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**INTERACTIONAL RESOURCES FOR INSTRUCTORS’
COLLECTIVE DECISION-MAKING:
EVIDENCE FROM EFL TEACHERS’ MEETINGS IN CHINA**

A Dissertation in

Applied Linguistics

by

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ABSTRACT

In recent decades, efforts to improve teachers' professional development and implement educational reform have focused attention on instructor collaboration and collective decision-making. Despite a growing body of research on such collaboration, considerable gaps remain in our understanding of how teachers make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students. In particular, relatively little is known about how group members use the resources of talk-in-interaction to reach collective decisions or make their social and cultural backgrounds relevant to their deliberations. The present study addresses these gaps in the literature by adopting the theory and methods of conversation analysis to create a fine-grained analysis of spoken interaction among a group of instructors at a Chinese university's English language program. By analyzing two transcribed episodes drawn from the group's face-to-face meetings, the study highlights a range of interactional resources members employed in the accomplishment of group decisions. In the first episode, members use resources that express disagreement while working to limit direct expressions of conflict among members, while in the second episode, members used person-reference resources to frame divergent positions alternately in cultural or personal terms. An implication of both analyses is that teachers making collective decisions have both the incentive to disagree with each other and the interactional resources allowing them to pursue disagreement without destroying group cohesion. The study and its findings helps outline ways in which attention to the phenomenological details of talk-in-interaction can be used by teachers, administrators, and teacher educators to create more effective forms of collaboration among pre- and in-service instructors.

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Roy and Mary Johnston, who helped set me on this path many years ago,

and

For my amazing wife, Desiree Simons, who has held my hand these last vital steps.

Only she understands the heights and depths of the journey.

I could not have done this without her.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Professional groups and the decisions they make play an elemental role in organizations as diverse as businesses, government agencies, schools and universities. Occasions for group decision-making, whether they involve strategic planning sessions or impromptu workplace gatherings, are found throughout organizational hierarchies and occupy significant portions of every work week. The resulting decisions, as a number of theorists and researchers have argued, are instrumental in creating, maintaining, and reforming the organizations in which they occur (Simon, 1947; Heritage, 1984a; Boden, 1994). With this vital function, group decision-making has understandably held a central place in organizational theory and research over the last six decades (March & Simon, 1958; Garfinkel, 1967; Weick, 1995; Huisman, 2001). Since the 1970s, specific interest in teachers' collective decision-making has risen with increased attention to the role greater collaboration among instructors may play in improving schools, the teaching profession, and outcomes for the students both serve (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Grossman, Wineburg, and Woolworth, 2001).

Over the last four decades, a number of collaborative models have been proposed to help overcome instructors' professional isolation and share the benefits of diverse perspectives and experience (Lortie, 1975; Sharman & Wright, 1995). These models have included improved pre- and early in-service mentoring; professional learning groups focused on collective study and reflection; and collaborative teams tasked with making important decisions on institutional policy and practice, the instruction of students with special needs, and a range of other reform

agendas. The successes and failures of these collaborative efforts continue to be researched and debated by educators.

English as a second and foreign language (ESL/EFL) education is one field of instruction where collaborative models have received particular attention in recent decades. With the continued growth of English as an international language beyond the central group of English-speaking countries (Kachru, 1992; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007) and the attendant demand for more instructors and improved teaching methods, teacher collaboration has been explored as a means of meeting both policy objectives and popular demand.

Since the 1980s, for example, several national and municipal governments in East Asia have focused on team-teaching models involving the recruitment of international, usually native English-speaking, instructors and their placement in classroom partnerships with local English teachers. These efforts have included the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme, the English Program in Korean (EPIK), Hong Kong's Native-Speaking English Teacher (NET) Scheme, and several local recruitment programs in Chinese Taipei (Taiwan). Although team-teaching partnerships vary considerably both between and within programs (Hiramatsu, 2005; Carless, 2006; Mihyon & Lee, 2006), the goals of such arrangements typically include the provision of native models of English pronunciation and language use; exposure to international, usually Western, teaching methods; and the development of intercultural understanding among both students and teachers. To date, research from the region has revealed a highly complex picture of team teaching's impact but relatively few insights on how instructors work together to make decisions related to their lesson planning or classroom instruction (e.g. Hai, Qiang, & Wolff, 2004; Hiramatsu, 2005).

In the People's Republic of China, where improved English proficiency has been a national priority since the end of the Cultural Revolution (Ross, 1992; Hu, 2002a; Adamson, 2004), a series of educational reforms begun in the mid-1980s has encouraged both the recruitment of foreign EFL instructors and local innovation in teaching methods and forms of collaboration (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Hai, Qiang, & Wolff, 2004; Hu, 2005; Hayhoe & Zha, 2006; Liu, 2007). At the same time, the decentralizing tendencies of such reforms, when coupled with the vast size of the Chinese educational system, mean it is difficult to gain an overall perspective on how international and local EFL instructors collaborate or deliberate on important instructional issues. Research to date suggests that no model of teacher collaboration dominates and, in many cases, interaction between international and local Chinese EFL instructors remains extremely limited (Adamson, 1995; Lee, 2009).

The present study seeks to develop our understanding of how teachers use interactional resources to make collective decisions related to their assessment and instruction of students. It does this by examining how one group of Chinese and international EFL instructors deliberate during their face-to-face meetings at a university in southeastern China. The study and its findings suggest implications for instructors, educational administrators, and teacher trainers interested in exploring the effectiveness of collaborative models. Finally, the study will suggest contributions to research on teachers' knowledge and beliefs, organizational behavior, and intercultural communication and outline future directions for research on instructor collaboration.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite growing interest in teacher collaboration and collective decision-making in recent decades, considerable gaps remain in our understanding of how instructors actually accomplish

collective decisions related to their teaching and assessment of students. Leaving aside evidence suggesting organized teacher collaboration remains far less widespread than enthusiasm for the practice would suggest (Leonard & Leonard, 2003; Flores, 2006; Kardos & Johnson, 2007; Lee, 2009), two reasons for this limit to our understanding include the relative paucity of decision-making opportunities within many collaborative relationships and the types of research methods that have been employed to study teacher collaboration.

First, research suggests that several popular collaborative models do not typically involve collective decision-making. Included in this category are many mentoring arrangements and professional learning groups designed primarily to share classroom experiences, discuss teaching challenges, knowledge, and beliefs, and explore alternative instructional practices. Research has found that in many cases such collaborations allow instructors to build a general sense of collegiality but often fail to encourage observable improvements in teaching practice, student performance, or educational reform (Selwyn, 2000; Supovitz, 2002; Wang & Odell, 2002; Seifert & Mandzuk, 2006; Curry, 2008). Here, Grossman, Wineburg, and Woolworth's (2001) critique of a "pseudocommunity" among instructors that downplays meaningful differences to avoid conflict suggests that without opportunities to make collective decisions affecting group members, teachers may have little incentive to voice their true opinions and invest in the collaborative process. If, as a number of commentators have suggested (e.g. Achinstein, 2002; Uline, Tschannen-Moran, & Perez, 2003), disagreement and conflict are necessary components of productive teacher collaboration, more work remains to be done on how meaningful disagreement among teachers can be fostered without destroying the cohesive sense of purpose also needed to accomplish collective decisions and other forms of group activity.

A second reason why more is not known about how decisions are made in teachers' collaborative groups is related to the research methods that have been employed. To date the statistical analyses, descriptive narratives, and ethnographic methods frequently used to describe the effects of collaboration and examine the functioning of teachers' groups have largely failed to attend to the fine-grained details of how members raise, debate, and decide on important issues affecting the group and its members. Although considerable work has been conducted on team teaching in East Asian EFL contexts, for example, the design of these studies typically does not focus on how instructors actually coordinate their actions through pre-lesson or in situ decision-making. Such research has instead relied primarily on interview and observational data to describe instructors' satisfaction with team teaching and general reasons why teaching partnerships succeed or fail (Hiramatsu, 2005; Carless, 2006; Mihyon, 2009). In addition, narratives of long-term group decision-making processes in second and foreign language education such as curriculum or assessment design tend to elide the real-time details of how choices are made leaving readers with general impressions and recommendations for the future (Graves, 1999; Hai, Qiang, & Wolff, 2004). These types of research, while useful in providing an outline of how ESL/EFL professionals and other educators collaborate to make decisions, leave questions about how such decisions are actually accomplished through teachers' situated interactions.

Two elements missing from the studies described above are a focus on situations where collective decision-making commonly occurs and attention to the details of how such decisions unfold in situ. In educational contexts, teachers collaborate in a wide range of venues including formal and informal meetings, impromptu break room and office space conversation, and jointly taught lessons (Richards, 2006). More research is required to reveal how these situations serve as

occasions for pair and multiparty decision-making. Furthermore, additional methods of data collection and analysis are needed to explain how instructors make collective decisions in real time. A theoretical foundation for such an approach is presented in the following section and a research method in the form of conversation analysis outlined.

1.3 Theoretical Foundations and Research Method

A basis for the interactional study of group decision-making in organizations can be found in the theoretical premises and research methods of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA). Ethnomethodology, an alternative approach to sociology associated with the pioneering work of Harold Garfinkel (1967), holds that the basis of both social order and social actions are the situated, common sense reasoning of individuals. This is in contrast to mainstream sociological theory, which views human behavior as largely determined by social structures and individuals' membership in specific social groups. With its interest in how individuals make sense of the social world and display these understandings to each other, ethnomethodology relies on a range of research techniques including interviews and observations, document analysis, and attention to the details of spoken interaction.

Conversation analysis shares ethnomethodology's interest in the local accomplishment of social order by focusing on how such order is created and maintained through talk-in-interaction (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Schegloff, 2007). Two theoretical premises of CA are that all forms of spoken interaction, or speech exchange systems, are ordered and that they are ordered not by a larger society or social groups but by the practices individuals themselves employ. The interactional practices CA researchers have identified in naturally occurring data—the construction of turns-at-talk, the sequencing of turns, rules for turn-taking, and rules for repair when mutual understanding is threatened—are claimed to be common to all speech exchange

systems including everyday conversation and specialized forms of institutional and work-related talk (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). An additional premise of CA, and one central to research on workplace interaction, is that local interactions are both self-ordering and constitutive of society as a whole. In terms of organizations and institutions, the oft repeated claim is that they are literally “talked into being” (Heritage, 1984a, p. 290) by the practices of ongoing, real-time interaction. To understand how educational institutions such as ESL/EFL programs function, it is therefore necessary to understand the talk that creates and maintains them.

In contrast to the methods of ethnomethodology, which include a range of techniques familiar to cultural anthropologists, conversation analysis uses a focused set of research practices centered on audio or audio-visual recordings of naturally occurring interaction. Recordings are reviewed and transcribed in a first stage of analysis that captures important lexical, prosodic, and often non-verbal (e.g. gaze or gesture) features of an interaction. In the resulting transcripts, analysts highlight sections of talk deemed particularly relevant for closer examination and review a growing corpus of CA studies to find interpretations for particular interactional features (Have, 1999). In their analyses, researchers exclude contextual details such as participant characteristics or histories commonly included in other forms of situated research unless the participants themselves make such details both relevant and consequential in a given stretch of interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002). The reasoning here is that recourse to details not demonstrably present in a given interaction frequently involves analysts’ preoccupations and not those of members engaged in an interaction (Schegloff, 1997). At the same time, a theoretical premise of the CA enterprise is that researchers must share a basic membership with the individuals they study in order to analyze their talk-in-interaction.

Although Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) claim a shared natural language is the most elementary feature of this requisite co-membership, other practitioners have argued an additional knowledge of participants and their specific professional practices is often necessary (e.g. Have, 2002).

In formal educational settings, the theoretical premises of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis and the research methods of CA are well suited to an analysis of how real-time decision-making occurs among teachers by positing a social order based on individuals' commonsense reasoning and created through their unfolding turns-at-talk.

1.4 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The present study seeks to address gaps in our understanding of how collective decisions are made in by groups of instructors using the resources of naturally occurring, face-to-face interaction. This will be done through an examination of EFL teachers' meetings at a university in southeastern China that draws on the theoretical premises of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis and employs the research methods of CA. Such an approach provides insights on how schools and individual academic units are constituted through the situated practices of their members and allows for an examination of the fine-grained details of interaction largely absent from earlier studies on teachers' collaborative decision-making.

The research questions guiding the study involve both the interactional features of decision-making in teachers' meetings and the role instructors' differing sociocultural backgrounds may play in such interactions. The two questions are as follows:

- 1) How do groups of teachers employ interactional resources to make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students?

- 2) How are sociocultural factors including those related to instructors' experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning involved in collective decision-making interactions?

1.5 Preview of the Study's Findings and Expected Contributions

In terms of the study's findings, a detailed, conversation analytic examination of two decision-making episodes reveals how teachers use a variety of interactional resources including chained query sequences, the elaboration of hypothetical assessment scenarios, the representation of non-present organization members, and other person-reference resources to raise topics and opinions, agree and disagree with colleagues, and make collective decisions while maintaining group cohesion. In addition, this analysis will reveal how instructors make their sociocultural backgrounds, experiences, and related beliefs both relevant and consequential to the group's decision-making by using them to create arguments and to align with or against fellow group members.

Following a presentation and discussion of these findings, it will be argued that the study offers valuable implications to educational stakeholders and several areas of ongoing research. First, it will be claimed the study adds to a growing understanding of how instructor differences, disagreement, and conflict affect teacher collaboration and collective decision-making. In terms of educational stakeholders, the study is of particular use to teachers and school administrators seeking to implement instructor collaboration in ways that improve schools, classroom instruction, and learner outcomes. In addition, the study should be of interest to teacher educators preparing instructors for participation in a full range of collaborative partnerships including those involving teachers from differing sociocultural backgrounds and with divergent beliefs about and experiences with teaching. Also, it will be

claimed that this and similar research projects provide a valuable source of information on instructors' professional knowledge and beliefs about teaching. Next, the study will be seen to add support to connectionist models of organizational theory and behavior that run counter to the hierarchical, linear processing models that dominated early work in the field. Finally, through its focus on decision-making among Chinese EFL instructors and their international colleagues, the study provides an analysis of intercultural communication that relies less on macrosocial assumptions of difference than on a close attention to the microsocial details of interaction.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the outline of a research study exploring how instructors make group decisions that affect both their teaching and assessment of students and help shape the institutions in which they work. After first establishing the general importance of collective decision-making for organizations, teacher collaboration, and ESL/EFL programs in particular, the chapter presented a gap in our understanding of how instructors work together to make real-time decisions about their teaching. The next section presented a theoretical foundation for research on collective decision-making in the premises of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis and outlined the set of basic research methods offered by CA. Following the proposal of research questions addressing the interactional resources employed in group decision-making and the role instructor backgrounds and beliefs play in such interactions, a series of study findings were previewed and expected contributions presented.

