

Constructing L2 Learning Spaces: Ways to Achieve Learning Inside and Outside the Classroom

¹*SØREN W. ESKILDSEN and ²GUÐRÚN THEODÓRSDÓTTIR

¹Department of Design and Communication, University of Southern Denmark and

²Faculty of Icelandic and Comparative Cultural studies, School of Humanities, University of Iceland

*E-mail: swe@sdu.dk

The language classroom and contexts beyond provide different environments for learning. In the classroom, L2 users are typically and primarily labeled ‘learners’, whereas beyond the classroom, ‘in the wild’ to borrow a term from Hutchins (1995), any aspect of their identity might take prominence (Firth and Wagner 1997). Drawing on data sets from classroom and non-classroom settings, this article shows two examples of the interactional work that goes into preparing for learning and how the ensuing learning/teaching activities are carried out. In both cases, participants co-construct learning/teaching spaces; the article shows how the two contexts call on different resources to accomplish this. Moreover, the actual learning sequences in interaction, framed around repair activities, are different in the two contexts; in the wild, the learning space is more condensed, embedded in the business-doing of the service encounter, whereas in class the activities are more extensive, the consequentiality is relaxed as speakers easily refer back to previous repair work and word searches, and they draw on writing and reading to an extent arguably rarely possible in non-classroom contexts.

INTRODUCTION

Research on second language (L2) learning as a social activity, in classrooms, in tasks designed for language learning, and in real-life situations, has come of age (e.g. Firth and Wagner 1997; Markee 2000; Brouwer 2003; Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Kasper 2004; Hellermann 2008; Markee and Mori 2009; Lee 2010; Wagner 2010; Kasper and Wagner 2011; Theodórsdóttir 2011a, 2011b; Theodórsdóttir and Eskildsen 2011; Hall *et al.* 2011; Hauser 2013; Lilja 2014).¹ Sometimes referred to as ‘CA-SLA’ (Kasper and Wagner 2011), this research shares the methodological and epistemological starting point, conversation analysis (CA), and it has shown how the learning of L2 resources is inextricably linked with people’s methods of achieving intersubjectivity in social practices, for example, the achievement of co-constructed word searches in opportunities for learning (Brouwer 2003). It has also shown how gesture plays into L2 learning, situated and over time (e.g. Seo 2011; Eskildsen and Wagner 2013,

2015a; Lilja 2014), how the development of interactional competence is contingent on processes of socialization into communities of practice (Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Hellermann 2008; Hellermann and Cole 2009), and on when and how a participant's identity as an L2 speaker is made relevant (Gardner and Wagner 2004; Firth 2009; Theodórsdóttir and Eskildsen 2011), and it has shown in micro-detail how a variety of aspects of engaging in and learning an L2 may develop over time as part of an emergent interactional competence (e.g. repairs, recipient-designed conduct, turn-constructive architecture, gaze and gesture, cf. Hall *et al.* 2011; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015).

Of the most direct relevance to this article is CA-SLA's focus on L2 learning as an on-site undertaking, in which interactants display their orientation to the goings-on as learning through various accountable actions of orienting to *understanding/using something new/recently learned* (e.g. Brouwer 2003; Markee and Kasper 2004; Firth and Wagner 2007; Markee 2008; Kasper 2009; Pekarek Doehler 2010; Theodórsdóttir and Eskildsen 2011; Majlesi and Broth 2012; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015a). In this approach to learning, concepts such as action, practice, behavior, and cognition are seen as mutually constitutive and grounded in local contexts of social interaction. The implication is that L2 learning may be investigated as a socially displayed undertaking in the here and now without essential consideration being given to permanent outcomes. There is, however, also now a rapidly growing body of CA-SLA research which investigates long-term learning as sediments of previously achieved communicative functions and features in locally contextualized environments (e.g. Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Cekaite 2007; Eskildsen 2011; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015a; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015).

The present investigation concerns the learning activities in the here and now, and in addition to contributing to the on-going discussions by investigating what participants *do* to display that they are, in fact, presently engaged in a social learning activity, we will show that people may do preliminary interactional work leading up to the actual learning sequences. We thus investigate the interactional work carried out by participants to construct learning spaces, in a classroom and beyond. As such, we are getting closer to an understanding of the differences between the two settings which may serve as a first step toward building a larger collection showcasing the phenomena that our data reveal, thus potentially laying the foundations for future principled and systematic inquiries into how learning differs from setting to setting.

The particular practices that we will focus on concern (i) the sequences where the learning spaces are being constructed, (ii) the actions carried out by conversational participants to show that they have related newly encountered or repaired items to their interactional repertoires, and (iii) resources drawn on by participants to display to each other that what they are doing is a learning activity. The classroom data come from the Multimedia Adult English Learner Corpus (MAELC) from Portland State University (PSU). The naturally occurring data consist of audio recordings of a

Canadian English- and French-speaking user and learner of L2 Icelandic in Iceland. The databases will be introduced in more detail in the relevant sections. The next section presents examples from the data outside the classroom, and the section after that deals with classroom data.

