera
ela **puts both elbows onto writing paper and moves upper body
towards camera*
mia **gaze to camera*
- 108 .h he he
- 109 (0.9)
- 110 Mia: nee nët* an t=kamera*
no not into the=camera
mia **gaze to paper*
ela **positions body backwards,
gaze to paper*
- 111 mir müssen *geschichten () [an=d=heft] (setzen)
we have to (put) the stories () into the notebook
mia **shaking right hand energetically*
- 112 Ela: [.hhh]*
ela **writes*
- 113 *(0.3)

- ela **writes*
- 114 Ela: **ech maan *deen méi schéin;*
 i make that one more beautiful
 ela **writing*
 mia **gaze to paper*
- 115 **(8.3)*
 ela **writing, gaze to paper*
 mia **gaze to paper*
- 116 Mia: **((mourning) (ech well och)<<dim> (>)*
 ((mourning) i want too) <<dim> (>)
 ela **writing*
 mia **gaze to paper, upper body leaned*
 forward
- 117 **.h .tzk weini kann ech?*
 .h .tsk when can i?
 ela **writing*
 mia **lifts upper body up, gaze remains on paper*
- 118 **(3.7)**
 ela **writing*
 mia **gaze to paper*
 ela **starts to push paper over to mia*
- 119 *(2.0)*
- 120 Ela: *.tz hei*
 .tz here
 ela **pushes paper over to mia*
- 121 **(1.7)*
 mia **holding pencil in left hand against head,*
 right hand on paper, gaze to paper
- 122 Mia: **oh↓)*
 mia **holding pencil against forehead*
- 123 **(mee wat) kann ech)*
 (but what) can I
 mia **puts pencil down*
- 124 **dann sp' (.) SCHREI*wen?*
 then w (.) write?
 ela **puts pencil down on table*
 ela **kicks pencil*
- 125 **(1.0)*
 mia **gaze to El*
- 126 *(1.7)*
 ela *gaze to paper, moves torso backwards, relaxes into chair*
 mia *gaze to paper, puts hand with pencil down*
- 127 Mia: *.hh) <<pp> (*hum tum da:);>*
 mia **puts pencil in front of her lips*
- 128 *mee *wat muss daniela=s hand=*
 but what must danielass hand=
 mia **slight head turn towards el, keeping gaze on paper*
 ela **gaze to mi*
- 129 Mia: *=*dat muss*
 =that has to

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mia **pointing with pencil to paper*
 130 *EM=*dreinen (.) *gell,
 turn around (.) doesnt it
 mia **gaze to ella*
 mia **gaze to paper*
 mia **gaze to ella*
 ela **gaze to paper*
 131 *(5.1)
 ela **gaze to paper, opens and shuts mouth, gaze to paper continues*
 132 Ela: *.hh
 ela **lifts out of chair, grabs eraser*
 133 dann nemmen DAT *ofmaan (.)
 then only THIS erase (.)
 ela **erasing*
 134 <<len> die frösche sind (-) auf)
 the frogs are (-) on
 135 danielas=hand>
 danielas=hand
 136 *(5.9)*
 ela **erasing*
 mia **gaze to camera (after ((3.6)) and back onto*
 sheet of paper
 137 Ela: *die frösche die sind auf
 the frogs they are on
 ela **writing*
 138 (10.2)
 139 Mia: sein (-) hand
 his (-) hand
 140 (0.4)
 141 Ela: danIEla:s
 142 (10.0)
 143 Ela: hei (.) schreiw wats [de wells)
 here (.) write what you want
 144 Mia: Dann:
 Then:
 145 (0.5)
 146 Ela: dann SPRIngen sie auf daniela=s hand,
 then jump they onto danielas hand
 147 Mia: jo an dann, (.) .h daniela lachte=
 yes and then, (.) .h daniela laughed
 148 (1.0)
 149 Ela: nee .h nee (.)
 no .h no
 150 <<grinning> und dann KITZ=E=len sie daniel=*a:
 and then they tickle daniel=*a:

ela
 *gaze to
 Mia
 151 Mia: .h hi
 152 Ela: <<laughing> *JO gudd;>
 YES good
 ela *gaze to camera
 mia *gaze to sheet of paper
 153 (1.5)
 154 Mia: s::
 155 dann
 then
 156 Ela: ech kucken bessen fotoen
 i look a bit pictures

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001 Tom: sch::
 002 nee denk einf' ()
 no think simpl' ()
 003 denk mol no=
 think about it=
 004 Man: c=est ça qui filme?
 is it that which films?
 005 (2.5)
 006 Ch : eh: quoi?
 eh: what?
 007 Man: c=est ça qui filme?
 is it that which films?
 008 (1.6)
 009 Ch : hm=hm
 010 Tom: () setz dech lo hei hin (ok)?
 () sit down here (ok)?
 011 Man: [()
 012 Pit: [()
 013 S? : [(kuck soll [ech)
 [(watch should [(i)
 014 S? : [eh=eh
 015 Man: (dach)
 (yes)
 016 Hug: du muss schaff[en;
 you have to work
 017 Man: [(ma eng keier deng hand drenner);

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[(put your hand under it once);

018 St1: oh eh w: .ha.ha.ha.ha

019 St?: geet net
does not work

020 St1: t=war d=samantha
it=was samantha

021 Pit: .h hugo

022 (2.5)

023 Han: ech schreiwen da:s si:nd
i write that/they are

024 Man: du schaffs guer näischt;
you don=t do/work anything;

025 (4.7)

026 Man?: .ha sa=sa=sa=()

027 Hug: ^scha=af
^wo=ork

028 (5.4)

029 Man: (neben)
(next to)

030 (2.9)

031 St?: huh=huh

032 (1.3)

033 Hug: ^scha=af
^wo=ork

034 (1.0)

035 Man: .hh ech sinn ALLE::NG=dann hA:l se
.hh i am on my OWN=so shUt up

036 (5.8)

037 Pit: .t

038 Han: manu (.) manu (.) ech wees wou dän papp schafft;
manu (.) manu (.) i know where your dad works;

039 ech ginn heiansdo dohinner;
i sometimes go there;

040 Man: wou?
where?

041 Pit: (taxi)

042 St2: ma

043 (0.5)