1.7 Organization of the Dissertation

The remaining chapters of this dissertation are outlined as follows. Chapter two is devoted to a literature review covering three subjects vital to the study's design and rationale. The chapter

begins with a review of commentary and research on teacher collaboration and collective decision-making with a particular focus on East Asian EFL contexts. Next, a detailed treatment of conversation analysis as a theory and method of analysis will be presented. Following this, the application of CA to the study institutional and workplace interaction will be explored and examples of research on talk-at-work discussed in relation to the present project. Based on these reviews, the final section of the chapter will justify both the study's selection of research questions and its adoption of CA's theoretical foundation and research methods. Chapter three will present the study's research design including a selection of research site and participants, details of data collection methods, and an explanation of how the resulting data were analyzed. The next two chapters will discuss findings related to the study's two research questions. Addressing the first research question, chapter four will present and analyze a series of interactional resources employed in an extended episode of group decision-making on the assessment of students. Chapter five will address the second research question by examining how instructors alternately make their sociocultural perspectives and experiential backgrounds relevant to the process of designing writing assignments. The sixth and final chapter will open the study's findings to several audiences by suggesting implications for stakeholders and researchers in a number of fields.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The following chapter has two related purposes. First, reviews of the separate literatures on teacher collaboration and conversation analysis will help frame the present study. With the first of these two reviews, gaps in our understanding of teachers' collaboration and collective decision-making will be identified and research questions addressing these gaps formed. With the second review, the study's theoretical foundations will be outlined and CA's contribution to an understanding of institutional interaction detailed. The chapter's second purpose involves providing a justification for selecting conversation analysis as the research method best suited to address the study's research questions.

2.1 Teacher Collaboration and Collective Decision-Making

This first section reviews the literature on teacher collaboration and collective decision-making. This review covers both general arguments for and research on instructor collaboration and a more detailed treatment of the subject in terms of contemporary East Asian EFL education. Gaps in our knowledge of teacher collaboration and collective decision-making will be identified following these reviews and used to justify the present study's research questions.

2.1.1 Arguments for and Research on Teacher Collaboration

The last four decades have witnessed increased international efforts to foster and understand effective teacher collaboration. Three arguments advanced for such collaboration center on failures in pre- and early in-service teacher development, attempts to expand instructors' professional knowledge base, and efforts to increase teacher investment in educational reforms. In this subsection, each of these arguments will be presented in turn, a

variety of collaborative models discussed, and research findings on teacher collaboration presented.

A first argument for improved instructor collaboration is based on a critique of traditional teacher development models. Here Lortie's (1975) study of U.S. public school instructors played a key early role in identifying the limitations of both pre- and initial in-service training. Drawing on extensive survey and interview data, Lortie compared the socialization of novice teachers unfavorably to practices in other professions where extended periods of interaction and shared decision-making with experts help integrate newcomers.¹ Formal teacher education programs were particularly faulted for their brevity; their dearth of classroom-based teaching experiences; and the limited opportunities they provided for interaction with veteran instructors. Lortie argued that these factors reduced the practical value of formal teacher education and left novice instructors to learn how to teach on the job. Here the study also faulted hierarchical models of school administration and "cellular" patterns of teacher organization for effectively isolating new instructors in their classrooms (Lortie, 1975, p. 72). Ongoing research has found that the resulting lack of professional socialization has had a range of negative effects on novice instructors including high dropout rates (Smith & Ingersoll, 2004); a weak sense of institutional ownership (Kardos & Johnson, 2007); a loss of commitment to student-centered instruction (Flores, 2006); and an unreflective reliance on "apprenticeships of observation" derived from teachers' own histories as students (Lortie, 1975; Johnson, 1999).

¹ "One thinks of a shop where beginners and experienced mechanics jointly observe common problems, collectively consider alternative solutions, and as a group witness the success or failure of attempts to solve the problem." (Lortie, 1975, p. 73)

In the decades since Lortie's (1975) critique, teacher education programs and schools have employed a number of collaborative measures to better socialize novice instructors. In terms of pre-service training, improvements in the quality and quantity of students' collaboration with veteran teachers during course and fieldwork have been a particular focus of attention (Graham, 1997; Tang, 2003; Hu, 2005). Additionally, teacher-training cohorts have been suggested as natural groups for collaborative professional development (Seifert & Mandzuk, 2006). One model of cohort-based collaboration involves student discussion groups focused on conceptual, affective, and practical teaching issues raised in reflective journal entries (de Oliveira & Richardson, 2004; Matsuda & Matsuda, 2004). At schools, improvements in teacher induction practices have predominantly focused on enhancing mentoring relationships to address the myriad challenges new instructors encounter (Achinstein & Barrett, 2004; Wang, Strong, & Odell, 2004; Achinstein & Athenases, 2006).

A second argument for improved instructor collaboration is based on efforts to expand the professional knowledge base of teachers. According to Lortie (1975), instructor isolation has a potentially negative impact not only individual instructors but on the teaching profession as a whole. In his words:

Since their conception of performance is individualistic, [teachers] find it difficult to develop strategies to raise the performance level of the group; they do not know how to plan increases in the potency of the technical culture. This incapacity to respond to demands *as a group* poses a threat to the status of the occupation. (Lortie, 1975, p. 81; emphasis in the original)

Among such demands, Lortie gives the example of teacher's complex decision-making in an era of expanded pedagogical options and rapid technological change (pp. 219, 220). To address

weaknesses in the shared teaching culture that Lortie addresses, many schools and groups of instructors have attempted to establish more tangible forms of teacher community based on recurring and professionally meaningful interaction (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) describe the focus of such community building as the development of professional “knowledge-of-practice,” a term distinguished from the “knowledge-for-practice” provided by outside researchers and “knowledge-in-practice” derived from the study of model teachers and best practices (p. 250; emphasis in the original). Such knowledge-of-practice is claimed to be of particular value to instructors since it emphasizes a situated and shared understanding of specific communities, schools, classrooms, and students.

A variety of collaborative models have been explored to improve teachers’ professional knowledge base. These have ranged from team teaching partnerships designed to pool the energies and insights of instructors directly in the classroom (Buckely, 2000; Murawski, 2009) to extended social networks of teachers communicating at a distance via online discussion boards and other electronic media (Selwyn, 2000). Of particular note are teacher inquiry or learning groups that combine collective reflection, research, discussion, and decision-making to address pedagogical and institutional challenges (Nelson, Slavit, Perkins, & Hathorn, 2008; Schechter, 2010). Critical Friends Groups (CFGs) and (Japanese) lesson study (*Jugyokenkyu*) are two forms of such group inquiry that have received attention over the last decade. In CFGs, instructors and facilitating coaches examine both student and teacher work using structured review protocols, provide feedback and offer suggestions for instructional improvements, and engage in a variety of reflective activities (Curry, 2008; National School Reform Faculty, 2008). In lesson study, instructors collectively establish goals for students, plan lessons, and conduct, observe, and revise instruction based on student performance (Fernandez, 2002; Fernandez, Cannon, &

Chokshi, 2003; Lewis, Perry, & Hurd, 2004). Each of the collaborative practices described here have been claimed to improve both instructors' professional knowledge and their classroom practice by opening their reasoning, planning, and decision-making to the insights of peers.

A third argument for improved instructor collaboration involves the implementation of national and local educational reforms. Proponents claim that democratic models of school management involving a high degree of teachers' collaborative input best foster the sense of collective ownership needed to enact significant institutional change. Citing the failures of hierarchical, "top-down" models of reform, Sharman and Wright (1995) argue that when teams of instructors and other school members "are involved in making critical decisions, ... members are much more likely to assume responsibility for their decisions and actions and to be committed to improving the organization in meaningful ways" (p. 19). Dutro, Fisk, Koch, Roop, and Wixson (2002) similarly claim that institutional change occurs when teachers, both individually and collectively, act "...not as 'servants' of the standards, not as technicians implementing externally developed policies, but instead as partners in the construction of policy and research-based practice" (pp. 807, 808).

Two areas of educational reform that have involved teacher collaboration are efforts to create more inclusive classrooms and to implement standards-based policies designed to raise student achievement levels. In the United States, contemporary models of inclusive education that integrate special needs learners into mainstream classrooms have necessitated high levels of consultation and collaborative decision-making among general education teachers, special education and ESL instructors, school administrators, and family members. Such collaboration involves not only decisions to place learners in inclusive and/or special needs classrooms, but the development of individual education plans for students, and the assessment of learning outcomes

(Orelove, 1995; Gamel-McCormick, 1995; Klinger & Harry, 2006). In relation to national and local standards-based reforms, a number of collaborative arrangements including the improved mentoring of novice instructors (Wang & Odell, 2002) and the use of teacher learning groups and problem-solving teams have been used to foster increased commitment to improving student achievement (Henkin & Wanat, 1994; Wood, 2007; Schechter, 2010).

Advocates of instructor collaboration reference a growing body of research showing the positive affect such collaboration can have on both student performance and teacher development. For example, in their study of teachers and fourth-grade students in a large U.S. school district, Goddard, Goddard, and Tschannen-Moran (2007) found “a positive and statistically significant relationship between teacher collaboration and student achievement” (p. 891) as measured by performance on standardized tests. Although a direct, causal relationship is not claimed, the authors suggest that collaboration affects student performance by “[encouraging] teachers to move beyond reliance on their own memories and experiences with schooling and toward engagement with others around important questions of teaching and learning” (Goddard, Goddard, & Tschannen-Moran, 2007, p. 892). A range of collaborative partnerships has also found to have a positive effect on teacher retention levels. Analyzing data from the 1999-2000 Schools and Staffing Survey conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics in the United States, Smith and Ingersoll (2004) found that the factors most responsible for improved retention “...were having a mentor from the same field, having common planning time with other teachers in the same subject or collaboration with other teachers on instruction, and being part of an external network of teachers” (p. 706).

Qualitative studies have also revealed the benefits of increased teacher collaboration. Achinstein and Barrett’s (2004) case study of fifteen mentoring partnerships at elementary

schools in northern California reveals how new teachers were able to reframe their relationships with students through interactions with veteran instructors. This reframing involved veterans helping novices move beyond their initially limited focus on classroom management to a greater sensitivity toward and advocacy of students' diverse needs and perspectives. Schechter's (2010) case study of a professional learning community at an Israeli junior-senior high school similarly illustrates how collaboration among instructors and school administrators can support positive changes in individual teaching practice. Unlike teacher learning or inquiry groups dedicated to resolving instructional dilemmas, the group Schechter studied focused on relating, examining, and sharing the successes individual instructors had in their classrooms. Taken together, research findings like these have been offered as evidence of collaboration's potential to effectively reduce teacher isolation, enhance the development of both individual instructors and a shared professional knowledge base, and help schools raise student achievement levels.

Despite the preceding arguments and research support for teacher collaboration, a number of studies have urged caution in applying and assessing such efforts. Pomson (2005), for example, argues that examinations of collaborative practice frequently display "a gap between both the idealization and realization of community at the whole-school level and the messy business of making collegial relationships work on a daily basis" (p. 797). In her narrative and interview-based study of teacher collegiality at Jewish day schools in Canada, she found instructors frequently expressed resentment toward mandatory forms of collaboration that were seen to reduce instructor initiative in the classroom. In Pomson's words, such teacher resistance "...confirms that without careful attention to the diverse impulses that lie behind the embrace of professional community, and without soliciting the consent of those who are supposed to join such communities, the drive to end professional isolation might prove self-defeating" (p. 799).

In addition, a number of researchers have claimed that while teacher collaboration may help foster an improved sense of collegiality among instructors, its benefits for teaching practice and student performance cannot always be confirmed. Studies of teacher-training cohorts (Seifert & Mandzuk, 2006); mentoring partnerships (Wang & Odell, 2002; Wang, Strong, & Odell, 2004); teacher learning communities (Wood, 2007; Curry, 2008); and an online instructor discussion group (Selwyn, 2000) have all found that collaboration may tend to focus more on providing social and emotional support than on developing teachers' professional knowledge or students' learning. Here Supovitz's (2002) research on team-based reforms in Cincinnati public schools serves to illustrate a general dilemma encountered in many collaborative efforts. Finding no significant instructional differences between schools employing team-based forms of teacher organization and those following more traditional organization patterns, Supovitz claims:

The experience of Cincinnati...points to the limitations of traditional policy making to bring about deep changes in the instructional practice of teachers. The team structures, enacted in policy, created the forms and mechanisms through which teams could change their instructional practice. The evidence suggests that these efforts provided just a bare foundation for communities of instructional practice to develop and only weakly influenced the instructional cultures, content knowledge, and pedagogical strategies of most teachers—the things that seem most likely to produce improved outcomes for children. (2002, pp. 1616, 1617)

For Supovitz, and other critics, “the act of grouping teachers, by itself, is unlikely to produce the powerful interactions around instruction that we seek” (2002, 1618). Instead, a range of support options including additional forms of professional development, more extensive and realistic training in collaboration, and the institutional allocation of time, space, and financial resources

have all been suggested as being also necessary for the ultimate effectiveness of teacher collaboration (Supovitz, 2002; Leonard & Leonard, 2003; Wood, 2007).