BUILDING A ROOM FOR L2 LEARNING OUTSIDE OF CLASS

The data in this section come from Anna, a Canadian English- and French-speaking L2 Icelandic user/learner in Iceland who recorded herself as part of her L2 studies. She started recording herself as a beginning L2 learner one month after arriving in Iceland, and over her three years of study, she became fluent. The data document her learning strategies in her daily life interactions with locals, friends, and service personnel over that three-year period. This database has been used in other studies (e.g. Eskildsen and Theodórsdóttir 2011; Theodórsdóttir 2011a, 2011b), and the transcribed part of the database is available on Talkbank.org.

To ensure the cooperation of the co-participant in L2-interaction outside the classroom, the L2-speaker may need to employ certain strategies. *L2 learning in the wild* is the term, borrowed from Hutchins (1995), we use to refer to and investigate such strategies. Whereas Hutchins (1995) used the term *wild* to indicate that his study focused on real life, situated cognition as opposed to psychological studies of the human mind in the laboratory, we use the term to bring out the fundamental difference for L2 speakers between navigating in the real world of everyday activities involving other people, sometimes strangers, in the target language community and the safer world of the classroom where L2 speakers engage in tasks orchestrated and scaffolded by a teacher behind closed doors. As the data will show, there is a reason for making the distinction between the two spheres.

In the following, a practice is analyzed where Anna makes her identity as an L2 learner relevant in the wild by negotiating to speak Icelandic with a clerk in a service encounter. The data, coming from Anna's second month in Iceland, show how Anna constructs learning spaces—and how Anna and her co-participant then display that they are presently engaged in learning/understanding/teaching activities. The first example takes place at a hot dog stand. The target lines are 5 and 7 where Anna makes her (extraordinary) request to the clerk that they speak Icelandic (Extract 1.1).

Extract 1.1.

- 1 CL: góðan daginn
 good day-the
 good afternoon
- 2 AN: hæ
 hi

- 3 CL: hæ
hi
- 4 0.8
- 5 AN: uh:uh:uh: MÁ É::g (sniff) TALA LÍTIL ÍSLENSKU
MAY I:: SPEAK SMALL ICELANDIC
can I speak a little Icelandic
- 6 CL: JÁ
YES
- 7 AN: við þig
with you
- 8 CL: (á)kkúrat já
precisely yes
- 9 AN: já
yes
- 10 CL: gjörðu svo vel
please/go ahead

Before that, however, there is a greetings sequence that seems to indicate that something unusual is happening. Typically, the customer at a hot dog stand places his order in the first or second turn at talk.² Anna is therefore expected to place her order in her turn at talk following the clerk's greeting in line 1. Instead she offers a greeting in return, *hæ* (hi; line 2) which the clerk understands as a new first pair part requiring a response. Thus, we see a three-part greeting: *góðan dag-hæ-hæ* (good afternoon-hi-hi) following which it is Anna's turn again. The sequential organization of the three part greeting projects something extraordinary as a next action, namely Anna's request to speak Icelandic. The 0.8-second pause in line 4 indicates that Anna needs, and is given, extra time for her upcoming turn. Finally in line 5 Anna utters *uhs*, which further signals her hesitation, and then she raises the volume of her voice and says *MÁ É:g* (may I:). At this point it is clear that Anna's business is extraordinary since the words she used, *may I*, are not used in the business of buying a hot dog.³ Following a sniff sound and a 0.5-second pause, Anna continues in raised volume, *TALA LÍTIL ÍSLENSKU* (speak a little Icelandic). The clerk affirms Anna's request, also in raised volume (line 6), displaying early understanding of where she is headed (Jefferson 1984).

At this point Anna and the clerk have made a contract to use Icelandic in the upcoming interaction. After getting the affirmative response from the clerk, the next relevant step for Anna might be to order something to eat and drink. Instead, Anna adds *við Þig* (with you) to her request after getting the response (line 7). Intersubjectivity has been reached so this specification seems to be redundant, but Anna may here be focusing on expressing herself in the L2 for her own sake; she insists on finishing her construction (Theodórsdóttir 2011a). Anna has now made her turn construction unit

prepare the order. However, in his turn the clerk adopts the identity of a language expert and utters in slower speed and with emphasis on the first syllable *eina* (one, fem.-acc.) (line 18), which seems to be a correction of Anna's *einn* (one, masc.-nom.). A 0.8-second pause follows which may be the clerk waiting for Anna to respond, as his slow and enunciated correction seems designed to elicit a response from Anna, for example in the form of a repeat (line 19). No action is forthcoming from Anna, however, and the clerk takes the next turn (line 20), uttering in the same fashion as in line 18—with slower speed and emphasis on the first syllable—*pyslu* (a hot dog, acc.), a correction of Anna's *pysla* in line 17.