044 Man: nee. (.) (ech) nemméi

- no. (.) (i) not any more
- 045 (giff jo och schon)
(would i also)
- 046 Han: .hh () heinsdo op der terrasse (.) wees de,
.hh () sometimes on the teresse (.) you know,
- 047 Man: a wou?
and where?
- 048 Han: <<pp> esch>
- 049 Man: an ESCH,
in ESCH,
- 050 Man: awer an esch?
but where in esch?
- 051 (0.6)
- 052 Han: eh::m do ennen an eng[er
eh::m down there in [a
- 053 Pit: [(esch alzEtte) .tz
- 054 Han: wees do an (.) an engem klenge café (.) wees de?
you know (.) in a small café (.) you know?
- 055 Pit: [*tom*
pit *gaze to tom
pit *gaze to camera
pit *lifts slightly out of and back into chair
- 056 Han: [ech gesinn hien [nemméi
[i don=t see him [anymore
- 057 Man: [josette*
pit *gaze to tom
- 058 Pit: tom wei get eh[: t=shirt gemolt?
tom how do you eh[: draw t=shirt?
- 059 Tom: [hei (.) <<acc> t=kommen der zwee steck'>
[hey (.) <<acc> two of you come over here'>
- 060 zwee stéck heihinner;=
two (of you) here;=
- 061 Pit: =ech* net (.) *wi get [t=*shirt (gemolt)?]
=not me (.) how is [t=shirt (drawn)?]
pit *gaze to girls on his right side
pit *gaze to tom
pit *gaze over his right
shoulder
- 062 Tom: [zwee stéck]* pit an [hugo hei
[two of you] pit and [hugo here
pit *gaze to teacher
- 063 Pit: [nEE::.
[nOO::.
- 064 * (1.5)
pit *gaze to camera

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065 Pit: *tom (.) wei get t=shirt geschriwwen?
 tom (.) how does on write t=shirt?
 pit **gaze to teacher*

066 Tom: so (.) wat mechs dU?
 hey/say (.) are yoU doing?

067 leefs du hei rondere[m?
 are you running arou[nd (here)?

068 Man: [nee ()
 [no ()

069 Tom: hues d=eng foto rausgesicht?
 have you chosen a photo?

070 Man: ech sinn aleng.
 i am on my own.

071 Tom: ma da gei sich der eng foto raus;
 but then go an pick a photo for you;

072 wou=s de wells driwwer schreiwen (.)
 which you want to write about (.)

073 [schreiws de 'leng driwwer.
 [you write about it on your own.

074 Han: [tom=t[om

075 Pit: [(ech sinn na net fäerdeg)=
 [(i am not done yet)=

076 Tom: =komm dech riwwer setzen=
 =come and sit here=

077 Pit: =*firwat *net SI:?:?
 =why not THE:m?
 pit **gaze to two girls on table*
 pit **pointing with pencil to girls*
 pit **gaze to teacher*

078 Tom: halt op matt streiden wann ech glifft;
 stop (plural) arguing please;

079 Pit: [.h uah.

080 Tom: [well si firun aerch do sutzen.
 [because they sat there before you/first.

081 Pit: egal.
 that does not matter.

082 Tom: just hei firun aerch [do
 just here in front of [you

083 Pit: [<<acc> awer wei
 [<<acc> but how

084 get t=shirt ge(schriwwen)?>
 do you (write) t=shirt?>

085 Tom: <<p> t=shirt>=

086 Pit: =t=shirt

087 *(0.5)
 tom **walks to blackboard*

088 St?: t:=shirt

089 Tom: *wat heiers de (fir)?
 what do you hear (in front)?
 tom **grabs chalk*

090 Pit: [te] (.) i sch: er e t.
 [te] (.) i sch: r e t. ((spelling))

091 Han: [te]

092 St?: (e geleint)
 (borrowed it)

093 Tom: *t=as t.=
 it=s t.=
 tom **starts writing onto blackboard*

094 Pit: *=jo.
 *=yes.
 tom **writes*

095 Tom: *t=as [en (englescht wuert)(.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)]
 it=s [an (english word)(.) ti:.. <<dim> (shirt)]
 tom **writes*

096 St?: [(deen do kann='ch schreiwen); ok?
 [(that one i=can write); ok?

097 *(2.0)
 tom **writes*

098 Man: *(mu:o: mu:o:)*
 pit **gets up and moves towards blackboard*
 tom **puts chalk down*
 and turns around to leave

099 Tom: ok?

100 Pit: (t=)shIrt=t=shirt

101 Han: tom [(as dat doten gu=utt?)
 tom [(is that one go=od?)

102 Pit: [*tz
 pit **sits down again and starts to write*

103 (0.9)

104 Han: hugo

105 St?: bam=bam=bam.((cartooning/animated speech))

106 Han: muss eng [(schreiwen)
 have to one[(write)

107 Tom: [hei (.) hugo an. ()
 [hey (.) hugo and. ()

108 du kanns (dech 'glifft) hei eriwwer setzen;
 you kann (yourself 'please) sit over here;

109 Pit: oh: mär müssen emmer gon

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- oh: we always have to go
- 110 Tom: ma nee t=as einfach well si setzen firun aerch hei; (.) pit;
but no it=s simply because they sat here before you/first;
(.) pit;
- 111 (0.8)
- 112 Tom: mina h(u)at geschellt mee wou (huet et gekuckt a/bei we:m)?
mina (did) ring the ball but where (did he look and who: with/
at)?
- 113 (27.5)
*Pit and Hugo move to the next table and
are followed by the camera*
- 114 Pit: <<p> t=shir:t>
- 115 (46.7)
*Pit is writing and Hugo is
gazing around the classroom*
- 116 Pit: *sch(k)reiw wir:;
write we
pit *pushes paper over to hugo,
moves upper body towards hugo
and tips with pen onto table
- 117 hug * (1.0)
hug *grabs pen
pit *gaze to hugo
- 118 Hug: *<<grinning> wIr,>
<<grinning> wE,>
hug *gaze to pit
- 119 pit * (1.7)
pit *lays head on his hands, gaze to hugo
hug *gaze to pit, then to pen
- 120 Pit: *w*:,
pit *gaze to hugo
hug *head backwards, gaze upwards
- 121 (0.4)
- 122 Hug: w: (.) w:i *ween?
w: (.) l:ike who/what?
hug *gaze to pit
- 123 pit * (1.7)
pit *lifts head
hug *gaze into classroom
- 124 Pit: *esou een
one like that
pit *points to paper
- 125 pit * (1.2)
pit *points to paper, lifts head gaze to camera
- 126 Hug: <<pp> (o*ké)>
<<pp> (okay)>
pit *gaze to hugo
- 127 Hug: [* (wie geet d')?*

hug [(how does it)?
hug *gaze to pit
*turns pen into writing position,
bends head forward

128 Pit: [*sou,*
[like this,
pit *draws a 'w' with his finger onto paper
pit *gaze to his right, reaches to
grab writing tool

129 Hug: ()

130 *(1.3)
hug *in writing position
pit *leans over hugo's hand, gaze to paper

131 Hug: *sou?
like this?
hug *writes

132 *(1.7)
pit *gaze to paper, taking cap from writing tool

133 Pit: esou*
like that
pit *writes
hug *gaze to pit's writing

134 *(4.2)*
pit *writes 'w' onto paper, then gaze to hugo,
then to camera
hug *moves closer to pit's writing
hug *gaze to his paper, writing position

135 Hug: *tsk w(u) geet* dat?
tsk where goes that?
hug *lifts pencil a little bit from paper
pit *turns head backward

136 *(3.1)
pit *gaze to paper, head almsot down on table
hug *takes up writing position

137 Hug: *w(i) gEEt dAt?
how does it go/work?
hug *stops writing, lifts head up

138 *(1.2)
pit *takes pen from hugo's hand

139 Pit: .h ma da:t(s) (.) *<<p> esou>
pit .h but it/that (.) <<p> like that>
*writes

140 Hug: *ah
pit *writes a 'w'

141 *(1.5)
pit *finishes writing

142 Pit: sch(k)reiw *w:' ir.
write we.
hug *takes pen from pit

143 Hug: i?

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144 Pit: (hm=hm).