Related to the limitations of teacher collaboration outlined in the preceding paragraph are research findings on the role conflict often plays in such relationships. Although an emphasis on improved teacher collegiality would seem to prescribe open displays of disagreement, several researchers have claimed that diversity and conflict are vital components of meaningful collaboration. Grossman, Wineburg, and Woolworth (2001), for example, argue that productive collaborations involve the “essential tension of teacher community” (p. 951) as instructors develop both pedagogically and intellectually. In their case study of a teachers’ book club engaged in an interdisciplinary process of high school curriculum development, the authors claim instructors were only able to outgrow an initial, nonproductive stage of “pseudocommunity” (p. 955) once they openly acknowledged significant disagreements within the group and learned both to accept and benefit from individual differences. In contrast, Seifert and Mandzuk (2006) claim a collective emphasis on group harmony within teacher-training cohorts at a Canadian university stifled students’ intellectual development by deemphasizing their individuality and possible points of contention. Reviewing early literature on collaboration, Achinstein (2002) faults “naive,” “unified,” and “uniform” images of teacher community for downplaying the difficulties involved in sustaining collaboration, the variations within and among teacher communities, and the productive role conflict can play in community building (pp. 7, 8). In her words, “[c]onflict, it turns out, offers a context for inquiry, organizational learning, and change. As colleagues air differences, building understanding across perspectives, and seek changes enhanced by divergent thinking, conflict becomes constructive for the community and school” (Achinstein, 2002, p. 3). While the studies presented here suggest the

importance of viewing conflict as a vital component of professional development and institutional change, the disruptions inherent in such conflict signal an additional challenge for teachers' community building efforts.

2.1.2 Teacher Collaboration in East Asian EFL Contexts

In the preceding subsection, a discussion of teacher collaboration drew primarily on arguments and research from Western educational settings. To explore how collaboration has been advocated and practiced in non-Western contexts, this subsection will focus on the specific context of EFL instruction in East Asia. Considered part of the expanding circle of English-using countries and territories relatively untouched by the earlier international spread of the language (Kachru, 1992), Japan, South Korea, China, and Taiwan have all recently made English language proficiency a key focus of educational reforms (Hu, 2005; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007).² A significant factor in education throughout the region have been official efforts to foster collaboration between local educators and international English instructors, most of whom have been native speakers of the language. The intercultural nature of such partnerships means that EFL teacher community building in the region has frequently assumed additional levels of complexity infrequently encountered or discussed in most Western educational contexts (Solomon, 2000; Glazier, 2004). In this subsection, regional efforts at collaboration will be discussed first in terms of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong where team teaching has become the primary mode of interaction between native and non-native English-speaking teachers (NESTs and NNESTs respectively). Next, collaboration between NEST-NNEST

² In this context the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (S.A.R.) of the People's Republic of China is considered a member of the outer circle of English-speaking countries due to its post-colonial status and history of English use (Kachru, 1992).

instructors in China, where decentralized educational policies have meant no single collaborative model dominates, will be presented.

Throughout much of East Asia, team teaching between local English teachers and international colleagues has played a significant role in national efforts to raise the quality of primary and secondary school EFL education. In Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan such partnerships have been supported by national and local efforts to recruit, train, and place international instructors in local institutions. At the forefront of regional developments in team teaching, the Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme, has since its inception in 1987, placed approximately 50,000 international English instructors with local prefectures and municipalities (JET Programme, n.d.). In schools, international assistant language teachers (ALTs) and Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) engage in a variety of collaborative tasks including lesson planning, materials development, and classroom instruction although research has revealed considerable variation in actual team teaching practices (Tajino & Walker, 1998; Hiramatsu, 2005; Carless, 2006a). The JET Programme's influence is reflected in the growth of similar recruitment and placement schemes in the region. Each of these plans, which include the English Program in Korea (EPIK), Hong Kong's Primary Native-Speaking English Teacher (PNET) Scheme, and various local recruitment programs in Taiwan, have also involved a substantial degree of team teaching between local and international instructors (Carless, 2006a; Mihyon & Lee, 2006; Luo, 2007).

Despite the growth of the team teaching model in East Asian EFL instruction, research on such collaboration reveals a highly complex picture of successes and ongoing challenges. In terms of positive findings, Gorsuch's (2002) questionnaire-based study of Japanese EFL instructors found that respondents who taught with ALTs were more likely to report higher levels

of English speaking proficiency and a greater acceptance of communicative language teaching practices than peers who taught in isolation. In addition, Meerman's (2003) analysis of ALT and JTE questionnaire responses revealed that the presence of ALTs in the classroom positively influenced the content of English lessons as well as students' motivation levels and their long-term second language development. Through their analysis of survey, interview, and observational data Carless (2006a, 2006b) and Carless and Walker (2006) similarly found that teaching teams in Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea provided enhanced learning opportunities for students by raising the performance of both NEST and NNEST instructors. In terms of the intercultural component of such team teaching, Carless's (2006a) evaluation of successful partnerships in the region found that such collaborations worked best when the following factors were involved:

- Sensitivity and goodwill of participants;
- The development of relationships inside and outside the classroom;
- Willingness to let minor points of tension subside for the sake of maintaining harmonious relationships;
- Either some degree of shared philosophy or a willingness to compromise or make sacrifices;
- NESTs exhibiting a respect for, or acquiescence in, culturally well-established classroom practices even when holding different views;
- Continuity of personnel over time, which could be manifested either by a pair being given the time to develop a productive relationship or the practice of team teaching with multiple partners over time. (p. 350)

Although additional research on team teaching in the region suggests that most intercultural collaborations lack one or more of these qualities, Carless's (2006a) summary of best practices provides areas in which improvements can be made.

In contrast to the above findings, a number of studies and commentaries have highlighted significant challenges to team teaching practices in the region. These challenges include role ambiguities in collaborative partnerships (Tajino & Walker, 1998; Tajino & Tajino, 2000; Mahoney, 2004; Miyazato, 2009); instructor differences in teaching experience and language proficiency that contribute to unequal partnerships (Luo, 2007; Tsai, 2007); the personal and professional isolation of many NEST instructors (Scully, 2000); and a lack of effective institutional support for collaboration (Mihyon, 2009). As an illustration of these challenges, Hiramatsu's (2005) case study of team teaching at a Japanese high school provides insights on commonly reported problems in the region.

Hiramatsu's (2005) study employed instructor interviews and observations of jointly taught lessons to reveal teachers' perceptions of change associated with team teaching and the initiation of Oral Communication classes. Although JTEs and the school's ALT reported general satisfaction with existing collaboration practices, interviews also uncovered underlying frustration with teacher roles and communication patterns. Classroom observations revealed that lessons nominally dedicated to the development of students' oral proficiency featured relatively little spontaneous interaction between JTEs and their ALT colleague. Instead, the ALT was routinely assigned non-interactive classroom functions such as reading "vocabulary and true or false questions" (p. 123). Among the factors limiting teachers' classroom interaction, Hiramatsu cites the relatively low oral English proficiency of some Japanese instructors and a general lack of joint lesson planning between JTEs and the assistant language teacher. Describing, for

example, how teacher roles were determined for one lesson, the ALT explained that “[Mr. Toyoda] came up to me...and said, ‘I’m going to do this part. And you will do this part.’ So we kind of broke it down like that” (Hiramatsu, 2005, p. 123). The author claims the minimal opportunities for workplace collaboration such findings reveal are part of a larger pattern of ALT social and professional isolation in the school that threaten the attainment of national English proficiency goals. She ultimately argues that educational officials must assume greater responsibility for ensuring that effective and mandatory developmental support is provided to improve team teaching and thereby enhance students’ second language development.

In contrast to the well-established and increasingly researched practice of team teaching in other parts of East Asia, EFL teacher collaboration in the People’s Republic of China remains considerably less well understood. China’s rapid economic development and international reintegration following the end of the Cultural Revolution have increased official and popular demand for both English language instruction and Western teaching personnel in a manner similar to other countries in the region (Scovel, 1983; Ross, 1992; Adamson, 1995; Hu, 2002a; Bolton, 2003). At the same time, moves toward decentralization of the Chinese educational system beginning in the mid-1980s have increased regional and local opportunities for pedagogical innovation (Snowden, 1988; Adamson, 2004; Hayhoe & Zha, 2006). Although one result of these changes has been an increased effort to recruit native and expert-English speaking instructors at public and private schools and universities, the vast size of the Chinese educational system coupled with the lack of a centralized teacher recruitment and placement program has meant it is often difficult to track the number and location of international English instructors working in China and the patterns of interaction they form with local colleagues. However, anecdotal and research evidence suggests a complex picture of *de facto* segregation between

international and Chinese teachers at many schools as well as local efforts to enlist both groups of instructors in collaborative relationships to foster curricular and pedagogical reforms.

Among the most common finding in the Chinese EFL context is that international and Chinese instructors tend to teach and socialize in a relatively segregated manner (Adamson, 1995; Hessler, 2001; Lee, 2009; Wolff, 2009). Without the reliable point of professional contact offered by team teaching arrangements found in other East Asian settings, the two groups of instructors often have few opportunities and little incentive to interact with each other. In addition, the personal and professional isolation of many international instructors in China has been ascribed to a complex range of language, cultural, institutional, and political factors. Describing, for example, the segregated living conditions of many expatriate teachers, Maley (1983) writes that “[t]hey are normally housed separately from their students and colleagues, often in specially-constructed foreign teachers’ buildings, and they usually eat separately too” (p. 103). Frequently excluded from the administrative decision-making processes affecting them and their teaching, international instructors may also find themselves effectively left on their own in terms of course design and instruction (Maley, 1983; Boyle, 2000; Lee, 2009; Wolff, 2009). A number of commentators have further suggested that differences between Chinese and Western beliefs about language learning and teaching may make meaningful collaboration across cultures especially problematic. Particular challenges have arisen from attempts to integrate communicative language teaching (CLT) approaches developed in the English-speaking West with longstanding local practices based on Confucian principles of teaching and learning (Scovel, 1983; Wu, 1983; Yu, 1984; Penner, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Hu, 2002b;). In classrooms, the differences that frequently arise between a Western, CLT preference to “learn by using” and a Confucian emphasis on “learning to use” (Hu, 2002b, p. 99) have been claimed as

particular sources of disagreement between NESTs and Chinese students and instructors (Maley, 1983; Scovel, 1983; Boyle, 2000; Wolff, 2009). In the face of such planned or unplanned segregation, many international teachers are likely to form and rely on strong bonds with fellow expatriates for personal and professional support. While Boyle (2000) lists such close expatriate relationships as a primary benefit for native English-speaking instructors in China, the instructor balkanization (Hargreaves, 1994) that may result can be seen as further reducing opportunities for interaction with Chinese colleagues.

The lack of reliable NEST-NNEST interaction at many Chinese schools also limits researchers' ability to study collaborative partnerships between expatriate and local instructors. An instructive example is found in Lee's (2009) research on EFL instructor community building at a southern Chinese university. Although Lee's project originally involved questions of how Chinese and international teachers participated in a shared, program-wide community of practice, the absence of established venues or institutional support for such collegiality meant investigation ultimately centered on three separate partnerships in which NEST and NNEST teachers had formed their own working relationships. In other cases where the presence of NESTs has been tied to their officially approved or mandated collaboration with Chinese colleagues, it is often less than clear how instructors interact in their working relationships. For example, in a report on collaborative course redesign at an agricultural college in central China, Hai, Qiang, and Wolff (2004) provide details of syllabus, assignment, and assessment changes but fail to describe how decisions about course redevelopment were actually accomplished through NEST-NNEST negotiation. Similarly, while Liu's (2007) report on program-wide reforms at a southeastern Chinese university provides general descriptions of how NEST-NNEST instructors collaborate on course development and co-curricular projects, his discussion

focuses predominantly on the positive effects such collaboration has had on Chinese teachers' confidence and professional development.

2.1.3 Gaps in the Literature on Teacher Collaboration and Decision-Making

The preceding reviews of literature on teacher community building in Western education and East Asian EFL contexts provide a complex picture of the benefits and challenges associated with instructor collaboration; they also reveal gaps in our understanding of how such collaboration works in practice. This subsection will focus specifically on two areas where more research on collaboration is called for: the accomplishment of collective decision-making by instructors and the role sociocultural differences may play in such decision-making. An examination of these two areas will provide a justification for the present study's research questions.

Considering the centrality of collective decision-making in arguments for improved instructor collaboration (Lortie, 1975; Sharman & Wright, 1995), the relative dearth of research conducted on the subject is somewhat unexpected. One reason for this lack of study may be that many of the collaborative practices employed in Western education only indirectly affect teachers' individual decision-making (Goddard, Goddard, & Tschannen-Moran, 2007). Mentoring relationships and peer discussion or inquiry groups are two such collaborative arrangements where interactions may focus more on the expression of teacher ideas, experiences, and interpretations than on making concrete decisions about instructional practice (Selwyn, 2000; Achinstein & Barrett, 2004; Seifert & Mandzuk, 2006; Nelson, Slavit, Perkins, & Hathorn, 2008; Schechter, 2010). Another possible explanation is that a majority of research on teacher collaboration has employed research questions and methods designed to describe the models, general procedures, and effects of collaboration as well as instructor attitudes to the collaborative

process. In these circumstances, decision-making is most often presented as a goal or product of collaboration and not fully analyzed as a process (Grossman, Wineburg, & Woolworth, 2001; Hai, Qiang, & Wolff, 2004; Hiramatsu, 2005; Carless, 2006a). Here, Klinger and Harry's (2006) ethnographic study of collaborative decision-making during the process of special education referrals serves as an example. Based on observations of referral sessions, interviews with stakeholders in the referral process, and a review of related documents, the authors claim that:

Decisions seem to have been made prior to the placement conferences. When psychologists were asked how decisions are made and who makes them, they emphasized that it is a team decision but also acknowledged that they have a lot of influence over the outcome. (Klinger & Harry, 2006, p. 2271)

Apart from a corroborating quote from a psychologist involved in the referral sessions, the authors provide little additional evidence to illustrate how psychologists exerted their influence over general education teachers and other stakeholders or how predetermined decisions were ratified during collaborative discussion.

To develop a better understanding of how both high stakes and more ordinary instructional decisions are made by collaborative teaching groups, more attention must be paid to the situated details of their ongoing interaction. The present study's first question – how do group members employ interactional resources to make collaborative decisions that affect their teaching and assessment of students? – is designed to access this level of decision-making detail.