The clerk's actions (lines 18 and 20) can be heard as language teaching; he does not attend to Anna's words in line 17 as an actual order but more as an attempt at ordering. This makes sense in the light of their agreement to use Icelandic for the interaction; that agreement is seemingly understood by the participants as an agreement to participate in language learning activities (Theodórsdóttir 2011b). Anna (line 21) repeats the corrected version of the second word provided by the clerk/expert, *pyslu*, but she makes no attempt at picking up the first one, *eina*, suggesting that she may not have understood that correction. Anna delivers the word *pyslu* with rising intonation, try-marking her utterance (Sacks and Schegloff 1979), and the clerk confirms (line 22) with a *yes*-token. Anna has, with her action in line 21, adopted the role of an L2 learner, and lines 18–22 are not aimed at the business at hand, buying a hot dog, but rather constitute a side sequence of attending to linguistic materials (Brouwer 2003), in this case the linguistically correct way of ordering a hot dog in Icelandic. The next turn is Anna restarting her order from line 17 from the point of the corrected items but now using both newly corrected words from the clerk, *eina pyslu* (one hot dog). Anna has not yet completed her order and following a 0.8-second pause she utters *o:::g* (a:::nd), stretching the vowel signaling trouble with the upcoming element (Schegloff 1979). Two pauses follow and finally she delivers *eina kólk* (one Coke). Now Anna has managed, with help from the language expert, to place an order for a hot dog and Coke in perfect Icelandic.

We can see by the clerk's response, *já með öllu* (yes with everything) (line 24), that they have resumed the business talk. This is clearly a business question inquiring into the specifics of Anna's order; ordering 'one hot dog' does not give the clerk the necessary information to start preparing the order. Anna responds following a 0.5-second pause with some *uhs* and then repeats some items from the clerk's question as an affirmative answer (lines 25–26). This is the clerk's understanding of Anna's turn as indicated by his *yes*-token given in overlap with Anna's ongoing TCU. Anna and the clerk exchange further confirmations in lines 28–29.

So far we have seen how the L2 speaker has built a context in which, apart from doing her business in the L2, she can co-create opportunities for learning with her expert co-participant. It is a complex construct, starting with the negotiation to speak Icelandic initiated by the L2 speaker, and agreed to by

The clerk starts his turn with the words: *ef maður er-* (if you are-) and then he cuts himself off. Following a 0.5-second pause, he switches to English and re-starts his TCU, *if you are thirsty*, and then he makes a 0.5-second pause, possibly waiting for a listening token which does not appear. The *if*-part projects an extended turn with a *then*-part which comes in line 149, *it's not good to drink já*. The clerk is not able to finish as Anna enters his ongoing turn during his delivery of the word *not* with *no* and then in raised volume *TALA TALA Íslensku* (SPEAK SPEAK Icelandic) (line 150). They speak in overlap until the clerk abandons his TCU and utters *yes* as an agreement to Anna's insistence on using Icelandic. The clerk restarts his TCU for the third time, switching back to Icelandic as Anna insisted (line 151): *já ef þú er Þyrst* (yes if you are thirsty-fem). The clerk's turn-design seems to be aimed at Anna as he uses the feminine form of the word *thirsty*, as opposed to making a more general statement as appeared to be the case in his initial attempt where he used the word *maður* (man/one) which forecasts a masculine form of an adjective.

Anna is 'doing insisting' on the use of Icelandic in three ways: first by overlapping the clerk's turn during several words, secondly by raising her voice, and thirdly by using the imperative. This might have been seen as an unmitigated action bordering on rudeness, but the clerk treats Anna's demand as justified with the *yes*-token response and a switch back to Icelandic. Anna's action and the clerk's reaction re-index their earlier agreement to use Icelandic; Anna sees the clerk breach their agreement when he switches to English and subsequently exercises her right to insist that the clerk honor it again. An important point here is that in order to participate in L2-interaction with L1-speakers, the L2-speakers themselves (at least in their beginning stages of learning the L2) have to make the effort of initiating and maintaining that interaction in the target language, rather than relying on the L1-speaker for that.