145 Hug: i wi igel?
i like hedgehock?

146 Pit: jo. (.) kleng.
yes. (.) small.

147 * (2.9) *
hug *writes
hug *stops writing

148 Pit: r:

149 Hug: r: *r: (.) r: [wi*
r: r: (.) r: [like
hug *gaze to pit
hug *'thinking' gaze into room

150 Pit: [(<<pp> jo>)
[(<<pp> yes>)

151 Hug: *wi:
like
hug *'thinking' gaze into room

152 Pit: ritter.*
knight.
hug *gaze to paper

153 Hug: ritter?*
knight?
hug *gaze to pit

154 Pit: jo; *(-) kleng.
yes; (-) small.
hug *quizzical gaze to camera

155 (0.5)

156 Hug: *ritter?
knight?
hug *squeezes eyes, gaze to pit

157 (0.8) *
hug *gaze to paper
pit *lifts up from table

158 Pit: wees=d=net *wat (de rr) ass?*
don't you know what (the rr) is?
pit *gaze to hugo
hug *gaze to pit
pit *opens pen

159 (0.7)

160 Hug: *(hm=m:)*
pit *writes
hug *leans over, gaze to paper
pit *gaze to hugo

161 *(1.2)
pit *put cap on pen
hug *writes

162 *(7.0)
 hug: **writes for (3.0, then stops, leans back gaze to pit*
 pit **gaze to paper, then after hug leans back*
 grabs pencil and paper

163 Hug: *oh:ch=ch=ch
 hug **rubs finger on a spot table*
 pit **gets into writing position*

164 *(1.4)
 pit **gazes to spot where hugo is pointing with finger*

165 Hug: *(.hm k)
 hug **rubs (ink?) spot on table*

166 Pit: dat war=s dU.
 that was yoU.

167 Hug: .he he *ha ha ha.*
 hug **gaze to camera*
 hug **gaze to paper*

168 *(7.3)
 pit **writes*
 hug **leans over to gaze at writing, then sits straight again,*
 gaze to sth. to his left, grabs object

169 Hug: *(gesais de (.) dat schein).
 (see (.) that's nice).
 pit **writes*
 hug **gaze to object (t-shirt?) in his hand*

170 *(1.6)
 pit **writes*
 hug **gaze to object (t-shirt?) in his hand*

171 Hug: *oh.
 hug **tips pit on left elbow twice*

172 (0.7)

173 Hug: *Oh.
 hug **tips pit on left elbow three times*

174 (0.8)*
 pit **turns head towards hugo*

175 Hug: *(dario säin)?
 (dario=s)?
 pit **gaze to object*

176 (1.4)

177 Pit: *hm=hm.
 pit **back into writing position*

178 (0.2)

179 Hug: [*jo.
 [yes.
 hug **gaze to pit*

180 Pit: [*dat?
 [that?
 pit **lifts, pointing with pen to object*

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181 hug *(0.5)
 **shakes head vertically/affirmatively*

182 Pit: dylan.*
 pit **withdraws arm*

183 Hug: dylan.
 pit **writing position*

184 pit *(1.1)
 **writing*

185 Pit: ((humming) dou du=du=*du=du)
 pit **writing*
 hug **rubbing inkmark on table*

186 pit *(12.1)*
 **writing*
 hug **chin on hand, gaze to paper*

187 Hug: *.he=he
 hug **pulling faces into the camera*

188 *(7.1)
 **camera turns into classroom*

189 Tom: *marissa (.) du bass guer net am gang ze hellefen
 marissa (.) you are not helping at all
 **camera returns to Pit and Hugo*

190 *du bass dat grousst
 you are the older one
 pit **gaze into the classroom*
 hug **gaze to camera*

191 pit *(1.0)
 **gaze into the classroom*

192 Tom: *an d=karin?
 and karin?
 pit **gaze into the classroom*

193 *() hien schreiwet alleng ()
 () he writes alone ()
 hug **pulling faces and playing around until Pit tips him
 on shoulder*

194 S1 : (Tom)

195 Tom: nee
 no

196 (kuckt och mol är hausaufgaben no)
 (check also on your homework)

197 [()]

198 Hug: [he=he

199 S1 : tom (.) ech wees net wei een (.) wei een mi:er seet;
 tom (.) i don't know how to (.) how to say se:a;

200 Pit: *dat geet uM fernseh
 that goes oN tv
 pit **tips hugo on his right shoulder*

201 Hug: hä?

202 Pit: dat geet och um fernseh
that goes also on tv

203 (1.2)

204 Hug: wat?
what?

205 Pit: dAt*
thAt
*pit *writes*

206 Hug: .he=he=he

207 .hh hm=hm

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001 Max: *hee=ee schreiwet net. hien kuck[t dauernd fort.
he=e does not write. he always looks away.
*bil *holding paper in his hands*

002 Bil: [*ech well kucken
[i want to see
*bil *puts paper on table,
right hand on it*

003 wat hien do geschri*wwen *huet;
what he has written there;
*max *stretches left arm
max *puts hand on paper
bil *puts left hand on paper*

004 *.h .h ech verstinn net
.h .h i don=t understand
*mar *approaches the table, grabs paper*

005 wat hien do einfach [schreiwet
what he is writing there

006 Max: [(mär)
[(we)

007 Mar: wir haben fußball gespielt und volleyball gespielt (-)
we played football and played volleyball (-)

008 *(1.7)
*mar *searches for pen in pencil case*

009 Mar: wart (e)ch verbessern*
wait i correct
*mar *leaves table*

010 *(1.3)*
*max *grabs the paper
bil *right hand reaches after paper,
but does not manage to touch it*