A second gap in the research on teacher collaboration is related to the role sociocultural differences, including those traceable to childhood socialization, formal teacher training, and ongoing professional experience, can be seen to play in instructors' collaborations and collective decision-making. Reviewing the literature on contemporary Chinese EFL education, for

example, it is clear that while a number of commentators claim divergent beliefs about language learning and teaching pose significant threats to productive relationships between Western and Chinese instructors, little specific evidence of this has been provided to date (Maley, 1983; Scovel, 1983, Wu, 1983; Yu, 1984; Penner, 1995; Boyle, 2000; Hu, 2002b; Wolff, 2009). Further research on how sociocultural differences may indeed play a role in intercultural teacher collaborations would increase our understanding both of collaboration among EFL instructors and community building among teachers in culturally diverse societies. Here, two ethnographic studies, Solomon's (2000) study of mixed-race teacher-trainee dyads in the United Kingdom and Glazier's (2004) investigation of an Arab-Jewish teacher learning group in Israel, suggest that inclusion of different perspectives in collaborative partnerships can increase teachers' sensitivity to diverse student populations in their classrooms.

The present study seeks to understand the role sociocultural differences among instructors may play in their collaborative decision-making through its second research question – how are sociocultural factors including those related to instructors' experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning involved in collective decision-making interactions?

2.2 Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis is a microsociological approach to the study of talk-in-interaction that offers insights on how individuals accomplish basic social actions and suggests ways in which larger forms of social order are formed. To understand conversation analysis's contribution to the study of teacher collaboration and collective decision-making, it is necessary to understand CA's historical and disciplinary foundations, its theoretical premises, and the basic features of spoken interaction it has identified. In this section, each of these three issues will be explored in turn.

2.2.1 Historical Development

Conversation analysis is the product of mid-twentieth century developments in American sociology. In the following subsections, CA's formation will be traced to the competing influences macro- and micro-social conceptions of society had on the thought and research of Harvey Sacks, the foundational figure in the conversation analytic project.

2.2.1.1 Macrosociological influences: Talcott Parsons. Sociology became Sacks's discipline of choice while he worked on an undergraduate law degree in the late 1950s and gradually discovered that he was "more interested in understanding how the law as an institution worked, how it *could* work, than in making it work as an attorney himself" (Schegloff, 1992a, pp. xii, xiii; emphasis in the original). The sociologist whose thought first drew Sacks's attention was Talcott Parsons, who most clearly represented the structuralist line of inquiry in the field (Schegloff, 1992a, p. xiii) and whose work addressed the issue of social order in an original manner. Parsons's considerable influence on American sociology in the middle decades of the last century is linked to a number of theoretical contributions, the most important ones for the present discussion being drawn from his theory of social order first outlined in *The Structure of Social Action* (1937). Arguing against Hobbes's (1651/1996) claim that social actors operate on a utilitarian basis of self-interest and that only a contractual basis to society can prevent a "war of all against all" in the pursuit of this interest, Parsons insists that a mere reliance on contract or a temporary alliance of interests only leads to a social order enforced and inevitably resisted by force (Münch, 2005). Parsons instead proposes a precontractual, "normative" basis to social order created through socialization in which members "learn to subordinate their I-perspective to a we-perspective and to reconcile individual interests within a common frame of reference" (Münch, 2005, p. 550). Influenced by Freudian thought, Parsons argues that the development of

the “voluntaristic” notion of social action he thus proposes results from an internalization of established roles and shared values (Heritage, 1984a). Although Sacks’s interests in sociology would turn away from and even against the psychologizing and abstract, macro-social basis inherent in Parsons’s thought, the quest for a structural order to social action would remain an integral part of Sacks’s thinking and become a vital component of a nascent conversation analysis.

2.2.1.2 Microsociological influences: Goffman and Garfinkel’s ethnomethodology.

While Parsonian structuralism dominated American sociology at the time of Sack’s entry to the field, a far greater influence on the young scholar would come from the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel, sociologists more interested in the day-to-day practices of individuals than the larger operation of abstract social structures. At Berkeley, Goffman, whose abiding interest lay in the study of identity and the interactional patterns of everyday life, would serve as one of Sacks’s instructors and a member of his dissertation committee. Although there are obvious points of connection between Goffman’s thought (1959, 1981) and the conversation analytic project, deep-seated conceptual rifts would eventually develop between the two. While Goffman found the reasoning in Sacks’s dissertation circular (Schegloff, 1992a) and CA unduly restrictive in its formal analysis of interaction (Goffman, 1981), later conversation analysts would in turn criticize the highly intuitive nature of Goffman’s work and its reliance on invented data (Schegloff, 1988).

Sacks initially found a more sympathetic reception for his thinking in the person of Garfinkel whose ethnomethodological project offered an alternative to the macro-structural interests of mainstream sociology while also relying on real-world data to study social interaction. Because conversation analysis is most often associated with ethnomethodology and

frequently treated as one of its forms (Heritage & Watson, 1980; Heritage, 1984a; Garfinkel, 1996; Francis & Hester, 2004; Have, 2004) a brief overview of Garfinkel's program is in order.

Despite Garfinkel's having studied under Parsons, his own work signaled a major departure from Parsonian thinking on two critical points. First, in contrast to the normative basis of Parsons' voluntaristic theory, Garfinkel proposed that social actions displayed a radically different nature. For Garfinkel (1967), the work of his former teacher and that of most contemporary sociologists was based on the notion that the individual can only act as a "cultural dope," someone "who produces the stable features of the society by acting in compliance with preestablished and legitimate alternatives of action that the common culture provides" (p. 68). Since normative cultural roles and values were held to exist largely beyond the conscious grasp of actors, individuals' subjective understandings and everyday reasoning were dismissed as unworthy of study within this paradigm. What Garfinkel (1967) instead found in analyses influenced by the phenomenological inquiries of Husserl and Schutz (Husserl, 1999; Schutz, 1967; Heritage, 1984a; Barber, 2006) and based on an eclectic variety of observational, interview, experimental and quasi-experimental data was that recourse to the common sense perspectives of individuals was often the only way to understand their social actions. In his study of how jury members reached a verdict, how patient records were kept at an outpatient psychiatric clinic, and how cause of death was determined in possible instances of suicide, Garfinkel (1967) found, for example, that instead of following identifiably rational or institutionally prescribed courses of action, individuals consistently used situated, ad hoc determinations that made sense to them and their fellow institutional members. As Garfinkel argued, "such practices consist of an endless, ongoing, contingent accomplishment... they are carried on under the auspices of, and are made to happen as events in, the same ordinary affairs

that in organizing they describe...” (1967, p. 1). In basic terms, he insisted that the ordering of everyday social events are best studied from the perspective of participants who make their understandings of these situations “account-able” to each other through reflexively coherent actions that necessarily remain incomplete if not incomprehensible to outsiders.

Ethnomethodology’s marked departure from mainstream sociology is that while it subscribed to a Durkheimian “opacity of the social world” (Pearce, 2005, p. 218), it located this opacity in mainstream forms of sociological inquiry and not the practices of individuals. In addition, with its focus on the particulars of real-world situations and social actions, the ethnomethodology Garfinkel proposed eschewed not only the macro-level inquiries of Parsonian sociology but its interest in creating a unified, systematic theory of social order as well (Heritage, 1984a). In following sections it will become apparent that Sacks’s lectures and the foundational work of CA, while adhering to ethnomethodology’s attention to the achievement of everyday social action in light of members’ accountable understandings, would eventually reject Garfinkel’s particularistic eclecticism in the search for a systematic basis to social order revealed through talk-in-interaction.

2.2.1.3 Sacks’s early research and lectures. Although Sacks had first met Garfinkel and been drawn to his line of sociological inquiry in the late 1950s, the latter’s greatest influence on the young scholar would come in the early 1960s when he secured Sacks an assistant professorship at UCLA and an opportunity to collect data at a local Suicide Prevention Center (SPC) (Schegloff, 1992a). While Garfinkel (1967) would develop his own work at the SPC into the above mentioned analysis of records keeping practices in possible cases of suicide, Sacks would use another set of data from the Center, transcriptions of telephone calls to a suicide help line, to launch a groundbreaking series of lectures in 1964 (Sacks, 1992a, pp. 3-11). By

examining how SPC members and help-line callers began their interactions, Sacks noticed regular utterance patterns that seemed designed to produce identifiable actions (Excerpts 1-3):

Excerpts 1-3 (Sacks, 1992a, p.3)

1. A: Hello
B: Hello
2. A: This is Mr Smith may I help you
B: Yes, this is Mr Brown
3. A: This is Mr Smith may I help you
B: I can't hear you
A: This is Mr Smith.
B: Smith

Sacks found, for example, that one clear way to elicit a caller's name was to give one's own as demonstrated in the second excerpt above. Additionally, as can be seen in the third exchange, by claiming a misunderstanding, one can avoid this elicitation practice at least temporarily. More generally, Sacks found that the person who spoke first could choose the form and action of his or her turn-at-talk, which, in turn, created a slot for an expected turn action on the part of the second party (in the first excerpt, a simple greeting produces a slot and expectation for a greeting in return). Sacks called these and other observations in his first lecture "rules of conversational sequence" (Sacks, 1992a, p. 4). Here he would touch on issues of sequence organization, turn-constructional units (TCUs), and interactional repair – three of the organizational practices of talk-in-interaction that CA practitioners continue to address.

Sacks's pioneering lectures at UCLA and UC-Irvine (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b) and the studies he completed with a small group of collaborators (e.g. Schegloff, 1968; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s provide the foundations of the CA project. This early work was devoted to identifying and analyzing the pervasive organizational features of talk-in-interaction that have been argued to

make the accomplishment of everyday social actions possible. Conversation analysis drew early inspiration from the “agency-structure debate” that characterized this field in the middle decades of last century (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 5). In common with the structuralist paradigm of Durkeim and Parsons (Heritage, 1984a; Münch, 2005, Pearce, 2005), CA ascribes to the notion of a structural organization underpinning social order and social actions. Unlike this paradigm, however, CA rejects abstract, macro-social theorizing by locating social order in the micro-level details of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction identified in audio and audio-visual recordings. It is this interest in the practical accomplishment of everyday social actions that ultimately aligns CA with Garfinkel’s ethnomethodological research (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984a). In line with ethnomethodology, CA practitioners treat individuals as knowledgeable agents who make their actions and understandings of the social world accountable to each other through their participation in spoken interaction. The theoretical premises of CA and the organizational practices of talk-in-interaction that it identifies, while originally based on a template of ordinary conversational data, have since been applied to a wider range of situations including those involving institutional interaction.

2.2.2 Theoretical Premises

Conversation analysis treats all forms of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction as inherently structured events organized to achieve distinct social actions through the creation and maintenance of phenomenological intersubjectivity (Husserl, 1999; Schutz, 1967) among participants. As Schegloff (1992c) argues, in Western thought the question of intersubjectivity, which involves matters of mutual comprehension and joint activity among disparate human actors, predates modern attempts to determine the constitution of social relations. In his terms, “[m]ost simply put, without systematic provision for a world known and held in common by

some collectivity of persons, one has not a misunderstood world, but no conjoint reality at all...” (Schegloff, 1992c, p. 1296). Before reviewing the organizational practices that CA practitioners identify as the locus of intersubjectivity in talk-in-interaction, a brief examination of CA’s theoretical premises is in order.

One of the clearest statements of the theoretical assumptions envisioned by Sacks’s scientific enterprise is found in Psathas’s (1995) book-length treatment of CA. These premises are that in interaction:

1. Order is 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 preformed 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 produced.
7. Structures of social action, once so discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal, that is, structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstract, terms. (Psathas, 1995, pp. 2, 3)

These premises are worth examining in more detail. The first four points show a clear ethnomethodological interest in identifying social order as the regular production of parties in situational context and in light of their actions' accountability to each other. Two focal questions then become how parties in a situated interaction, often referred to as *members* in CA terms, are defined and how analysts are able to conduct their "discovery, description, and analysis of...produced orderliness" if they are to avoid the use of "preformulated theoretical conceptions" and "generalizing or summarizing statements" typically associated with other interactional accounting practices. To answer these questions, an examination of the concepts of membership and context in CA is necessary.

2.2.2.1 Membership. A key underpinning of the premises elaborated by Psathas is the idea of the co-membership of participants and analysts. As Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) explain, the sociological inquiry that ethnomethodology and, one must add, CA conducts is premised on the idea that, "[t]he notion of *member* is the heart of the matter. We do not use the term to refer to a person. It refers instead to a mastery of natural language..." (p. 342; emphasis in the original). The nature of this mastery is such that:

For speakers and auditors the practices of natural language somehow exhibit [accountable] phenomena in the particulars of speaking, and *that* these phenomena are exhibited is thereby itself made exhibitable in further description, remark, questions, and in other ways for the telling. (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342; emphasis in the original)

In more basic terms, the mastery of a common language allows participants in an interaction to display their intentions and understandings while checking those of their co-participants. This in no way signals that interaction will be without misunderstandings or that members are bound to openly display their intentions; it means simply that some level of shared language proficiency

provides a mechanism for members to understand each other. It is not coincidental that the CA enterprise is built on this conception of membership since, in many ways, “the researcher’s own comprehension, ‘as a member’, so to speak, is also and inevitably involved” (Have, 1999, p. 35). Without a shared, practical understanding of how language can be used in a given interaction, the analyst’s own abilities are severely limited.

As crucial as the concepts of membership and a member’s understanding are to CA practitioners, it is worth noting that they are the sites for significant controversies surrounding the discipline. Although early work in CA drew on comparative ethnographic studies to claim a universal basis to the organizational properties of talk-in-interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Moerman & Sacks, 1988), the majority of CA’s foundational studies and theorizing were conducted by English-speaking researchers on English-language data. This has inevitably led to doubts about the applicability of CA findings to other language and cultural communities (Moerman, 1988; Hopper, Doany, Johnson, & Drummond, 1990/1991).³ In addition, when studying spoken interaction within specialized professional or organizational settings, researchers have emphasized that “[such] talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts” (Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 22; emphasis in the in original).

Within CA practice, one answer to these controversies about analysts’ co-membership with the individuals they study has been for researchers to “acquire specific membership competencies, in order to gain access to the competences that are actually used in specialized

³ As a response to these objections, Stivers et al.’s (2009) statistical analysis of turn-taking behaviors in ten languages found only minor quantitative variation in what appears to be a basic “minimal overlap and minimal gap” (p. 10589) feature of human interaction.

local practices,” (Have, 2002) a move suggested by both Garfinkel (Have, 2002) and Moerman (1988, 1996). An additional and perhaps more tenable practice in the long term is for the analysis of interaction in other cultures and languages to be undertaken by native or expert speakers trained in CA methodology (Hopper & Chen, 1996; Wu, 2004; Arminen & Leinonen, 2006; Lee, 2006). Analyses drawn from studies on languages other than English and conducted in both manners suggested above have confirmed the general applicability of CA’s basic organizational findings while highlighting areas of particularistic variation. Studies of institutional interaction have similarly confirmed that conversation analysis offers insights on the particularities of talk-at-work that diverge notably from ordinary conversation (Drew & Heritage, 1992). A review of this institutional CA literature will be presented later in the chapter.