Going back to the transcript, Anna utters *yes* as a listening token to the clerk's *if*-part in line 151. The next turn is the clerk's and at this point the delivery of the *then*-part is the next relevant action as the clerk has uttered an *if*-part three times. Nevertheless, the clerk restarts the *if*-part for the fourth time (line 153) adding the word *mikið* (much), *ef þú ert mikið Þyrst* (if you are very thirsty), and in line 154 Anna delivers a *yes*-token as a sign of listening/understanding. The placement of the listening tokens just after the clerk's delivery of an *if*-part, as can be observed in lines 152 and 154, supports the earlier suggestion that the 0.5-second and pause in line 149 indeed indicated the clerk's waiting for a listening token from Anna. Finally, in line 155, the clerk utters the *then*-part, *Þá áttu að drekka svona sóðavatn heldur en kók*. (then you should drink like club-soda rather than Coke). Anna utters a *yes*-token in line 157 and then there is a final assessment from the clerk in line 158: *Það er betra já* (that is better yes).

Summing up, we saw Anna making an agreement with a clerk at a hot dog stand in Reykjavik to use Icelandic for the upcoming business interaction, a language contract (Theodórsdóttir 2011b; Brynjólfssdóttir 2011). Anna thereby adopted the role of an L2 learner of Icelandic and with his consent the clerk took on the role of a language expert. In Extract 1.2 we observed Anna making

an attempt at ordering a hot dog. The clerk treated this as an attempt rather than a real order with his actions of correcting two of Anna's words. Anna picked up the corrected versions of the words and eventually used them to place a linguistically correct order. These activities, playing out in the learning space constructed in the wild, harken back to the language contract which, in effect, comes to be about more than merely using Icelandic-for-interaction; it comes to concern the participants as 'learner' and 'expert' to collaboratively arrive at a correct version of ordering a hot dog. As such the activity transpired as 'learning to order a hot dog in Icelandic'. The distinction between practicing, using, and learning an L2 cannot be upheld as the L2-speaker seems to be doing all at once.

In Extract 1.3 we saw Anna's bold reaction to the clerk's breach of the language contract; she insisted with an overlap, raised voice, and an imperative verb format that he speak Icelandic. He immediately heeded Anna's instruction thereby treating her unmitigated action as justified; the language contract was reinforced, the learning space restored.

BUILDING A ROOM FOR L2 LEARNING IN THE CLASSROOM

Showing the benefits of inviting the real world into the L2 classroom, the next extracts are from the MAELC at PSU. The database consists of approximately 4,000 hours of English L2 classroom interaction (Reder 2005) and has been used in previous research (Hellermann 2008; Eskildsen 2011; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015a). The situation in the extracts below is from a recurring activity in the L2 classroom in which students from PSU were invited into the class to do free conversations with the L2 students. The PSU students studied communication, and their participation as conversation partners earned them course credits. As preparation for the encounters, the PSU students received guidelines on how to maintain conversations, for example allow the L2 speakers time to finish their turns, and refrain from explicitly correcting them. Conversely, the teacher prepared the L2 students by, for example, introducing them to ideas for topics to talk about (Kraft 2005). It may be deduced, then, that these conversation groups were thought of as opportunities for using the L2, and thus indirectly of importance to the L2 students' learning. The question then is: how do the L2 students and their guest turn the conversations into learning activities; how do they construct their learning spaces?

The participants are Nancy (L1 speaker), Carlos and Lorenza (Mexican Spanish speakers), and Nataya (Thai speaker). The first extract shows how embodied actions shape the sequentiality of what transpires as a word search and how these actions, combined with explicit word search markers and inscription procedures, are the resources by which the participants construct the learning space in the classroom. Prior to the extract, Carlos was talking about how he likes playing the piano and the guitar. Lorenza then contributes with a story of how she once tried to play the guitar, how it hurt her fingers, and now she will not do it again. They all laugh at this story, and Lorenza continues by saying that

she was just kidding about never playing the guitar again, but that she actually did hurt her fingers. This is line 1 in Extract 2.1.⁴

Extract 2.1.

01 LO: no just kidding but (.) I hurt very bad [my: fingers]
 02 NA: [yeəhə\]
 03 LO: yeah because I- *I don't know is the #uhm (.) ts .hhh
 *join tips of r. thumb and index finger a
 and touch tips of l. fingers, slight move
 of r. hand



#shifts gaze to CA

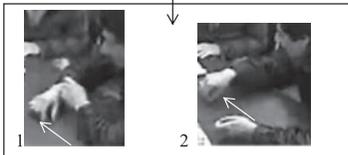
04 CA: eh I don't know ho[w you say-]
 05 LO: *[(how dyou say)] #the: [querdasə]
 *shifts gaze back to NA
 #tips of r. thumb and
 index finger joined,
 moves r. hand right



06 NA: [stringsə\] [stringə]
 07 CA: [stringə]
 08 NA: stringsə\ nods
 09 LO: the strim:ə
 10 CA: [streengə] repeats LO's gesture on desk surface