011 Bil: <<p> d=joffer verbessert daat>
miss is correcting that

012 *(2.3)*

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bil **with left hand reaches and touches paper*
 max **puts both hand on paper to keep*
 013 Max: **.tz*
 max **gaze to camera*
 014 **(1.3)**
 max **writes*
 mar **comes back to table, holding pen, hand reaches to paper*
 015 Mar: *.hm*
 016 *(1.5)*
 017 Max: *()*
 mar* **takes paper*
 018 *(1.7)**
 mar **grinning*
 019 Mar: *<<grinning> as dat wouer?>*
 is that true?
 020 *(0.2)*
 021 Max: *nee mee:*
 no but:
 022 Mar: *ah:: ok.*
 oh:: ok.
 023 *(0.3)*
 024 *w:ir*
 w:e
 025 *(2.4)*
 026 Max: *t=war awer fennef nul*
 but it was five nol
 027 *(0.4)*
 028 Mar: *ha:ben;*
 ha:ve
 029 *(0.9)*
 030 Mar: *hUES dU dat geschriwwen bill* oder [hien?*
 DID yOU write that bill or him?
 mar **gaze to bill*
 031 Bil: *[*nee*
 [no
 bil **shaking head*
 horizontally
 032 *den max.* (.) alles.*
 max did. (.) all of it.
 mar **gaze to paper*
 033 **(1.4)*
 mar **gaze to max and back to sheet*
 034 Mar: *.tz*

035 spielt und volleyball GE'
plays/-ed and volleyball

036 spielt [kuck hei hues d=et richtig
played watch heer you got it right

037 Max: [gesäis de bill
see bill

038 ech hat dat' ech hunn=en e |r| gemat
i had that' i die a |r|

039 du has gesot .hh kee |r:|
you sais .hh no |r:|

040 Bil: [awer () du=s=een (.)
[but () you did (.)

041 |e| [nach gemacht
|e| [as well

042 Mar: [nee. net den |r:| (-)
no: not the |r:| (-)

043 den langen |i|
the long |i|

044 bei gespielt kuck hei hues de gemat
in played look here you did it

045 an hei net
and here you did not

046 Max: (mhm)

047 Mar: dIE
the

048 (1.5)

049 Mar: schp'

050 (0.7)

051 Mar: da lies mär nach eng keier deen hei satz
then read that sentence once to me

052 (0.8)

053 Max: die (0.6) spieler vum fussball haben zing null gewonnen
the football players won then nil

054 (0.8)

055 Mar: dann schreiw mol nach GE:wonnen
then write now won

056 (1.3)

057 Mar: GEwonnen
won

058 (15.4)

059 Mar: die

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060 (15.8)

061 Mar: gewonnen

062 (0.8)

063 * (0.3)
*mar *pushes paper over to max and leaves table*
*max *rolling pen between hands*

064 Bil: *da=schreiw.
 then=write.
*max *grabs pen lying on table*
*bil *head on left hand*

065 wann=s du sou dichtetg bass;=
 if you are that important/cool;=

066 <<acc>=*du wells jo alles schreiwen=da schreiw>;
 <<acc>=you want th write (sth)=then write;
*max *gaze to bill*
*bil *gaze to max*

067 * (2.1)
*bil *gaze over his left shoulder, away from max*

068 Max: *du hues elo angscht*
 you are scared now
*max *gaze to table, rolling pencil between both hands*
*max *gaze to bill*

069 (1.3)*
*max *gaze to camera*

070 Bil: [*nö
 no
*bil *gaze to pen in his hands*

071 Max: [* (gesäis de)]
*max *gaze to camera*

072 * (1.7)
*max *gaze to paper*

073 Bil: *du wells jo=*dann <<acc> schreiw=*schreiw>;
*bil *gaze to max, shaking head vertically*
*bil *lifts right arm into direction of max*
*bil *lets arm fall onto table*
*max *gaze to tim, then to micro*
*bil *turns upper body*
to left away
from max

074 Max: *mee ma daat dengens ass an der mätt
 but do that thing is in the middle
*max *still rolling pencil between both hands*

075 Max: ma mIkro an der Mätt*
 put micro into the middle
*max *gazes to his upper left*

076 * (3.1)*
*max *puts one pencil down, takes another one*
and gets ready for writing
*bil *turns body and gaze towards max*

077 Bil: *max. (.) schrEI:w.
 max. (.) wrI:te.
 bil *upper body oriented to table, elbows on table

078 (0.8)*
 max *lifts up, gaze to bil then to pencil case

079 Bil: *wanns de alles wëlls*
 if you want everything
 max *grabs pencil case
 max *puts pencilcase down between
 paper and tim (blocking tim's
 view on paper)
 bil *gaze to left,
 holding chin with right hand

080 *(1.0)
 max: *in writing position
 bil *gaze into the room, chin on his right hand

081 Bil: *(tz pff)
 max: *in writing position
 bil *gaze into the room, chin on his right hand

082 *(1.9)
 max: *in writing position
 bil *gaze into the room, chin on his right hand

083 *(0.6)
 bil *gaze to camera

084 *(2.5)
 bil *starts grinning, dresses up and makes peace sign
 with left hand into camera
 max *gaze to bill as he lifts hand

085 Max: *wivill* huet der *gewonnen?
 how high did you win?
 max *gaze to bill
 bil *turning gaze and upper body to left away from max
 max *touching tim's elbow with right hand

086 Max: *wiv(u)ll hu:et dier <<acc>ge(.)wonnen>?
 how much did you win?
 bil *gaze to max

087 Bil: bei waat?
 at/with what?

088 Max: bei volleyball.*
 at/with volleyball.
 max *gaze to camera

089 *(3.4)
 max *gaze to bill
 bil *gaze into room, then to camera

090 Bil: *mir hun einfach *gespillt (.) just;*
 we only played (.) like that;
 bil *gaze to max
 bil *shaking head slightly horizontally

091 *(0.9)
 max *gaze to camera

092 Max: *so mer (.) <<acc>zing> (-).h so mer* (.) fënnef=

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let=s say (.) <<acc>ten> (-) .h let=s say (.) five
 max **gaze to paper*
 bil **gaze into room*
 max **gaze to bill*

093 Max: =null*
 nil/zero
 max **lifting both hands and shaking them*
 bil **gaze to max*

094 Bil: <<p> jo fënnef null;> (-) <<acc> fënnef zing>
 <<p> yes five nil;> (-) <<acc> five ten>

095 (1.0)

096 Max: fënnef zin[g?*
 five te[n?
 max **gaze to paper*

097 Bil: [*so mer (.) fënnef* dräi
 [let=s say (.) five three
 bil **moves upper body towards max*
 bil *showing 'five' with his left hand*
 max **gaze to bill*