2.2.2.2 Context. An additional, significant controversy surrounds the understanding and employment of context in conversation analytic terms. At least three distinct arguments have been made by CA practitioners on this front, each of which helps illuminate the analyst’s task as outlined in Psathas’s fifth theoretical premise. The first argument returns to the “agency-structure debate” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 5) within sociology exemplified by the contrast between ethnomethodological and Parsonian theories of social action. In line with Garfinkel’s (1967) rejection of the social actor as “cultural dope,” CA practitioners have “taken issue with the standard sociolinguistic notion that there is an intrinsic and causal relationship between language and the social contexts in which it is produced” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 5). In practice, this means CA researchers have generally resisted the wholesale adoption of social categories such as age, social status, ethnic or racial background and even “native” or “nonnative” language speaker status as analytical frames (Schegloff, 1987a, 1997; Wong & Olsher, 2000; Schegloff et al., 2002). As Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) explain:

This does not mean that variables such as gender, class or authority are irrelevant; but it does require the analyst to pay close attention to empirical phenomena and to begin from the assumption that participants are active, knowledgeable agents, rather than simply the bearers of extrinsic, constraining structures. (pp. 5-6)

The inclusion of a given social categorization in CA analysis rests not on its mere factuality but on its relevance for participants in a given interaction as displayed through their procedurally consequential contributions (Schegloff, 1997; Schegloff et al., 2002). For critics, this insistence on interactionally demonstrable relevance and consequence has meant that CA is severely limited by its insensitivity to other sources of information on participants (Moerman, 1988; Wetherell 1998; Tainio, 2003; Levinson, 2005) or even ideologically naive if not reactionary in its apparent inattention to issues of power and violence in human interaction (Billig, 1999). Schegloff's defense of CA practices on these points has been that a reliance on analytical categories produced outside talk-in-interaction may "preempt full technical exploration of the aspects of interaction being accounted for and the micro-level mechanisms that are involved in their production" (1987a, p. 215) and, instead, substitute researcher interests for those of the participants (1997, 2005).

A second, related discussion of context focuses on the analytic procedures employed within CA. Since CA methodology rejects "talk-extrinsic" categories and analyses, there is a need to delineate its "talk-intrinsic" analytic procedure (Mandelbaum, 1990/1991). As Schegloff et al. (2002) contend, the basic questions for CA practitioners when encountering a piece of interactional data is to ask, "*why that now...? What is getting done by virtue of that bit of conduct, done that way, in just that place?*" (p. 5; emphasis in the original). Here attention is focused on the form of and action conducted by a specific turn-at-talk in light of its immediate,

sequential context. Without reference to their sequential organization, turns and the actions they complete remain necessarily opaque in CA terms. Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) describe this analysis of turns-at-talk through their sequencing as a *next-turn proof procedure*, through which “speakers display in their sequentially ‘next’ turns an understanding of what the ‘prior’ turn was about” (p. 15). In most basic terms then, the talk-intrinsic notion of context in CA relies on the detailed local context of contingently linked turns. Through their co-membership with speakers, analysts are able to employ this context in their analyses of the “very turn-by-turn unfolding of interaction” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 16).

A final argument regarding context is the superficially enigmatic claim that the properties of talk-in-interaction uncovered by CA “have the important twin features of being context-free and capable of extraordinary context sensitivity” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 699). Because its disciplinary development has been marked by the attempt to discover and explicate the most general features of spoken interaction without reference to talk-extrinsic information, CA claims that the organizational structures and procedures it has identified can be productively applied to a wide range of situational contexts—a claim put to the test in studies of institutional talk-in-interaction and non-English language speech events. As Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) explain, “...examination of any particular materials will display the particulars of context. It is the context-free structure which defines how and where context-sensitivity can be displayed” (p. 699). The following section will be devoted to the presentation of the “context-free structure” that CA identifies in the organizational practices of talk-in-interaction.

2.2.3 Organizational Features of Talk-in-interaction

CA identifies several basic features that members use to design their interactional contributions and, in turn, to understand the contributions of others: turn construction, sequence

organization, rules for turn-taking, and repair organization. CA practitioners have elaborated each of these features in considerable detail over the years. Here we will focus on the basic properties of each feature and illustrate how they work together within CA's program.

2.2.3.1 Turn construction: Forms and actions. Conversation analysis identifies participants' contributions, or turns-at-talk, as a basic object of study. In CA terms, these turns are composed of one or more turn-constructual units (TCUs), which range in length from one word to one sentence (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and may also be formed with both verbal non-lexical and visual components (Schegloff, 1999a; Goodwin, 2000, 2004). In general, TCUs are organized by their grammatical form, the phonetic instantiation of that form, and the recognizable action or actions that they perform (Schegloff, 2007a). Since these organizational criteria are also central to other analyses of language and language use, it is crucial to understand what distinguishes CA on this point. A clear, initial point of differentiation centers on the source of data being analyzed. In keeping with its ethnomethodological commitment to analyzing members' real-world practices, CA only makes reference to recorded, naturally occurring interactions. This is in contrast to transformational-generative linguistic analyses, pragmatics (Schegloff, 1992d) and much of Goffman's interactional work (Schegloff, 1988), which rely heavily on invented or recalled examples. A second point of differentiation comes in the identification of a locus of interpretation. While Chomskyan linguistics has attempted to locate the meaning of sentences through formal analyses of their syntactic argumentation (Aarts, 1997), language philosophy and pragmatics have instead relied on notions of speaker intention in the performance of speech acts (Searle 1994). What these approaches share is the notion that the import of language can be studied in isolation from its interactional context. In contrast, CA with

its analytical query of “why that now?” treats both form (“that”) and sequential placement (“now”) as key to understanding the actions that turns-at-talk undertake.

To illustrate a CA analysis of turn design and action, consider the following example (Excerpt 4) discussed in Drew and Heritage (1992b):

Excerpt 4 [HV:4A1:1] (Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 33)

- 1 HV: → He's enjoying that [isn't he.
 2 F: → [°Yes, he certainly is=°
 3 M: → He's not hungry 'cuz (h)he's ju(h)st (h)had
 4 'iz bo:ttle .hhh
 5 (0.5)
 6 HV: You're feeding him on (.) Cow and Gate
 7 Premium.

The interaction in question is taken from a meeting held in the home between a government health visitor (HV) and the parents (F and M) of a baby. Examining the parents' response to the health visitor's turn on line 1, designed in reference to the baby's “sucking or chewing” on some object (Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 33), it is apparent that each interprets the turn-at-talk in a different manner. While the husband treat's the HV's turn as a benign, conversational assessment of the baby's behavior that only warrants a slightly upgraded agreement on line 2 (°Yes, he certainly is=°), the mother interprets the same turn-at-talk as an official and negative appraisal of her parenting skills. This is indicated by the defensive nature of her response on lines 3 and 4 (=He's not hungry 'cuz (h)he's ju(h)st (h)had 'iz bo:ttle .hhh) (Drew & Heritage, 1992b), formed with a vocally stressed negative specifier (not) and arguably accentuated by the laughter interspersed throughout her turn (indicated in the transcript by the inclusion of parenthetical *hs*). A key point here is that the action the health visitor planned with her initial turn is not accessible in reference to formal or intentional evaluations, or, more significantly, a CA analysis. As Heritage notes elsewhere (1990/1991), conversation analysis remains “happily agnostic” on

abstract, decontextualized questions of intention (p. 329). In CA terms then, only when the health visitor's turn is examined in sequence with the parents' responses can we hazard an interpretation of her action. Addressing this issue of turns-at-talk and their analysis, Schegloff (2007a) both expands on the earlier question of "why that now?" and provides a summary of CA's basic analytic method:

What could someone be doing by talking in this way? What does that bit of talk appear designed to do? What is the action that it is a practice for? We try to ground our answer to this sort of question by showing that it is *that* action which *co-participants in the interaction* took to be what was getting done, as revealed in/by the response they make to it. (p. 8; emphasis in the original)

As significant or interesting as an individual turn may appear in its own right, it only gains analytical significance when it is placed in sequence with others' turns-at-talk. It is to questions of sequences and their organization that we now turn.

2.2.3.2 Sequence organization. As the foregoing discussion underlines, conversation analysis relies on the placement of turns within an unfolding succession of related turns-at-talk to interpret their potential meanings and uncover order within social action. How this is accomplished is through CA's next turn-proof procedure (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), which makes use of the naturally occurring organization of interactional sequences within ordinary conversation. Restating earlier arguments, this analysis is possible because:

The relationship of adjacency or "nextness" between turns is central to the ways in which talk-in-interaction is organized and understood. Next turns are understood by co-participants to display their speaker's understanding of the just-prior turn and to embody an action responsive to the just-prior turn so understood (unless the turn has been marked as

addressing something other than just-prior turn). This is in large measure because of the way turn-taking for conversation works; namely, one turn at a time and specifically, exclusively *next turn* allocation. (Schegloff, 2007a, p. 15; emphasis in the original)

Leaving aside the issue of turn-taking until the next section, these claims about the sequential organization of spoken interaction and the attendant “recipient design” of turns mirror the discoveries of Sacks’s (1992a) first lecture in which one participant’s turn-at-talk produces both a slot and an expectation for a co-participant’s following turn. In CA, sequentially linked turns are labeled an adjacency pair (AP), which includes both a first pair part (FPP) and corresponding second pair part (SPP) that acknowledges the action committed by the FPP. As Sacks (1992a) discovered through his analysis of Suicide Prevention Center transcripts, a greeting in the first position, for example, creates the space for and anticipation of a greeting in return. The relationship between these pair parts is such that a noticeable failure to provide the appropriate response in second position usually has a marked effect on the future unfolding of an interaction. In the following excerpt (Excerpt 5), for example, the two participants initially speak at the same time, but because A apparently does not hear B’s almost inaudible turn, A treats it as a case of B either not hearing or simply ignoring a first pair part greeting. A’s renewed, and significantly emphasized greeting on line 4 makes this analysis tenable. By identifying greeting-greeting, summons-answer, question-answer and other forms of adjacency pairs in naturally occurring, sequentially linked interaction, CA is similarly able to analyze how speakers achieve intersubjectivity and accomplish basic social actions.

Excerpt 5 [IH:FN] (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 42)

(Two colleagues pass in the corridor)

- 1 A: [Hello.
- 2 B: [((almost inaudible)) Hi

- 3 (Pause: B continues walking)
 4 A: → ((shouts)) HEllo!

While the focus on sequential nextness and adjacency may create the impression that interactions are composed of neatly unfurling pairs of contiguous turns, it is important to note that CA practitioners also identify several potential modifications that extend basic adjacency pairs beyond their two-turn minimum.

Pre-sequences, for example, may help establish the interactional ground for a later adjacency pair. In the following exchange (Excerpt 6), Nelson initiates a pre-invitation sequence on line 4 to gauge whether or not Clara is available to do something with him:

Excerpt 6 [JG 3:1] (Nelson is the caller; Clara is called to the phone)
 (Schegloff, 2007a, p. 30)

- 1 Cla: Hello
 2 Nel: Hi.
 3 Cla: Hi.
 4 Nel: → Whatcha doin'.
 5 Cla: → Not much.
 6 Nel: Y'wanna drink?
 7 Cla: Yeah.
 8 Nel: Okay.

Only when she confirms her availability on line 5 does Nelson initiate the first pair part of an invitation-acceptance/declination adjacency pair on line 6.

Insert sequences between the base pair parts of an AP may also offer opportunities to question or develop some aspect of a FPP and provide information necessary for the completion of the adjacency pair. For example, in Excerpt 7 below, B withholds the provision of a second-pair-part answer to A's question on line 1 until an insert sequence on lines 2 and 3 establishing B's age and eligibility to purchase alcohol is completed.

Excerpt 7 (Levinson, 1983, p. 304; cited in Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 40).

- 1 A: Can I have a bottle of Mich?

- 2 B: → Are you over twenty-one?
 3 A: → No.
 4 B: No.

In addition, post-expansions following adjacency pairs may, among other possibilities, act as sequence closing thirds by registering a recipient's change of knowledge state (Heritage, 1984b) or by providing an assessment of a preceding action (Schegloff, 2007a). Participant deployment of these and other sequential elaborations may mean that multiple lines of inserted sequences separate FPPs from their SPPs and that an entire complex of sequences surrounding a base AP may be extended almost indefinitely. The central point here is that despite the basic relevancy of adjacency pairs to the study of interaction, CA analyses often requires greater sensitivity to the details of extended turn-by-turn interaction beyond the simple identification of first and second pair parts.

A final aspect of sequential organization that warrants discussion here is the concept of preference organization in the production of adjacency pairs. Although some FPPs, such as greetings, require a strictly limited range of SPPs in response, CA practitioners have found such cases to be rare (Schegloff, 2007a). Instead:

In the vast majority of sequence types, there are not only alternative responses which a first pair part makes relevant and a recipient of a first pair part may employ; there are alternative types of response, and these embody different alignments toward the project undertaken in the first pair part. (Schegloff, 2007a, p. 58)

In basic terms, these second-pair-part alternatives may be viewed as agreeing or disagreeing with an FPP project through analysis of the SPP's formal design and sequential placement. In general, study of talk-in-interaction has revealed a "preference for agreement" (Sacks, 1987; cited in Have, 1999, p. 5) between pair parts, which entails turn design and placement but not issues of

personal motivation (Schegloff, 2007a). While the producers of FPPs typically have been found to design turns they anticipate will be agreed with, they may change the form of such turns if a dispreferred response is received or anticipated in second position. In addition, while the producers of preferred SPPs are likely to briefly word agreements and place them without hesitation in the appropriate turn slot, producers of dispreferred second turns that contradict the action content of FPPs are likely to disguise their responses as agreements, offer elaborations or mitigations to their turns, or even delay giving a response if it may show disagreement (Schegloff, 2007a). To illustrate the preference for agreement in the design of both parts of an adjacency pair, consider the following example taken from a medical consultation (Excerpt 8):

Excerpt 8 (Frankel, 1984, p. 153 [G.L:2]; [glosses omitted] [cited in Have, 1999, p. 4])

- 1 Pt: This- chemotherapy (0.2) it won't have any lasting effects on havin'
kids will it?
- 2 (2.2)
- 3 Pt: It will?
- 4 Dr: I'm afraid so

Here the patient (Pt) forms an FPP designed to elicit a preferred turn-shape from the doctor that is negatively words (e.g. “No, it won’t”). The long pause in the doctor’s slot on line 2 seems to indicate that such an agreement will not be forthcoming. In response, the patient on line 3 self-repairs the original question so that it is now positively worded (“It will?”) and thus more likely aligned to the doctor’s position. This is alignment is confirmed by the doctor offering the new, preferred SPP without hesitation on line 4. As the sobering content of this excerpt clearly illustrates, the concepts of preference and agreement in sequential organization are products of turn design and placement not personal motivation.