11 NA: [stringsə]
 12 LO: s: estringsə
 13 NA: yeah\ begins to write
 14 CA: yeah the *stringsə (.) the: the guitar
 *moves tips of r. thumb and index finger,
 slightly apart, along desk surface (1), then
 repeats LO's gesture on desk surface (2)



15 UN: s:
 16 LO: stri[n:gə\] looking at Nan's paper
 17 NA: [strin:gə\]
 18 LO: oh estrin:gə\
 19 CA: strin:gə\=
 20 LO: ≡stringsə\ .hh
 21 Na: *string:s on the guitarə\
 *begins sweeping version of established "string" gesture
 22 LO: u[hu::]hə
 23 NA: [yeahə]



Lorenza then begins to explain what hurt. During Lorenza's turn, Nancy displays an early understanding of Lorenza's turn-at-talk, as she overlaps with a *yeah* (line 2). Lorenza hears this as an invitation to continue, but trouble arises as she lacks a word. Her turn, ending in *I don't know is the* followed by speech perturbations (line 3), is designed as a word search during which Lorenza is touching her left hand finger tips with the tips of her right thumb and index finger and turning to look at Carlos (at the onset of *uhm*). He responds by saying that he does not know how to say it (line 4). Interestingly, neither Lorenza nor Carlos have made verbal reference to the word they are looking for, but they seem to have established intersubjectivity on the matter through gesture and eye gaze. In overlap with Carlos's response, Lorenza shifts her gaze back to Nancy who then offers *strings* (line 5) with falling intonation indicating a high level of certainty that this is the lacking word. The sequence of the interaction, then, is determined by embodied actions. The gesturing, although it has no a priori defined iconicity of 'strings', and the context suffice for the co-participants to know what item Lorenza is looking for, and Lorenza's shifting gaze seems to be decisive for who speaks next.

The interaction splits into two at this point. Carlos hears Nancy's candidate solution and repeats it with try-marked intonation (line 7). Meanwhile, Lorenza (line 6) overlaps Nancy and probably does not hear her offering *strings*. Instead, she explicitly asks Nancy what *querdas*, Spanish for guitar strings, are called in English (line 6), while extending her previous gesture; she holds her fingers in the same way but moves her right hand in a straight line to the right. Both Carlos' and Lorenza's actions indicate that the word search is not accomplished yet. Nancy's next action might work as a response to both Lorenza and Carlos as she repeats *strings* with falling intonation and nods her head (line 8). This might have been the end of the word search sequence, but instead the repair work intensifies, as both Lorenza and Carlos repeat the item with rising intonation (lines 9–10) but varying pronunciation. In addition, Carlos mirrors Lorenza's gesture as he draws his fingertips across the desk surface. Nancy's solution, another repetition of *strings*, is in overlap with Carlos (lines 10–11) and may thus be primarily directed at Lorenza who, in return, repeats the item again with a word-initial vowel /e/ (line 12). Nancy seems to orient to these attempts as displays of non-accomplishments; the word search is not over yet.

Nancy's next action is different; she writes down the word (line 13). While she is writing, Carlos repeats *string* again with rising intonation followed by a modification, *the guitar* (line 14), while repeating slightly different versions of what is transpiring as a locally contextualized co-constructed gesture for 'strings'. Lorenza then says the word *string* with a stretched nasal (line 16), while orienting to Nancy's writing, and in partial overlap Nancy repeats the word, while writing, also with a stretched nasal (line 17). Then the repair work is coming to an end as Lorenza, following a change of state token, *oh*, repeats *strings* with falling intonation to display that she has it down (line 18), although her pronunciation is slightly off as there is still a hearable word-initial vowel /e/. Carlos does another repeat also with falling intonation (line 19), as

does Lorenza (line 20), this time self-correcting her pronunciation. Ultimately, Nancy acknowledges that they both got the word and the concept right, *strings on the guitar yeah* (line 21), as she makes a sweeping version of the locally established ‘string’ gesture.

So far, this excerpt illustrates that in a classroom the learning space used to solve trouble in the talk tends to be less confined than in naturally occurring talk and to draw on the literacy of the interactants; classroom word searches are often, as in this case, solved partially by way of the language expert (typically a teacher) writing down the repairable; the change of state token and hence the claim of understanding on the part of the word search initiator (Lorenza) does not occur until after the writing has been done. Both expert and novices, then, seem to be orienting to the tool of inscription (Streeck and Kallmeyer 2001; Mondada and Pekarek Doehler 2004) as a natural ingredient in the classroom and an important part of the word search and hence the teaching/learning process. We also note with interest that locally emergent gestures play a role in forming the word search, both conceptually and sequentially. The gesture that transpires as a locally established gesture for the word ‘strings’ does not have that meaning ascribed to it a priori; this is something the participants do in the interaction as they repeat and modify it (Eskildsen and Wagner 2013, 2015a; Lilja 2014).