098 *(0.5)
 max **gaze to paper*

099 Bil: *mir hun fënnef (zing) ()
 we have five (ten) ()
 max **writing position*

100 *(5.6)
 max **writing*
 bil **turning upper body and head away from paper*

101 Max: pardon bil* (.) *verstees du *(-) *daat heiten?
 excuse me bil (.) do you (-) understand this?
 max **gaze to bil*
 bil **gaze to max*
 max **turning paper into tim's direction*
 bil **gaze to paper, leaning closer*
 max **pointing to sth. on paper*

102 Bil: *nee
 no
 bil **shaking head horizontally*

103 (0.3)

104 Max: <<acc> daat verstees> du elo (-) .h *waat steet hei?
 <<acc> that understand> you now (-) .h what is written here?
 max **pointing to paper*

105 *(0.8)
 max **gaze to bill*

106 Bil: die?*
 the?
 bil **gaze to max*

107 Max: die;*
 the
 max **writes*

108 Max: ech haat mech hei ()

i had here ()

109 DIE,*
 the,
 max **gaze to tim and back to paper*

110 *(12.1) ((until Tim starts singing))
 max **writing*
 bil **turns away from paper, gaze to camera, micro,*
 starts humming

111 *(10.5)
 bil **drops pencil, rolls it over table,*
 then lays head on table

112 Bil: ((singing) mamama... (21.0)))

113 Bil: *((still singing) mamama
 bil **lifting upper body*

114 Max: .tz ah; volleyball (.) net fussball;
 .tz ah; volleyball (.) not football;

115 Bil: .h ne^ne

116 Bil: oh^oh; .h

117 Max: kuck seng mond
 look his mouth

118 (3.2)

119 Bil: he.

120 Max: ech hunn(=et leiwer)
 i (prefer it)

121 Max: meng ass méi cool wi deng*
 mine is cooler than yours
 max **sweeps hand twice over*
 paper

122 Bil: guer näischt
 not at all

123 Max: dann géi en sichen
 well go and get it then

124 [()]

125 Bil: [(vun aner)]

126 (0.5)

127 Bil: *ech hun nach méi
 i have even more
 bil **gets up from chair and kneels to the floor*

128 *(3.0)
 bil **picking up eraser, then puts it back on table*
 and goes away

129 (2.9)

130 *(2.7)

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max **turns to his left, but then back
and continues writing*
 131 (11.2)
 132 **(1.5)*
 max **lifts up*
 bil **comes back to table (previous section: (21.3))*
 133 Bil ()
 134 Max: weis=weis
 show me=show me
 135 (2.4)
 136 Max: meng as méi grouss=
 mine is bigger=
 137 Bil: =gläich
 =the same
 138 Max: nee net gläich
 139 Bil: dach du (hues/hells) d=spetz einfach
 140 (0.6)
 141 Bil: kuck d=[spetz
 watch the [point
 142 Max: [ok ouni spetz
 [ok without point
 143 ouni spetz
 without point
 144 (4.1)
 145 Bil: so=mär gläich
 let=s say the same
 146 (1.8)
 147 Max: oh ouni spetz (.) .h sinn mär net gläich=
 uh without point (.) .h we are not the same
 148 Bil: =dach
 =yes we are
 149 (1.5)
 150 Max: also wann (-) ok ech sinn hei (tsch::)
 but when (-) ok i am here (tsch::)
 151 (0.4)
 152 Bil: si=mär gläich
 we are the same
 153 (1.3)
 154 Max: eh=eh deen spatzen as méi grouss wei deen aneren
 eh=eh the sharp one is bigger than the other one
 155 (0.9)

- 156 Bil: (tschö) ah gläich
(shit) oh the same
- 157 Bil: ma=ma=ma=ma ma=ma .h ah .he.he
- 158 (0.9)
- 159 Bil: (mh=mh=mh)
- 160 Max: dei as méi: méi (-) méi dengens
htat one is more mor (-) more thingy
- 161 méi schweier
heavier
- 162 (2.9)
- 163 Bil: t=as kee fussba:ll.
it=s no football.
- 164 MAX.
- 165 (0.5)
- 166 Bil: .tz
- 167 Max: <<p> pard[on>
sorry
- 168 Bil: [ech ginn et so:e:n.
[i will go and tell
- 169 (0.9)
- 170 Max: ou. pardon. ech wosst dat net.
hey. sorry. i did not know that.
- 171 (0.7)
- 172 Bil: .tz
- 173 ma schreiw dach.
but write then.
- 174 (2.4)
- 175 Max: .tz
- 176 *(15.3)*
max *writes
bil *busy with eraser
max *stands up, lays pen down
- 177 Max: fäerdeg
done
- 178 (2.3)
- 179 Max: .öh
- 180 (0.7)
- 181 Max: (wI kann hatt dat wessen)
how can she know that

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182 (0.6)

183 Bil: komm mär kucken
let= look

184 Max: (hm .tz)

185 Bil: ()

186 (7.9)

187 Max: mir müssen nach hei bleiwen
we still have to stay here

188 (weinst) kamer[a
(because of) camera

189 Bil: [wat?
[what?

190 Max: mär müssen warden well kamera
we have to wait because of camera

191 Bil: wat?
what?

192 Max: gei eng keier bei d=kamera kucken
go once near the camera to have a look

193 (0.4)

194 Max: nee du bleiws hei
no you stay here

195 du bleiw(s) hei
you stay here

196 komm hei an dei plaatz
come here onto this seat

197 KOMM an dei plAAtz hei
come onto this seat

198 (0.8)

199 Max: bil

200 bil komm an deen heiten plaatz
bil come onto this seat

201 (13.0)

202 Bil: .h

203 (0.7)

204 st?: wat kucks du do?=
what are you looking at?

205 Max?: =hal op
stop it

206 (6.5)

207 Max: mär sinn schon fäerdeg
we are already done

- 208 St?: (awer nemmen)
(but only)
- 209 Max: mär sinn schon fäerdeg
we are already done
- 210 St?: weis
show me
- 211 (3.9)
- 212 Bil: gei froen
go ask
- 213 * (0.5)
bil *grabs paper
- 214 Bil: *dann ginn ech
then i will go
bil *leaves table
- 215 Max: (ma) da gei du
(well) go on then
- 216 Ch : hutt der se zesummen ()
have you () together
- 217 Max: wat?
what?
- 218 Ch : (hues du dat geschriwwen geschriwwen?)
(have you written that?)
- 219 Max: jo ech misst alles schreiwen
yes i had to write it all
- 220 Ch: ()
- 221 Max: hien willt schrei' hien' hien kann net
he would like to he he cannot
- 222 eh: schreiwen (-)
eh: write
- 223 hien kann schreiwen mee: .h
he cannot write but .h
- 224 hee' sch' hee mecht puer feeler.
he wr' he makes some mistakes
- 225 ech=ech e=puer feeler gemat=
i=i did soem mistakes
- 226 =hie geif=na=méi=feeler=machen
he would do even more mistakes
- 227 Ch1: an du mechs alles richteg?
and you do it all correctly?
- 228 Max: net alles
not everything
- 229 (30.3)
- 230 Tea: ok. kommt der hei tippen