To summarize this brief treatment of sequence organization, it is important to reemphasize the role CA views such sequencing as playing in the accomplishment of basic social actions.

Although adjacency pairs create expectations for and, in many regards, limitations on our design of turns-at-talk, they also provide the key mechanism through which we express our intentions as well as our understandings of each other. The following section presents the mechanisms through which turn-taking is managed in spoken interaction to ensure that sequence organization can occur in an orderly manner.

2.2.3.3 Turn-taking organization. In their foundational article “A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation” Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) present a number of observations regarding ordinary conversation that represent much of CA’s analytical program as it has come to be known. Central to the paper’s main arguments are four observations about the basic distribution of turns within such interactions:

1. Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs...
2. Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time...
3. Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common.

Together with transitions characterized by slight gap or overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions...

4. Turn order is not fixed, but varies... (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 700, 701)

To explain this remarkable degree of observable order in turn-taking, an order necessary for the maintenance of sequential organization, the authors provide a simplest systematics that includes a *turn-constructional component* (introduced previously as turn construction), a *turn-allocation component*, and a set of ordered rules regulating both of these components. While TCUs may vary in content and length and be composed of verbal and/or visual information, each has real and potential completion points that may be anticipated by other members through a combination of syntactic, intonational, and other factors. Once a completion point or transition-relevance

place (TRP) is neared or reached, turn allocation may take place. In brief there are two allocation options: the current speaker can select the next party to speak or another party can self-select to do the same. The rules that govern these allocation possibilities (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 704) can be summarized as follows. At the first possible TRP, the current speaker may select another party as next speaker. If this does not happen, another party may self-select to take a turn. If neither of these options is used, the current speaker may continue with her or his turn by adding another TCU. These options are hierarchically ordered with the current speaker's selection of another speaker taking precedence over self-selection by another party. In turn, both options take precedence over the continuation of the current speaker's turn. Regardless of who takes the next turn-at-talk, the same range of allocation options will present itself at the next TRP.

To illustrate this turn-taking organization, an excerpt previously analyzed under the discussion of turn construction is worth revisiting (Excerpt 9):

Excerpt 9 [HV:4A1:1] (Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 33)

- 1 HV: → He's enjoying that [isn't he.
- 2 F: → [°Yes, he certainly is=°
- 3 M: → =He's not hungry 'cuz (h)he's ju(h)st (h)had
- 4 'iz bo:ttle .hhh

Reexamining the first two lines of the excerpt, it might initially appear as if the father has violated allocation rules by beginning his turn before the health visitor's is turn finished. However, this can more accurately be labeled as a slight speaker overlap and not an interruption because the inclusion of a tag question at the end of the HV's turn means that the TCU has two TRP's—a potential one at the end of the main clause and a final one at the end of the tag. A second analytical question involves the selection of next speaker at the end of the HV's TCU. Because the transcript does not provide gaze information, it is impossible to tell if the HV has

visually selected either the father or mother as next speaker. Assuming for analytical purposes that no such selection has occurred, the father would appear to be within his rights to self-select as speaker at the place he does. Finally, assuming once again that there is no current speaker selection of next speaker through gaze at the end of the father's turn, the mother legitimately self-selects on line 3 to add her response to the HV by immediately beginning her turn at the TRP of her partner's turn as indicated by the "latching" symbols [= =] in the transcript.

By making possible a relatively ordered transition between speakers, the turn-taking practices outlined here help ensure proper sequence organization and the attendant achievement of social actions. Despite this emphasis on order within spoken interaction, the potential for misunderstanding and the loss of intersubjectivity remain pervasive risks in communication. Through its analysis of interactional repair, CA identifies a final organizational practice that comes into play when other forms of interactional order threaten to break down.

2.2.3.4 Repair organization. To ensure the creation and maintenance of the intersubjectivity necessary for the achievement of social actions, participants in spoken interaction have a variety of repair options at their disposal if and when problems occur. Like the other interactional phenomena addressed by the CA project, these repair phenomena are arranged in a detailed organizational structure. Before examining these options and their arrangement more closely, it is important to define what CA practitioners refer to with the notion of repair. In contrast to a definition of repair that implies the occurrence of an identifiable error, CA treats any turn or location within a turn as a "repairable" based on the response it generates in the speaker or respondent. In practice this means that repairables may include an almost endless range of features, from errors such as wrongly chosen words or mispronunciations to misunderstandings based on problematic reference or confusion over the sequential actions

intended with a given turn (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1987b). In some cases, turns superficially without errors or problematic content may generate repair (Excerpt 10) while turns that would objectively appear to include a repairable phenomenon are not repaired by participants (Excerpt 11):

Excerpt 10 (Sacks, 1992a, p.3)

A: → This is Mr Smith may I help you
 B: I can't hear you
 A: This is Mr Smith.
 B: Smith

Excerpt 11 [Ladies:1:1:9:4] (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p. 363)

Avon Lady: And for ninety-nine cents uh especially in,
 → Rapture, and the Au Coer which is the newest
 → fragrances, uh that is a very good value.
 Customer: Uh huh,

As Sacks's earlier analysis of SPC call openings indicated, the initiation of repair may even be employed for strategic effect (as appears to be the case in Excerpt 10). As was the case with speaker intention and turn action, the presence of a repairable has less to do the analyst's perspective than it does with the responses of participants within an interaction.

In sequences where repair occurs, CA differentiates between repair initiation and repair outcome (also known simply as repair). The speaker (self) or a respondent (other) may engage in either of these actions, and any combination of self- and/or other-initiation and repair (i.e., self-initiation and repair, self-initiation and other-repair, other-initiation and repair, other-initiation and self-repair) can be found in naturally occurring data. As Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) indicate, however, there is a strong preference for self-initiation and repair in the data they analyzed. This preference is based not on normative rules of politeness but on the basic organization of turns. Since repair can be initiated and completed by a speaker within the turn in

which a repairable occurred (Excerpt 12) or in the transition space immediately following (Excerpt 13), there are two opportunities for self-repair before a respondent has a chance to make a second-position initiation.

Excerpt 12 [US:4] Self-initiation and repair during repairable turn (first position)
(Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p. 364)

Vic: En- it nevuh happen. Now I could of
wen' up there en told the parents
→ myself but then the ma- the husbin
liable tuh come t'd'doh ...

Excerpt 13 [GTS:5:3] Self-initiation and repair in transition space following repairable turn
(Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p. 364)

N: She was givin me a:ll the people that
→ were go:ne this yea:r I mean this
quarter y' // know
J: Yeah

If initiation and repair are not engaged in here (first position and its transition space), there are additional opportunities for these actions in a respondent's following turn (second position, Excerpt 14) as well as the original speaker's next turn (Table 2-1, third position):

Excerpt 14 [JS:II:219-20] Other repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p. 378)

Ben: Lissena pigeons.
(0.7)
Ellen: [Coo-coo::: coo:::
Bill: →[Quail, I think.
Ben: Oh yeh?
(1.5)
Ben: No that's not quail, that's a pigeon,

Table 2-1: Positions for Possible Repair (based on Schegloff, 1992c)

<u>Speaker turn:</u>	<u>Speaker:</u>	<u>Positions for possible repair:</u>
First (w/ repairable)	A:	First
	A:	(Transition space)
Second	B:	Second
Third	A: →	Third

Schegloff (1992c) labels third position repair (or “repair after next turn”) “the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation” in which the original speaker of a repairable realizes a problem has occurred based on the understanding demonstrated in a second position contribution and proceeds to make a repair. A point on the organizational implications of self- and other-repair is worth mentioning here. While self-repair is generally resolved within the turn it is initiated, other-initiation of repair may take several turns to reach a conclusion as both parties search for the initial trouble source.

Although a full discussion of the repair practices identified by CA is not possible here, the importance of repair to the maintenance of intersubjectivity should be apparent. By acting as an organizational safety net for turn construction, sequential organization and turn-taking practices, repair provides an additional opportunity for parties to make their actions accountable to each other even in the face of potential misunderstanding.

Taken as a whole, the practices that CA identifies as crucial to the effective and efficient organization of interaction also provide the means with which basic social actions are accomplished. Contrary to the arguments of transformational-generative linguists and language philosophers who have in large degree treated the creation of turns-at-talk as speaker-internal phenomena based on syntactic or intentional reasoning, CA views such turns as designed for and interpretable in light of recipient response. It is within this local sequential organization of turn and next turn that much of daily social life is enacted. Finally, to ensure the proper functioning of this sequencing, turn-taking and repair practices work respectively to ensure a relatively smooth flow of turns-at-talk and to avoid misunderstandings that threaten intersubjectivity. As mentioned previously, these basic organizational properties were discovered in light of the basic practices of ordinary conversation. To test CA’s early claim that these properties are “context-

free and capable of extraordinary context sensitivity” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 699), their application to the study of institutional interaction will now be examined.

2.3 Institutional Conversation Analysis

Reviewing the development of conversation analysis in the decade and-a-half following Sacks’s death, Heritage (1985, 1989) took note of the rapidly growing interest in work-related studies among CA researchers. Recalling Sacks’s (1992a) early use of SPC and group therapy transcripts as well as Schegloff’s (1968) examination of summons-answer adjacency pairs in the openings of telephone calls to the police, it can, of course, be argued that institutional talk provided significant inspiration and data for the nascent CA project. For Sacks and his collaborators, however, the foundational drive to uncover the underlying structures of spoken interaction meant that a focus on ordinary conversation, the most basic of “speech exchange systems” (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 696), quickly took analytical precedence. By the time of Sacks’s death in 1975, however, the basic organizational practices of talk-in-interaction presented above had largely been delineated and the ground laid for both more in-depth analyses of conversational phenomena and the application of CA methodology to more specialized forms of talk (Heritage, 1985, 1989).

This section has three purposes. First, it will identify two strands of institutional CA research involving, in turn, lay-professional and inter-/intra-organizational talk-in-interaction. Next, it will outline some of the major analytical features and findings of CA work conducted on institutional talk. Finally, it will address controversies surrounding the application of CA theory and methods to workplace, professional, and organizational contexts.

2.3.1 Lay-Professional and Inter-/Intra-Organizational Research

Two major strands of inquiry can be identified in CA studies of institutional interaction. The first strand involves interaction between members of the general public and professional or institutional representatives. This strand, with roots in Sacks's (1992a) lectures on SPC hotline calls, has played a leading role in establishing the application of CA theory and methods to the study of institutions (Drew & Heritage, 1992a). Specific interactions included within this strand of research include courtroom proceedings (Atkinson, 1992; Drew, 1992; Galatolo & Drew, 2006), medical consultations (Maynard, 1992; Maynard & Hudak, 2008; Pilnick, Hindmarsh, & Gill, 2009), calls to emergency services (Zimmerman, 1992; Raymond & Zimmerman, 2007; Fele, 2008), and retail or other service encounters (Kidwell, 2000; Moore, 2008; Kuroshima, 2010). A second strand of research has focused on inter- or intra-organizational interactions that are claimed to both create and maintain the institutions in which they occur (Boden, 1994). Among the interactions analyzed within this group of studies are those involving businessmen and women (Boden, 1994; Barske, 2009; Femø Nielsen, 2009), government committee members (Kangasharju, 1996, 2002), medical or technical professionals (Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000a, 2000b; Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2002, 2007); and educational professionals (Saft, 2001, 2004; Richards, 2006). Despite the early dominance of lay-professional studies, both strands of CA research now provide valuable contributions to our understanding of how spoken interaction creates and maintains organizations and institutions.

2.3.2 Comparative Analysis: Identifying Features of Institutional Interaction

While CA claims all forms of naturally occurring spoken interaction make use of turn construction and allocation, sequence organization, and repair, studies of institutional interaction have noted unique attributes that differentiate it from ordinary conversation. The general method

followed in such studies involves a comparative analysis of conversational practices with interactions that can be labeled as institutional in nature (Drew & Heritage, 1992b). As Heritage (1985) explains, CA practitioners have “approached this domain from the standpoint that conversational interaction is the fundamental ‘baseline’ from which various forms of institutional interaction depart” (p. 7). Sustained analysis of a specific form of institutional interaction is then pursued to uncover an interactional “fingerprint” differentiated from both the conversational standard and those of other institutional exchanges (Heritage, 2004, p. 225; referring to Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991, pp. 95-96).

This discussion of conversational “baselines” and unique institutional “fingerprints” should not be taken to suggest, however, that the two forms of interaction exist in marked opposition to each other. As Schegloff et al. (2002) argue:

...there is no sharp segregation between the practices of ordinary talk and interaction in institutional settings. People engage in ordinary conversation in institutional settings, e.g., when coworkers chat around the water cooler or intersperse bits of ordinary conversation in the course of task-related institutional interaction, talk which commonly has a bearing on the setting’s “business,” but which is organized by the practices of ordinary conversation. (p. 11)

As previous excerpts involving home health-care visits also demonstrate, informal settings can just as easily host institutionally focused interactions. In this light, recourse to physical setting or the professional identities of participants is insufficient grounds for claiming a stretch of talk is institutional in nature. Here it is important to recall the prior discussion of participant categorization in CA. Only when institutional settings and identities are demonstrated to be made relevant in and to have procedural consequences for interaction can a given stretch of talk-in-

interaction be legitimately labeled as institutional (Psathas, 1999; Heritage, 2005). As is the case in ordinary conversation, detailed attention to the turn-by-turn unfolding of talk-in-interaction, not the wholesale importation of talk-extrinsic categories, is the preferred way to determine the particular relevancies at play in a stretch of talk.