The interaction continues with Lorenza’s story. In the opening lines of Extract 2.2 she is talking about people ‘using the strings’, thereby showing that she has learned the new word in situ; she even points to the inscription of the word during her turn (lines 1–2). Nancy shows reciprocity by nodding (lines 3–4). However, Lorenza runs out of words again, ending in *I don’t know* (line 5). During this turn she is touching the tips of her left hand fingers with her right hand fingers. Following an unintelligible turn by Carlos, during which he seems to be appropriating Lorenza’s gesture, Nancy proposes a candidate solution, *push really hard* (line 7), which is accompanied by different gesture, as she motions to be pushing strings on the fingerboard of a guitar with her left hand. Lorenza accepts *really hard* by way of a repeat (line 10). She then continues with *and later you have* amidst laughter and accompanied by the same gesture that she used as the point of departure for making her ‘string’ gesture in the extract above, as she joins the tips of her left hand fingers with the tips of her right thumb and index finger together (lines 10–12).

Extract 2.2.

01 LO: when we- when hrm:↘ somebody ts (1.0) using (.) hh
 02 the*::h↘ >guitar< [or the strings↗
 *points at NAN’s writing. Stops pointing after
 “strings”

03 NA: [nods

04 NA: nods

05 LO: *(0.6) they too:↘ (.) [I don’t] know



06 CA: *points to tips of l. ring finger and little finger
 [*()] 
 *puts tips of l. thumb
 and index finger together

07 NA: *push real[ly ha]rd
 *gestures pushing strings on fingerboard of guitar w. left
 hand

08 CA: [()]

09 CA: [(the hard)] 

10 LO: [pe- really] hard *a[n::]: (0.5) later hh heh you=
 *puts tips of r. thumb and index finger
 together, touches tips of l. fingers

11 CA: [°uhuh°] 

12 LO: =have hah hah [hih hih .hhh]

13 NA: [heh- *°oh°]
 *looks up, "thinking face"

14 LO: [I don't know ho- how do [you:]] 

15 CA: [*uh the: (.) e::h
 *touches tips of l. fingers with tips of r. fingers

16 NA: [tseh]

17 CA: [ampolla]

18 NA: [I think they're *called like calluses
 *rubs tips of l. thumb and middle finger

19 (0.3)

20 NA: [calluses]

21 LO: [ampollas]

22 CA: [callus] 

23 CA: [ampollas]

24 NA: [I th-] I thin:k they're k- like when- when you work
 really hard *you get- you [start get]tin:g (.) hard skin

25 LO: *points to palm of l. hand
 [.hh eh-]

26 LO: .hh no [whe- when::] holds r. hand up, horizontal, palm
 outwards, looks down, l. hand on l. leg under desk

27 CA: [the- *this] one the:
 *CAR points to palm of l. hand



28 LO: *for example if my: shoes is uhm\ (2.1) small\

*abandons r. hand gesture →

29 NA: nods

30 LO: and I use my shoes\ .hh I will have uhm::\

31 (0.9) Nan does a thinking face

32 NA: it's like water inside\

33 LO: whe- when is water uhuh inside

34 CA: uhuh ye[ah is-]

35 NA: [oh .hh] blister knocks on desk as a "penny
dropped" gesture

36 LO: blister

37 NA: @the[re you go\@]

38 CA: [blister heh] heh [heh

39 LO: [*all [my fingers] (.)[have (.)]=
*points to l. hand fingertips
[blisters] [↑really\]

40 NA:  ←

41 =blisters

42 LO: yeah



During Lorenza's laughter, Nancy comes in with one laughter token followed by a change of state token, *oh*, and a thinking face (line 13); it seems that she is orienting to Lorenza's actions as another word search. The next actions by Lorenza and Carlos align with this; Lorenza produces an explicit, albeit incomplete, word search marker (line 14), while Carlos contributes with speech perturbations and a repeat of Lorenza's gesture (line 15), displaying that he knows what word she is looking for; his verbal production *ampolla* (Spanish for 'blister') in line 17 proves this. In overlap with *ampolla* Nancy tentatively suggests that *they're called calluses* (line 18) while doing small circles with the tip of her left thumb against the tip of her middle finger. This gets no response so she repeats *calluses*, in overlap with which Lorenza repeats *ampolla* and Carlos attempts to pick up Nancy's candidate solution (lines 19–22). Carlos then repeats *ampollas* (line 23), in overlap with which Nancy starts explaining, in an embodied fashion, what she means by the term *calluses* (line 24); she does not seem to hear, or know, the Spanish word suggested three times with try-marking intonation by Lorenza and Carlos.