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ok. can you come over and type here

231 (1.1)

232 (huel der een) stuhl nach frei
(take one) chair that is still free

233 (1.8)

234 Max: [mär huelen dat do(ten)
we take that one

235 Tea: [een as schon hei de stull (.) gell?
one is here already a chair right?

236 (1.8)

237 Max: ok

20070622_jj_t09_ladroa_rouba_0000_0239

001 Joe: (wi schreiw t een dat?)
(how does one write that?)

002 Tea: nee. der tAschendieb;
no. the pick-pocket;

003 (1.1)

004 Tea: du=muss=schreiw en (.) der TAsch[endieb]
you=have=to write (.) the Pick[pocket]

005 Ber: [*dAs:]
[thAt:]
ber points to paper

006 *klaUt;
steals
tea tips ber on shoulder

007 Tea: [der tasch']
[the pick']

008 Ber: [ist]
[is]

009 Tea: *nee *der tAschendieb;
no the pickpocket;
tea gaze to bertrand, tipping bertrand on shoulder
ber gaze to teacher
tea lifts pointed fingers

010 *(0.9)
tea gaze to bertrand
ber gaze to teacher

011 Tea: *<<dim> klaut>
<<dim> steals>
tea gaze to bertrand
ber gaze to teacher

012 *(1.5)
tea gaze to bertrand
ber gaze to teacher

- 013 Tea: *wi seet een'
how does one say'
tea *gaze into classroom
- 014 (0.9)
- 015 Tea: *wi seet een deen deen klaut op portugiezesch?
how does one say the one who steals in portuguese?
tea *stretches upper body
- 016 * (2.0)
tea *changes gaze direction to other side of classroom
- 017 St1: rou*ba::r
ber *turns body and gaze to St1
- 018 ()
- 019 St?: ((coughing).h h, [.h hh, hh)
- 020 Tea: [der taschendieb (.) (ti' . tiro)
[the pickpocket (.) (ti' tiro)
- 021 (2.5)
- 022 St1: *taschendieb* é *aqueles gaijos que (.) que roubão
taschendieb is the guy who (.) who steals
tea *stretches arm to bertrand, then midway stops and withdraws
tea *gaze to st1
ber *gaze to st1
- 023 sempre coisas (.) ([)
always things (.) ([)
- 024 Tea: [ok?]
- 025 St1: [()]
- 026 Ber: [A::h [ladroes
[A::h [you steal
- 027 Tea: [*tu sais?]
[you know?]
tea: *touches Bertrand on shoulder
- 028 St1: ladroes
you steal
- 029 Tea: ok (.) [maja]
ok (.) [so]
- 030 St1: [()]
- 031 Tea: (.) *bertrand=bertrand *der taschendieb
(.) bertrand=bertrand the pickpocket
tea *pushes paper in front of bertrand
tea *pointing to paper, gaze to bertrand
- 032 (0.3)
- 033 Tea: der Taschendieb (.) klaU:t
the pickpocket (.) steals
- 034 (1.1)

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035 Tea: NEt (.) das klaut ist taschendieb
NOT (.) that steals is pickocket

036 der tASCHendieb klaut
the pICKpocket steals

037 St3: [.he he .h [ha ha

038 St?: [tick

039 Tea: wéi heescht (.) wéi heescht=et taschendieb?
how calls (.) how calls=one a pickpocket?

040 (1.7)

041 St1: ladrà:o

042 Ber: ladrào

043 Tea: [il ladrào' roubaba'

044 St3: [.he he .h

045 (0.7)

046 Tea: der taschendieb (.) klaUt
the pickpocket (.) steals

047 klaut (.) rouba (-) taschendieb (.) ladrào
steals (.) rouba (-) pickpocket (.) ladrào

048 (0.4)

049 Tea: ok?

050 (0.5)

051 Tea: verbesser;
correct (it);

20070622_jj_t19_claracutsmeat_0000_0216

001 Ro: ass en ëmmer Béis mat mär;
is he always mad/angry with/at me

002 e' ech Wees nët puur saachen
e i know not e few things

003 (.) ass en ëmmer (.) as en emmer Béis
(.) is he always (.) is he always mad/angry

004 mat mer;
with me

005 Ca: oder hee seet=
or he says=

006 Ro: an=[ä:h an
and=[ä:h and

007 Ca: [ma ech hunn et dach
[but i have it just

008 ech=hunn=et=der=dach graad erklä::rt;

i=have=it=you=but just explai::ned;

009 S?: (ma dann loss et sinn)
(well then leave it be)

010 an lo wees=de=ët SCHO rëm nët
an now you=know=it already again not

011 an dann jäitzt en
and then screams he

012 ëmmer [sou;
always [like that

013 S1: [NÖä
[nope

014 Ro: ech [wo'
i [kne'

015 S1: [Du mes
[you do

016 Ro: [ech wosst (.) ech wosst
[i knew (.) i knew

017 S1: [mat engem (engen);
[with a (an);

018 Ro: ët nët ä:h (.) ä::hm (-)
it not ä:h (.) ä::hm (-)

019 ä:h ech wosst ët nët (.) ä:hm .hmt
ä:h i knew it not (.) ä:hm .hmt

020 (-) mathe ä:h (eh do) wu=äh (vu) mathe
maths eh (eh there) whe=eh (from) maths

012 vun=äh
from=äh

013 S2: lo geet ët dur;
now goes it enough

014 S3: (lo ke che min)

015 S2: ähm: ech WUAR;
ähm: i was

016 Ro: vun (.) tnummer
from (.) the number

017 S3: o Jo;
o yes;

018 Ro: ech=ech hunn ëmmer alléng (ge)
i=I have always alone (did)

019 S1: dat geet lo
that works now

020 S2: [JA.
[yes

021 Ro: [mee:
[but:

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- 022 de yann hues emmer
yann has always
- 023 mat mir gejaizt ech hunn
with me shouted i have
- 024 näischt gemat e' ech wosst
nothing done e' i knew
- 025 ët näischt (.)ehues emmer
it nothing (.) ehas always
- 026 Ca: ((grabs Romy's knife)
- 027 komm hei);
come here;
- 028 Ro: ehues dee mer emmer eppes vernannt;
(he)has who always tells me off;
- 029 e' ech war
e' i was
- 030 [ähm
[ähm
- 031 S3: [(frödadö)
- 032 Ro: äh alleguerten=äh ware mer an
äh all=äh were we in
- 033 biblioTHEIK hu mat Joffer
library have we miss(teacher)
- 034 geschwat (-)
talked to (-)
- 035 em::h dass=ehm yann=esou=as
em::h that=ehm yann=is=like=that
- 036 ((shakes head))
- 037 (di aana) sou ass an tsofia/sandy
(the other) so is and sofia
- 038 wa fort äh=h'hat hat war !K!rank
was away äh=h'she she was !I!ll
- 039 Ca: a lo hues ët eng nei arbecht
and now has (it)she a new job
- 040 gesicht;=
been looking for=
- 041 Ro: =jo an hat kënnt nëméi hei=h'
=yes and she comes not any more here=h
- 042 et war hei an lo kënnt hat nëméi hei
she was here and now comes not any more here
- 043 S1: ()
- 044 Rom: mir a'=alleguerten waren TRAurech
we all ware SAd