Considering institutional interactions as a whole, Drew and Heritage (1992b) identify three overarching features that distinguish these types of exchanges from ordinary conversation:

1. Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientation* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
2. Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
3. Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts. (p. 22; emphasis in the original)

Due to the inherent variability of institutional talk as well as the often indistinct line between it and ordinary conversation, it is important to note the diversity of ways in which goal orientations, interactional constraints, and inferential frameworks are manifested across institutional contexts. Drew and Heritage (1992b) note, for example, that while highly charged exchanges such as emergency telephone calls share “top-down” goals focused on dispensing vital aid, more informal home health visits may evidence an ad hoc, “bottom-up” determination of goals that is jointly established during the course of encounters. Similarly, while more codified interactions such as the examination of witnesses during criminal trials severely

constrain which parties have the right to ask questions and often determine the form these questions and their corresponding answers take (Moerman, 1988; Drew, 1992), private discussions between defendants and their attorneys are likely to display a far more variable and, at times, conversational organization. Finally, while interviewees in formal situations such as job interviews (Button, 1992) may not expect to receive third position assessments of their answers, lay participants in less structured interactions such as home health visits might anticipate less neutral responses and may infer a problem if neutral responses are in fact offered. The point here is that as valuable as a general focus on goal orientation, interactional constraints, and inferential frameworks are in identifying institutionally distinct patterns of interaction, CA's commitment to the examining the naturally occurring vagaries of talk in all its forms means that an analysis must always begin with the data at hand and not preformed expectations of what will be found.

Considering the fine line between ordinary conversation and many forms of institutional talk, the variation among different forms of institutional interaction, and CA's insistence on treating all aspects of a given exchange as potentially significant (Heritage, 2004), novice analysts need some framework with which to approach data. Heritage (2004) provides this with what he labels "six basic places to probe the 'institutionality' of interaction" (p. 225):

1. Turn-taking organization
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction
3. Sequence organization
4. Turn design
5. Lexical choice
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry (p. 225)

Three items from this list—the structural organization of interaction, lexical choice, and epistemological and other forms of asymmetry—mark significant departures from the traditional CA program of analysis and will be discussed here in more detail.

As Drew and Heritage (1992b) argue, most ordinary conversations may display only a loose organizational structure in that they are typically bounded by opening and closing sequences in contrast to the more prescribed features of many institutional interactions. In his analysis of emergency telephone calls to 911 operators, for example, Zimmerman (1992) found that the typical interaction was composed of five distinct components: (1) an opening sequence, (2) a request first pair part spoken by the caller, (3) insert question-answer sequences with the operator as questioner and caller as recipient, (4) a second pair part response to the caller's initial request for assistance, and (5) a closing sequence (Excerpt 15):

Excerpt 15 The overall structural organization of calls to 911 with example (Zimmerman, 1984, p. 214; quoted in Heritage, 2005, p. 120)

Structural components

- | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | 911: Midcity Emergency::, | ((opening sequence)) |
| 2 | (.) | |
| 3 | C: U::m yeah (.) | |
| ----- | | |
| 4 | somebody just vandalized my car, | ((request FPP)) |
| 5 | (0.3) | |
| ----- | | |
| 6 | 911: What's your address. | ((question-answer insert sequences)) |
| 7 | C: three oh one six maple | |
| 8 | 911: Is this a house or an apartment. | |
| 9 | C: I::t's a house | |
| 10 | 911: (Uh-) your last name. | |
| 11 | C: Minsky | |
| 12 | 911: How do you spell it? | |
| 13 | C: M I N S K Y | |
| ----- | | |
| 14 | 911: We'll send someone out to see you. | ((response SPP)) |
| 15 | C: Thank you.= | |
| 16 | 911: =Mmhm= | |

 17 911: =bye.= ((closing sequence))
 18 C: =Bye.

While callers in such interactions may be unable to predict the overall form the exchange will take, the operator for whom such interactions are routine and the analyst who examines numerous instances of such calls will note the structural regularity outlined here. Similarly predictable patterns of interaction have been found across other institutional contexts with doctor-patient visits (Heritage, 2005) and formal intra-organizational meetings (Boden, 1994) particularly well studied in this regard.

Patterns of lexical choice within interactions may also mark them as decidedly institutional in nature. The use of medical jargon in meetings between health care professionals and lay participants is one area that has received attention from researchers (Drew & Heritage, 1992b). Such use of technical vocabulary is by no means limited to professional participants, however. As the following excerpt from a home health visit indicates (Excerpt 16), lay participants may also employ such specialized terminology as an indicator of personal knowledge in interactions with medical professionals (Drew & Heritage, 1992b) and may use it as a means of aligning themselves with such professionals:

Excerpt 16 [HV:3A1:2] (Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 29)

1 M: And I was able to push her ou:t on my ow::n,=
 2 HV: =Goo:d.
 3 M: → And um (0.6) I didn't have an episiotomy so:,
 4 (0.3)
 5 HV: O::h s[u:per.
 6 M: [I had a (0.3) tiny little tea:r it wasn't a
 7 → perineal one (0.2) it was a (sort of)=
 8 HV: =Mm
 9 M: And um (1.5) but otherwise everything was fi:ne (.) and
 10 → the epidural made it lovely at the e:nd because I was
 11 able to pu:sh still .hhh but I had no pai:n and it was
 12 (.) super, it was lovely,

In addition, the use of pronouns by professional participants in institutional interactions may indicate strategic shifts between individual and more collective, institutional roles. In the excerpt below (Excerpt 17), for example, Silverman (1987; discussed in Drew & Heritage, 1992b) analyzes the doctor's switch from the first person singular pronoun on line 2 to the first person plural on line 6 as a means of avoiding personal responsibility by retreating behind a collective, institutional identity in the event something were to go wrong with the procedure he recommends.

Excerpt 17 (Silverman, 1987, p. 58; quoted on Drew & Heritage, 1992b, p. 31)

- 1 Dr: Hm (2.0) the reason for doing the test
 2 → is, I mean I'm 99 per cent certain that all
 3 he's got is a ductus
 4 F: Hm hm
 5 M: I see
 6 Dr: → However the time to find out that we're
 7 wrong is not when she's on the operating
 8 table

As these brief discussions of the structural organization of and the lexical choices made within work-related interactions demonstrate, institutional talk-in-interaction between lay and professional participants may also evidence what have been termed interactional asymmetries (Maynard, 1991; Heritage, 2004). Leaving aside CA-related research involving inter- and intra-organizational talk, this identification of unequal rights or resource utilization in lay-professional interaction has proven controversial for a number of reasons. Before examining these controversies in more detail, it is worth discussing the asymmetries that have been isolated using CA methodology.

Discussing lay-professional interaction in general, Heritage (2004) identifies four types of asymmetry that have been found within such exchanges: asymmetries of participation,

asymmetries of interactional and institutional “know-how,” epistemological caution and asymmetries of knowledge, and inequality in rights of access to knowledge.

With asymmetries of participation, researchers have noted that the interactional “fingerprint” of many institutional encounters tends to diverge from the egalitarian turn-taking rules outlined in CA’s treatment of ordinary conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). An obvious example can be drawn from legal proceedings that severely limit the number and nature of some participants’ turns-at-talk within relatively inflexible question-answer sequences. As Schegloff (1999b) warns, however, “[c]onversation...appears organized as to allow virtually any overall distribution of turns, from a wholly equalitarian one to a highly skewed and asymmetrical one” (p. 563). In other words, a simple reliance on asymmetrical turn-distribution may be insufficient grounds to distinguish talk as institutional or analytically relevant, especially if such interaction also includes conversational or quasi-conversational sequences. Instead, researchers must tie analyses of turn allocation to other features of an interaction such as lexical choice and general turn design to better determine the impact asymmetries in participation have on interaction (Heritage, 2004).

Asymmetries of interactional and institutional “know-how” may also play a significant role in determining the outcome of interactions between lay participants and their professional interlocutors. Zimmerman (1992), for example, notes that the alignment of lay participants to the organized structure of emergency center phone calls can prove an exceedingly difficult yet crucial activity for the outcome of such interactions. As he argues:

[t]he task of practitioners...is to transform what is from [the lay caller’s] point of view (as exhibited in their speech and vocal quality) an urgent, threatening, deeply felt “right now, this moment, life-changing” event into a *routine* call, the features of which

become standardized through the situated interactional process by which the organization puts in a day's work. (Zimmerman, 1992, p. 458; emphasis in the original)

The coordination of participant activity is of course crucial to all forms of spoken interaction, but the high stakes nature of many institutional encounters mean that alignment in these circumstances is crucial to the successful completion of vital activities.

Finally, epistemological caution, asymmetries of knowledge, and inequality in accessing knowledge can be seen in interactions where professionals use their social position and superior information to guide interactions with lay participants in order to protect themselves from the delivery of potentially troublesome news. Maynard (1991), for example, has examined the use of perspective-display series (PDS) by doctors with patients and their families to align parties to an impending diagnosis. In a PDS, a physician initiates one or more question-answer sequences seemingly designed to elicit a patient's or family's knowledge of the general situation and their understanding of what the problem under discussion may be before offering a more official diagnosis (Excerpt 18):

Excerpt 18 [47.001] (Maynard, 1991, p. 469)

- 1 Dr. E: → How's B doing?
- 2 Mrs. M: Well he's doing uh pretty good you know especially in the school.
- 3 I explained the teacher what you told me that he might be sent
- 4 into a special class maybe, that I wasn't sure. And HE says you
- 5 know I asks his opinion, an' he says that he was doing pretty
- 6 good in the school, that he was responding you know in uhm
- 7 everything that he tells them. Now he thinks that he's not gonna
- 8 need to be sent to another
- 9 Dr. E: → He doesn't think that he's gonna need to be sent
- 10 Mrs. M: Yeah that he was catching on a little bit uh more you know like
- 11 I said I- I- I KNOW that he needs a- you know I was 'splaining to
- 12 her that I'm you know that I know for sure that he needs some
- 13 special class or something
- 14 Dr. E: → Wu' whatta you think his PROblem is
- 15 Mrs. M: Speech

- 16 Dr. E: → Yeah. Yeah his main problem is a- you know a LANguage problem
 17 Mrs. M: Yeah language

According to Maynard (1991), these series of questions and answers may appear to value lay knowledge on highly sensitive matters, but they actually serve as a means for doctors to anticipate possible trouble sources in the delivery of a more legitimate professional opinion. Although there is relative agreement between the parties in the excerpt presented here, Maynard argues that:

[a]t times, because what the parents may think appears not to matter for the presentation of a discrepant clinical position, and due to the rhetorical aspects of the PDS, its use appears more manipulative than in everyday talk. In other words, clinicians may presumptively rely on their abstract authority while giving the *appearance* of incorporating the parent's perspective during a diagnostic informing. (1991, p. 483; emphasis in the original)

While the PDS meets the tangible interactional needs of physicians to prepare for and possibly mitigate unpleasant “interactional difficulties,” they can also be seen by macro-social researchers as further consolidating the balance of knowledge and power within the hands of doctors and medical institutions in general (Maynard, 1991).

2.3.3 Controversies in Institutional Conversation Analysis

Currently, studies of institutional interaction represent the most successful application of CA methodology to the study of the social world beyond the practices of ordinary conversation. Perhaps because of this success, however, they remain a somewhat controversial venture within conversation analysis as a whole. By exploring institutional contexts heavily researched by other social sciences, CA researchers have an opportunity to contribute their own detailed, micro-level analyses of social order to a wider conversation on the nature of human society and

organizations. Some CA practitioners welcome this development as a productive and necessary change. Arminen (2005), for example, argues that:

[e]arly CA soon became, if it was not already from its Sacksian start, a separationist project. From the perspective of the history of science, this separationism was a natural phase of the establishment of a new branch of science. Now, however, CA has come of age, and is strong enough to rebuild links to other fields of science. (pp. 240-241)

In a similar vein, addressing CA's growing connection with other disciplines and research methods, Heritage (1999) claims that "any framework worth its salt...can sustain 'applied' research of various kinds" (p. 73) although those who pursue applied CA research face considerable challenges. In contrast, other researchers are less sanguine in their approach to the CA study of institutional interaction. Hester and Francis (2000), for example, argue that CA-based institutional studies that show tendencies toward addressing macro-social structures, categories, and concerns are in danger of losing their ethnomethodological grounding. Have (1999) also cautions against the appropriation of CA methods and findings by disciplines with other, often ameliorative social agendas and suggests that, "[r]ather than providing packaged easy-to use solutions to felt problems, CA might only be helpful in terms of developing an overall sensitivity for the intricacies of talk-in-interaction" (p. 200). Expressing a different concern, Schegloff (1999c) worries that the increased focus on applied research such as the study of institutional interaction may lead to the "stagnation" of the original CA project (p. 145) and its interest in mapping the full range of interactional resources available to participants. This tension between the foundational project and applied forms of CA remains productive and will undoubtedly continue to present a site of significant disciplinary conflict in the future.

2.4 Application of Conversation Analysis to the Study's Research Questions

To address the two research questions presented above, the present study will employ conversation analytic theory and methods to examine the details of spoken interaction among a collaborative group of instructors. Conversation analysis, with its theoretical commitment to viewing social action as both the process and achievement of situated talk-in-interaction, is uniquely suited to exploring questions related to the collaborative construction of group decision-making.

Conversation analytic and CA-influenced research on teacher collaboration currently represents a small proportion of studies on the topic. As the foregoing literature review revealed, a majority of researchers have instead employed statistical analyses, descriptive narratives, and ethnographic methods to describe the effects of collaborative groups and to examine their inner-workings. Among notable studies of teacher collaboration that have employed CA techniques are Saft's (2000, 2001, 2004) work on conflict in Japanese university faculty meetings and Richards's (2006) analysis of formal and informal discussions in an ESL center and amongst members of a university department in the United Kingdom. In both researchers' studies, a notable feature of teachers' interactive collaborations is the way in which members are able to pursue disagreement without disrupting the interactional cohesion necessary to accomplish basic social actions. In Saft's work on university instructors, what has been often described as a Japanese predilection for maintaining group harmony is found to rest on complex set of interactional resources including the provision of concessions to opposing viewpoints (2001) and a variable organization of turn-taking procedures that alternately opens and closes interaction to arguments among group members (2004). In Richards' (2006) study, instructors are found to employ interactional resources such as references to non-present others and a collective framing

of disagreements that allows members to form a sense of group unity by placing the responsibility for problems with outsiders. By providing the interactional details largely missing from the literature on instructor collaboration, these studies suggest the analytical potential of CA for future work on teachers' collective decision-making.