Nancy's assertion that it is called *calluses* and her accompanying explanation of calluses as 'hard skin' yields a rejection from Lorenza (line 26). Carlos's turn *this one* (while pointing to his hand) does not seem to yield a response, and Lorenza continues with an exemplification of getting a blister (lines 27–30), namely if she wears too small shoes. Nancy gives Lorenza an acknowledging nod on the way as a response to a try-marked word, *small* (line 29), and after a pause (in which Nancy does a thinking face; line 31), Nataya, who has been quiet so far, suggests that *it's like water inside* (line 32).⁵ This receives positive

displaying his knowledge of the term, gives an acknowledgment token (lines 9–10).

Lorenza then initiates a new sequence by uttering something that sounds like *blizzars* with rising intonation (line 11), which is enough for the participants to know that she is now indexing the previous work they did to resolve the trouble surrounding *blister*. Nancy, implicitly correcting the pronunciation, orients to this as a request to write the word, perhaps because she is already holding the pencil (line 12). Lorenza then repeats it three times, twice with falling intonation (line 13), and finally utters a sequence-closing *uhuh*. Again, inscription comes to be a decisive tool in construing the post-trouble sequences as learning and teaching sequences.

This might have been the end of the activity; Lorenza's story is over, the troubling words have been resolved, and everybody withdraws slightly from the narrow space of orienting to Nan's writing. But Nancy's next move suggests that the previous achievements were not an ordinary occurrence; she shifts her gaze between Carlos and Lorenza, does a funny face and then explicitly formulates the situation as a collaborative learning activity (Extract 2.4).

Extract 2.4.

01 LO: blister[↗] (1.2) °bli:°ster\ blister\uhuh
 (1.9)NAN shifts her gaze between Carlos and Lorenza (1-2),
 then does a funny face, wrinkling her nose and showing her
 front teeth (3)

02 LO: °blister°



03 NA: .hh hey [we']re learning *about <blisters> toda:#y_v
 *clenches fists as in triumph



#1. hand
 ↓
 thumb-up



04 CA: [yeah]

05 LO: *oh yeah [oo::h heh] heh .fh[hh]
 *thumbs up, both hands

06 CA: [.hh heh heh]

07 NA:

[uhm] so if you could...

Nancy's formulation (line 3) has a hearable emphasis on *blisters* by way of slow pronunciation and beat gestures on the two syllables. She also swings her left arm, fist clenched, as if in triumph. Lorenza builds on this by uttering a *yeah* and doing a quiet scream *oohooh* accompanied with thumbs up gestures and laughter (line 5). Carlos then joins the laughing (line 6), following which Nancy initiates a new sequence (line 7). There could be two reasons why

Nancy initiates this post-trouble-solving celebration sequence; one is that the repair work that went into solving the trouble was quite extensive, and another one is that the word itself is a somewhat odd word to focus on and probably not thought of as a particularly useful word to know. However, in the world of guitar-playing, and hence to Lorenza and Carlos, both *blister* and *callus* are relevant, interesting and useful words to know.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

We have shown a range of interrelated learning behaviors in naturalistic L2 Icelandic and classroom L2 English. The naturalistic Icelandic L2 data showed how an L2 speaker constructed her space for learning in the wild by negotiating with a clerk at a hot dog stand to use Icelandic as the language for the upcoming business exchange; they made a language contract. The placement of her request before the actual business talk starts is vital for the success of the talk for doing business and learning. Both participants displayed an understanding of the interaction being for learning as they adopted the roles of 'learner' and 'expert' and oriented toward teaching/learning how to order a hot dog in correct Icelandic. The value of the language contract was further established as Anna reacted to the clerk's breach of the contract by insisting that they stick to it.

In the L2 classroom, different interactional work went into constructing the learning space as the participants indicated through verbal and embodied actions that word searches were imminent. They ascribed local meaning to emergent, co-constructed gestures and drew on their experience of the world in order to make sense of challenging new vocabulary (*blister*, *callus*). Also inscription procedures were oriented to as a learning and teaching method; in classrooms there typically is more time and space and tools available to carry out this form of mediated learning/teaching. The classroom context allows for the topical conversation—here a story-telling—to be put on hold for a considerable amount of time while the participants solve their lexical trouble. Later, it was even possible for the L2 speakers to index previous repair work as unfinished by merely uttering the problematic items, which prompted the L1 speaker to enunciate and write down the items and ultimately remark that they had been doing learning. This has to do with the notion of consequentiality; there is more at stake in everyday interaction outside of classrooms, especially in the case of service encounters where people are carrying out business; the L2 speaker is a customer and the L1 speaker primarily a clerk. This means both that there is less room for correcting and picking up new items, but it also means that the understanding of the new items is more consequential for the matter at hand than is the case in classrooms. However, the Icelandic L2 data indicate that when the L2 user has insisted on building a room for learning in the wild, the space widens, and an interactional focus on language becomes possible.