- 045 wéinst sofia/sandy=
 because of sofia=
- 046 Cla: =Cara (hat) wei sees de (schon) méi
 =Cara how does one say again
- 047 äh wei ee bébé kritt?
 äh how one has a baby?
- 048 (0.9)
- 049 Car: *wat?*
- what?
- car **pulling quizzical face*
- car **gaze to claudio*
- 050 Cla: w' wéi *kritt een naméi e bébé? (--)
 w' how receives one again a baby? (--)
- car **stops cutting meat*
- 051 Car *ä:h?=
 car **pulls face*
- 052 Rom: =(dat war deen matt [den pellen]*)
 =(that was the one with the pill(s))
- car **continues cutting*
- meat
- 053 Cla: [(kritt och eng)]
 (receives one too)
- 054 Rom: (.) nee;
 (.) no;
- 055 Cla: ne=e;;
 no=o;;
- 056 Car: Re' ähm SCHEIde;
 re' ähm VAgina
- 057 Rom: nee
 no
- 058 Cla: nä: wi ee bébé kritt;
 no: how one baby gets
- 059 Rom: Ah [eh t'
 Ah [eh t'
- 060 Car: [schwanger;
 [pregnant;
- 061 Cla: [jo t=as schwanger
 [yes she=s pregnant
- 062 Rom: [nee:
 [no:
- 063 Cla: jOElle an,
 jOElle and,
- 064 Rom: d=joëlle an=ä:h
 joelle and=ä:h
- 065 Car: *hei.
 **cuttlerly is heard being put down on plate*

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066 Rom: d=anne
anne

067 Cla: [anne (an:)=
[anne (an:d)=

068 Gil: [anne huet schon e bébé] rauskritt=
[anne has head already a baby] (coming out)=

069 Rom: [si eh si kreien bébé]
[they eh they are having a baby]

070 hm=hm.

071 Gil: *dach.
yes.
gil *nood head vertically

072 Rom: jo (.) an=ä:h annne=äh huet
yes (.) and=äh anne=äh has

073 bébé schon erAUSgeluet (.) ne?
baby already (laid/put out) (.) right?

074 (0.4)

075 Rom: awa tass nach ëmmer an da de: spidol;
but is still always in the the: hospital;

076 Car: ah gesÄIS de anne huet keen bebe rauskritt
ah (do) see you anne had no baby out

077 Rom: jo mee d=joelle kritt awer (een)
yes but joelle will have (one)

078 Car: jo d=joëlle *ass eréischt am véiertem moUnt; (--)
yes joelle is only in the fourth month; (--)
car *gaze to rom

079 Rom: *mh=mh
*shaking head veritcally, gaze to cara

080 d=anne amy war schon am sEchsten;
anne was already in the sixth;

081 (1.5)

082 Cla: an t=dauert Ning méint;
and it=lasts nine months;

083 Ch2: hm?

084 Cla: an=et dauert Ning méint
and=it lasts nine months

085 wei ech wees; (---)
as I know; (--)

086 Ca: hm=hm, (.) a wat wees Du awer schéi bescheed;
hm=hm, (.) and what you are well informed;

087 ((background talking 5.0))

088 (Ca): <<p> (sch=well eppes schwätzen);>
(i=want talk something)

12. APPENDIX II - Transcription Conventions

Transcription of verbal aspects follows the GAT-system (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem) as developed by Selting et al. (1998). GAT has originally been published in German. For the present research project the convention is presented in English, and the translation has been done by students from the MA multi-LEARN from the University of Luxembourg, namely Mikkel Stroerup and Nadja Weber.

Transcription of verbal aspects

Sequential structure

[]	overlapping and simultaneous talk
=	latched talked (“rushing through”), either between
different	speakers, or same speaker

Breaks/Pauses

(.)	micro pause (< 0.2 seconds)
(-), (--), (---)	short, middle and longer break
(2.0)	measured pause/gap

Other segmental conventions

and=eh	slurring within units/words
:, ::, :::	prolongation of preceding sound
eh, öh, etc.	hesitation marker, i.e. so-called “filled pauses”
‘	glottal stop

Laughter

haha, hehe, huhuh	laughter
-------------------	----------

Recipieny signals

hm, jo, nee, nö	one syllabic signals
hm=hm, jo=o	two syllabic signals

Stress

wORd	strong intonation on capital letters
------	--------------------------------------

Pitch at end of units

?	strong rising intonation
,	medium rising intonation
,	flat intonation
;	medium falling intonation
,	strong falling intonation

Other conventions

((coughs))	para-linguistic actions
<<coughing> >	coughs the speech/ says something during cough
()	non audible speech
(word)	uncertainty about transcription
(word/sword)	possible alternatives
->	indicator for marking line-s highlighted in and for analysis

Accentuations

accENT	main accent
accEnt	secondary accent

Volume and speed of utterances

<<f> >	forte, loud
<<ff> >	fortissimo, louder
<<p> >	piano, soft
<<pp> >	pianissimo, softer
<<all> >	allegro, quick
<<len> >	lento, slow
<<cresc> >	crescendo, becoming louder
<<dim> >	diminuendo, becoming softer
<<acc> >	accelerando, becoming quicker
<<rall> >	rallentando, becoming slower

Transcription of visual aspects

Transcription of visual aspects is transcribed as follows:

```

01  BEN:  *(mmh) *wei seet ee *schon=méi?*
          (mmh) how say one=again?
      ben  *points with pencil to a picture in the book
      ben  *lifts pencil away from picture
      tim  *gaze to object
      tim  *gaze to ben

```

Visual aspects are marked according to the sequential development of talk. * marks where the non verbal aspect (gaze, movement, gesture etc.) occurs. What the * refers to is marked parallel below and in italic. The name of the participant doing, displaying the non-verbal aspect is noted at the beginning of the line.

13. APPENDIX III - LIST OF FIGURES

(Note that figures with no title are directly linked to transcripts and serve as illustrations of multimodal resources. First number indicates chapter and second number use of figure within chapter)

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13. APPENDIX IV - CV of Candidate



Working with the research group DICA-lab within the Unit for Sociocultural Research on Learning and Development UR LCMI, I am currently working on my Ph.D. research since September 2006. Previously, I have accomplished a Master's degree in Cultural Politics at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK. In the educational setting in Luxembourg, I have been working as “chargée d'éducation” as a highschool teacher in several schools with general and vocational interest.

B/ CV

Personal Information

- Date and Place of Birth: 6.11.1979, Pétange, Luxembourg
- Marital status: Single
- Gender: female
- Nationality: Luxembourgish

Academic Qualifications

- Ph.D. Educational Sciences, University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg (in progress)
- MA Cultural Politics, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK
- BA English, University of Aberystwyth, Wales, UK

Professional Career

- Since September 2006: Ph.D. Assistant at the University of Luxembourg
- 2004-2005 : Chargée d'éducation (English) at the Lycée Michel Rodange, Luxembourg
- 2004-2006: Chargée d'éducation (English) at the Lycée technique Josy Barthel Mamer, Luxembourg

Research-fields

- Interaction & Identity construction
- Multimodal and non-verbal communication
- Conversation Analysis (focus on joint learning activities)
- Learning & Multilingualism
- Discourse & Interaction (focus: Plurilingual & Multimodal Data)
- Building & Exploitation of Corpora & Databases
- Plurilingualism and identity construction in interaction within schooling

Research projects

- PhD project: Peer interactions in the language classroom: Expert-novice-practices in learning activities at primary school (Director/Advisor: Ass.-Prof. Dr. G. Ziegler and Prof. Dr. Charles Max)

Teaching

- BScE – Bachelor in Sciences of Education
 - BScE 1.2.1 - Analyzing artefacts and activities within the school context
 - BScE 2.2.3 - Inquiring children's cultural tools
 - BScE 1.2.3 & 2.2.1 - Researching Learning and Context
 - BScE 1.6.1 - Signs and Signifying Practices: Language Development
 - BScE 2.6.1 - Signs and Signifying Practices: Developing Children's Multilingualism
- Experience in teaching English as a foreign language to multilingual learners (aged 11-20)

Scientific Presentations

- MEYER Anne, Pochon-Berger Evelyne (2010). Requesting assistance in classroom interactions. Paper presented at ICCA10. International Conference on Conversation Analysis, hosted by the University of Mannheim, Germany.
- MEYER, Anne; MORTENSEN Kristian (2009). Mutual gaze in adjacency pairs: an interactional necessity? Paper presented at IPrA 2009. 11th International Pragmatics Conference organized by IPrA, hosted by the University of Melbourne, Australia.
- MEYER, Anne (2008). Linguistic resources in and through classroom writing activities. Paper presented at CALPIU 2008. International conference hosted by Roskilde University.
- MEYER, Anne (2008). Talking identities: everyday enactments in plurilingual environments. PhD project presented at PhD Symposium LuxembourgDurhamNewcastle hosted by the University of Newcastle, United Kingdom.
- ZIEGLER, Gudrun; MEYER, Anne (2008). Plurilingual identity marking & Discourse Learning in "Doing Writing", ("seksi" Objects at the Edge). Conference Paper presented at ISCAR 2008, Ecologies of Diversities The developmental and historical interarticulation of human mediational forms, San Diego, California, United States of America.
- MEYER, Anne (2008). Plurilingual identity marking as a learning activity: Evidence from primary school writing objects. Conference Paper presented at AILA 2008 — The 15th World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Essen, Germany.
- MEYER, Anne (2008). Seeing into learning from interaction - a micro-sequential, multi-modal analysis of learners in joint writing activities. Conference Paper presented at EARLI JURE 11th Conference, Innovative and Creative Perspectives. New Directions in Educational Research. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium.
- ZIEGLER, Gudrun; MEYER, Anne (2008). Seeing into learning from interaction - a multi-modal analysis of learners (doing expertise) in joint writing activities. Conference Paper presented at Multimodality and Learning. An International Conference. New Perspectives on Knowledge, Representation and Communication. London, United Kingdom.
- ZIEGLER, Gudrun; MEYER, Anne (2007). L'expertise "enactée" comme lieu d'observation et d'acquisition de compétence du discours dans l'interaction. Conference Paper presented at VALS-ASLA Conference 2008, University of Lugano, Switzerland.
- ZIEGLER, Gudrun; MEYER, Anne (2007). Knowing as an issue of gender – the case of taking/giving expertise in joint learning activities. Conference Paper presented at Internationaler und Interdisziplinärer Workshop n°4. Frauen- und Genderforschung an der Universität Luxemburg, University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg.
- MEYER, Anne (2007). Plurilingualism and identity marking in interaction within schooling. Poster presented at Young Researcher's School SSG/SSL 2007 'First Language Acquisition', University of Basel, Switzerland.

Generic Skills and Qualities

What characterizes me professionally, are my advanced literacy and communication skills and the ability to apply these in appropriate contexts, including the ability to present written and oral arguments. I thoroughly enjoy working with and in relation to others through the presentation of ideas and information and the collective negotiation of

solutions. Still I am capable of independent thought and judgment. In terms of research skills, I have a very good knowledge of information retrieval, am proficient in sifting and organising material independently and critically, and evaluating its significance. Furthermore, I am proficient in analysing and critically examining diverse forms of discourse and handling information and argument in a critical and self-reflective manner. I am able to understand, interrogate and apply a variety of theoretical positions and weigh the importance of alternative perspectives (problem solving) and am capable of adapting and transferring critical methods of the discipline to a variety of working environments. Finally, I have excellent self- and time management and organisational skills, an intercultural and inter-institutional awareness as well as a spirit of team-work.

Languages

- I am a trilingual native of Luxembourg with excellent competencies in Luxembourgish, German and French. Furthermore I have excellent competencies in English and some competencies in Italian.

Other Skills and Experience

- knowledge of Apple MAC and Windows XP Professional
- knowledge of Microsoft Office Programs and Internet Explorer
- some experience in qualitative research methods (SPSS, interviewing, etc.)
- knowledge of Moodle :
 - ⇒ Moodle training session 12th-17th November 2007 by Ray Lawrence (HowToMoodle)
 - ⇒ personal working experience with Moodle over 3 years
- knowledge of and working experience with Decotec
- experienced working experience with *transana*
- clean driving license
- rigorous and extensive interest in sport
- 2003/04 member of the staff student liaison committee of the University of East Anglia in SOC (department of Politics and Sociology)

Links

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