In both cases we draw on an operationalization of learning as a focus on language in situations where intersubjectivity has been established and where the language focus is therefore topically redundant. Another question is if the L2 speakers learned the items focused on in the sense of being able to transport them into new contexts (Eskildsen 2011). However, we have been concerned with showing how learning unfolds as a social accomplishment and not how, or even if, individualized learning happens over time, but previous research on Carlos has shown plenty of evidence of long-term effects of situated learning activities (e.g. Eskildsen and Wagner 2015a). Longitudinal investigations into our Icelandic data are currently underway but at present we have no systematic knowledge of the relationship between Anna's everyday situated practices and her long-term L2 learning. In fact, long-term language learning in the wild is understudied, an exception being Barraja-Rohan (2015) who investigated how a Japanese learning English L2 in Australia developed her story-telling resources in everyday, social encounters.

The construction of the vast learning space in conversation with an L1 speaking guest in the classroom, the richness of potential learning moments, and the participants' public agreements that they were engaged in learning something new signals the importance of breaking down the barriers between *the classroom* and *the wild*. The learning space in class is built on the communicative needs of the participants, the challenging task of achieving intersubjectivity, and does not involve a decontextualized focus on 'language'; whenever the focus *was* on language, it was situated locally in the here-and-now sense-making practices of the participants. In effect, the transportation of somebody from outside into the class brings with it the implication that achieving intersubjectivity in a way that resembles *the wild*, thus arguably coming closer to what L2 teachers want their students to learn, becomes more pertinent.

From our perspective, the challenge facing L2 users, and thus researchers in applied linguistics as well as teachers and other professionals, is that what L2 users need to learn concerns the ability to navigate competently in locally contextualized settings, socially and linguistically, in the wild, and that these settings, given the differences between social interaction, the consequentiality of practices, in the wild and in the classroom, are not easily replicated in the classroom. A first attempt at resolving this might be to organize free conversation with L1 speaking guests, as seen here, but a next step is to ask L2 students to record themselves in naturally occurring interactions and give them feedback (Brouwer and Nissen 2003) or bring the recordings into language classes for further scrutiny as has recently been done in Iceland (Theodórsdóttir and Wagner 2013). This, in effect, breaks with a long tradition of teaching language as a decontextualized object in classrooms and instead entails a mutually constitutive relationship between L2 speakers' everyday practices and the classroom which then comes to be a pedagogically enhanced world in which a view of language as situated and locally contextualized is propagated. This idea of constructing classrooms on the basis of the L2 speakers' experiences, practices, and actions, making for an essentially usage-driven

and user-centered L2 pedagogy, is currently spreading (Clark *et al.* 2011; Thorne 2012; Wagner 2015; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015b). This is a tendency which we would like to further promote, as the ability to competently and adequately accomplish deeds and activities in contexts where the target language is naturally spoken—that is in the wild—is the ultimate goal and purpose of L2 learning.

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

AN:, CL:	Participants
Weir[d w]rd	Beginning and end of overlapping talk
[yeah]	
*/#word	Symbol marks beginning of embodied action
*/#word	Description of embodied action in line above
(1.0)	Pause/gap in seconds and tenth of seconds
(.)	Micro pause (< 0.2 seconds)~
word=	
=word	Single-speaker turn across lines describing embodied actions
word≡	
≡word	Latching talk
w <u>o</u> rd	Emphasis
w ^o :rd	Prolongation of preceding sound
w _o rd, ↘	Falling, rising intonation
↑word	Switch to high pitch
WORD	Loud volume
°word°	Softer than surrounding talk
<word>	Slower than surrounding talk
>word<	Quicker than surrounding talk
wo-	Cut-off
☺word☺	Smiley voice
(word)	Uncertain transcription
()	Non-audible speech
.hh(h)	In-breath
hh(h)	Out-breath

Translation:

First line: word-by-word

Second line: idiomatic

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NOTES

1 This is a revised version of a paper given at IEMCA, Fribourg, 2011. We are indebted to three anonymous

reviewers for extremely helpful, thorough, and insightful comments. Any flaws are our own.

- 2 In Anna's recordings there are 12 instances of Icelanders buying hot dogs. The first turn was either the clerk's or the customer's. In cases where the clerk took the first turn he started with a greeting. The customer responded with a greeting and/or the placement of the order. In cases where the customer delivered the first turn he placed the order right away.
- 3 Although this formulation is sometimes used by L2 learners (Theodórsdóttir 2011b), such usage by L1 speakers indicates something to be borrowed or not paid for.
- 4 The extracts in this section are available for public viewing here (free downloadable program required): http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/Viewer/viewer.php?pl=SWE_GT and http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/Viewer/viewer.php?pl=SWE_GT_CAM6
- 5 This could refer to fluid inside a blister or water in the shoe.

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