The application of conversation analytic methods to the study of institutional decision-making proposed here is also in keeping with Huisman's (2001) study of the topic in relation to management meetings in three Dutch organizations. In an article designed to "identify those interactions and linguistic features which characterize the collaborative construction of 'commitment to future action' in talk-in-interaction" (2001, p. 83), Huisman argues that what constitutes a decision for a particular group is highly dependent on the culture and "procedural norms" that group displays through its interactions. In these terms, conversation analysis is well suited to address the decision-making resources involved in the study's first research question.

In terms of the study's second research question with its focus on teachers' sociocultural backgrounds and the role they may play in collective decision-making, the study aligns with CA practitioners who argue that such information can only be considered if it is made both relevant during and consequential to ongoing interactions (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Schegloff, 1997; Schegloff, et al., 2002). Details of participants' ages, genders, nationalities, professional teaching experiences and beliefs, and other sociocultural factors cannot be referenced in analyses of talk-in-interaction unless members themselves make them salient in their unfolding turns-at-talk. A representative CA analysis of how members make such details both relevant and consequential to their interactions is found in Schegloff's (2007b) study of person-reference resources used in a family dinner-time conversation. By using several category-based reference terms connected to participant age, knowledge, and maturity, the family members can be seen to assign specific

group memberships to themselves and others to accomplishment disagreement on the topic of teenagers' proper social relationships. This and similar conversation analytic studies suggest that membership in and descriptions of particular social and cultural groups is in large degree a result of the interactional framing of members and their behavior.

2.5 Summary

This chapter had two related purposes. First, a review of the literature on conversation analysis and on teacher collaboration and collective decision-making helped frame the present study. With the former review, the study's theoretical foundations were outlined and CA's contribution to an understanding of institutional interaction detailed. Following the latter review on teacher collaboration, gaps in our knowledge of teachers' collective decision-making were identified and research questions addressing this gap formed. The chapter's second purpose involved identifying conversation analysis as a research method well suited to address the study's research questions.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The following chapter outlines the design of a research study on collaborative decision-making in an intercultural group of EFL instructors. Its first section locates the study's theoretical foundations and research methods in conversation analysis, an approach to sociology that views talk-in-interaction as the basis of both social action and social order. Following this section is a detailed description of the project's data. This second section includes descriptions of the research site at a university EFL program in the People's Republic of China, the group of participants who form a teaching cohort in the program, and a focal series of face-to-face meetings in which group members reach decisions related to their instruction and assessment practices. The third section details the study's data collection methods involving the audio-visual recording of teaching group meetings and describes issues emerging during the collection process. Finally, the study's method of data analysis is outlined. This fourth section covers several stages including the review and annotation of audio-visual recordings, the identification and selection of key decision-making episodes deemed especially relevant to the study's research questions, and the transcription and sequential analysis of these selected episodes. The section also reviews written documentation involved in the group's interaction and describes the role previous CA research played in the interpretation of study data.

3.1 Research Design: Conversation Analysis's Theory and Method

The project draws on conversation analysis for a theoretical conception of society and for research methods providing a fine-grained analysis of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. CA adheres to a tradition of phenomenology inspired sociology dedicated to exploring how individuals construct social reality while making collective sense of their shared experience

(Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Garfinkel, 1967; Schutz, 1967). Within this strand of inquiry, social order is viewed as the product of local social actions accomplished through everyday forms of interaction. This view stands in marked contrast to mainstream sociological theory, which posits an objective, preexisting social order underpinning and determining the outcome of individual social actions (Parsons, 1937; Münch, 2005). CA differentiates itself from other social constructionist approaches to the degree it privileges embodied action as the site of emergent social order.

For conversation analysts, two theoretical premises focus research and make interactional analysis possible. First, a unique conception of context distinguishes CA from research in cultural anthropology and mainstream sociology. Within CA, context denotes the local environment of adjacent turns-at-talk. CA researchers analyze this environment by employing a *next-turn proof procedure* that assumes “speakers display in their sequentially ‘next’ turns an understanding of what the ‘prior’ turn was about” (Hutchby & Woffitt (1998, p. 15). This definition differs from the thick descriptions cultural anthropologists employ by explicitly drawing on knowledge of local histories, customs, and actors to explain specific social behaviors (Geertz, 1973; Moerman, 1988). As a discussion of CA’s theoretical conception of membership makes clear in the following paragraph, conversation analysts claim a common situational and professional knowledge with the individuals they study, but such knowledge is not explicitly referenced unless speakers themselves make it both relevant and consequential to their ongoing interaction. CA’s view of context also differs from mainstream sociological practice in which individuals are categorized and their behaviors analyzed in aggregate based on their perceived membership in one or more social groups such as those based on age, race, nationality, and religion (Durkheim. 2007; Weber, 2002). By reducing context to the local environment of

unfolding turns-at-talk, CA practitioners claim they are able to show how the orderly features of talk-in-interaction alone suffice to create both social actions and social order (Sacks, 1992a).

A second theoretical premise of conversation analysis is the concept of membership it shares with other forms of ethnomethodological sociology. According to CA theory, which draws on a basic phenomenological conception of intersubjectivity (Husserl, 1999; Schutz, 1967), a degree of shared experience, or co-membership, is essential for interactional partners to understand each other's contributions and accomplish basic social actions. A corollary of this assertion is that researchers must also claim co-membership with participants to accurately interpret their talk-in-interaction. The exact nature and extent of this necessary co-membership is a matter of some debate within ethnomethodology and CA. While Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) claim a shared natural language is the primary basis for co-membership, later practitioners have argued that forms of specialized situational or professional knowledge may also be necessary to understand specific spoken interactions (Have, 2002). Although CA does not insist analysts meet the rigorous standards for participant observation practiced in cultural anthropology, it does require its practitioners to claim and, when justified, explain their co-membership with the participants they study.

Employing the specialized conceptions of context and membership described here, conversation analysts have detailed four basic organizational practices structuring both ordinary conversation and more specialized speech exchange systems. These practices involve the construction of turns-at-talk, the organization of turns into sequences that accomplish meaningful social actions, the employment of rules for turn-taking, and the use of interactional repair when misunderstandings threaten intersubjectivity (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff,

2007a). In their research, CA practitioners create and draw on a growing corpus of interactional data to elaborate the range of techniques used to accomplish each of these four basic practices. To capture, analyze, and interpret the fine-grained details of naturally occurring interaction, conversation analysts employ a basic set of research methods. Key to these methods are the creation of audio or audio-visual recordings of spoken interactions, the written representation of these interactions using a specialized set of transcription symbols, and an analysis of the resulting transcripts in light of the organizational practices and interactional techniques identified by previous CA research. These research methods will be illustrated in more detail in the data collection and analysis sections that follow as the study addresses its two research questions: (1) how do groups of teachers employ interactional resources to make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students; and (2) how are sociocultural factors including those related to instructors' experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning involved in collective decision-making interactions?

3.2 Data

3.2.1 Research Site

The site for the present study is the English Language Program (ELP), an academic unit dedicated to EFL instruction at Southeastern University (SEU)⁴, which is located in a large coastal city in the People's Republic of China. Established in the decade following the Cultural Revolution, the university currently serves approximately 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students at both its main campus on the outskirts of the city and a medical school in the city center. Although EFL courses are offered at both of SEU's branches, the ELP operates exclusively at the university's main campus.

⁴ The English Language Program, Southeastern University, and their acronyms are pseudonyms.

Since the turn of the millennium, the English Language Program has undertaken several major reforms in response to the university administration's interest in raising students' English proficiency levels. These reforms have involved the restructuring and expansion of the ELP's course offerings, the adoption of more communicative approaches to language instruction and assessment, and increased efforts to create an English-speaking environment on SEU's main campus through a series of clubs, contests, publications, and cultural events.

In terms of the present study, two additional reforms are of particular interest. First, efforts to recruit international native and expert English-speaking instructors have been increased to meet the growing need for qualified language teachers; foster innovative teaching practices based on Western methodologies; and expose ELP students, staff, and faculty to international models of English language use and cultural practice. Since the beginning of reforms, the ELP has maintained a roughly equal ratio of international to Chinese EFL instructors with the majority of international faculty members coming from North America and additional numbers hailing from Europe and the outer and expanding circles of English speaking countries⁵ (Kachru, 1992).

A second noteworthy reform at the ELP has involved sustained efforts to both create and support opportunities for international and Chinese instructors to collaborate. ELP-sponsored co-curricular activities such as the publication of a student-run, English-language newspaper and the planning of a yearly English language festival have provided one set of opportunities for such collaboration. More significantly for the present study, the ELP has also engaged groups of international and Chinese faculty members in collective decision-making related to the creation of course assignments, assessment measures, and lesson materials. The primary sites for such

⁵ The ELP has employed an average of 40 to 50 faculty members every year since the inception of reforms.

collaboration are teaching groups comprised of instructors assigned to different sections of the same ELP course. The ELP's utilization of these intercultural teaching groups, while most likely rare in a Chinese context where research and commentary suggest a majority of international and Chinese instructors operate in relative isolation from each other (Adamson, 1995; Boyle, 2000; Hessler, 2001; Liu, 2007; Lee, 2009; Wolff, 2009), provides a valuable opportunity to study how EFL instructors from varying sociocultural backgrounds make collective decisions through their face-to-face interaction.

3.2.2 Participants

Participants in the study were members of a teaching group that operated during the fall semester of the 2007-2008 academic year—the study's data collection period. Before the start of each semester at the ELP, program directors assign teachers to specific course sections based on enrollment needs and instructor experience. High levels of faculty turnover in the ELP, especially among international instructors, and shifting enrollment demands mean most teachers are assigned to several courses over two or more semesters in the program. The ELP's creation of formal teaching groups for each course with multiple instructors helps ensure proper orientation and support for new faculty members and continuity both within the program and across the sequence of ELP courses. The program director assigns the role of chairperson to an experienced instructor in each group, and group members work together throughout the semester to design a shared syllabus, major course assignments, and midterm and final examinations that conform to ELP curricular and policy guidelines.

The teaching group whose meetings provide data for the present study taught sections of ELP Level 2, a course for low-intermediate proficiency students and the second offering in a five-course undergraduate EFL sequence. Prior to the start of the fall 2007 semester, the

researcher approached members of the group, which is hereafter referred to as Level 2 or ELP2, and received their permission to collect data on their work throughout the semester. Level 2 members were recruited for two reasons. First, the group contained both international and Chinese instructors, a necessary factor in terms of the study's second research question related to the role sociocultural differences may play in teachers' collective decision-making. During the study's data collection period, three of the ELPs teaching groups contained both international and Chinese members. Of these three, Level 2 was selected for an additional reason related to group size. With five group members, three Chinese and two international instructors, Level 2's size was deemed optimal for the collection of multiparty spoken interactional data. This was in contrast to other intercultural teaching groups that semester whose sizes, three and seven members, were deemed too small or too large for the study's purposes⁶.

For descriptive purposes, the following table (Table 3-1) provides basic information on Level 2 members. This information provides background to the study and is not in itself intended as an analytical or interpretive resource for the data analysis that follows. As discussed previously, conversation analysts generally avoid referencing participant characteristics unless the participants themselves make such information both directly relevant and consequential to their interaction (Schegloff, 1997; Schegloff, et al., 2002). In the data analysis and discussion that follow, issues related to group members' national and sociocultural backgrounds and

⁶Members of these additional groups were later approached for the collection of supplemental data. Although one of these groups' members agreed to participate in this secondary collection process, their interactions, with the exception of a few excerpts illustrating features related to the analysis of Level 2's data, are not considered here in detail.

teaching experiences will be discussed only to the extent that they are explicitly referenced during and made consequential to the group's unfolding talk-in-interaction.

Table 3-1: Members of the Level 2 Teaching Group, Fall 2007 Semester

Name ⁷	Nationality	Teaching experience
Ann	Chinese	Over two decades teaching at the ELP
Bev	Chinese	One year of teaching experience; second year at the ELP
Cal	Chinese	Over a decade teaching at the ELP
Don	Canadian (born in the UK)	Several years of EFL teaching experience including two years in China; first year at the ELP
Eve	American	First teaching position following completion of masters degree in ESL education; first year at the ELP

3.2.3 Teachers Meetings

A focal data source for the project is located in the face-to-face group meetings held by Level 2 members before, during, and after the fall 2007 academic semester at SEU. Although members of organizations generally participate in a wide range of interactions including those involving written notes and memos, telephone calls and emails, and informal chats in lunchrooms and office spaces, meetings play a vital role in organizational life and the life of organizations. As Boden (1994) argues, meetings are “*the* interaction order of management, the occasioned expression of management-in-action, the very social action through which institutions produce and reproduce themselves” (p. 81; emphasis in original). For organizations like the English Language Program, which rely on a high degree of decentralized decision-

⁷ Pseudonyms are used for all participants and other ELP members mentioned in the data.

English-language pseudonyms are used for all individuals since the Chinese members of Level 2 routinely used English given names in the ELP.

making accomplished by semi-autonomous work groups, the management described above is spread throughout the entire organizational structure.

Approaching the Level 2 meetings analyzed in the present study, it is important to define what the term *meeting* entails and to distinguish between formal and informal meeting types. For both tasks, the present study draws on Boden's (1994) ethnomethodological and conversation analytic examination of talk-at-work in businesses and other organizations. For the first task, Boden defines a meeting as:

...a planned gathering, whether internal or external to an organization, in which the participants have some perceived (if not guaranteed) role, have some forewarning (either longstanding or quite improvisatorial) of the event, which has itself some purpose or "reason," a time, place, and, in some general sense, an organizational function. (p. 84)

While this definition highlights the purposive and situational features of organizational meetings, it does not describe features of their speech exchange systems. Boden provides part of this description by distinguishing between the turn-taking features of formal and informal meetings. In the former, restricted turn-taking procedures in which a chairperson nominates next-turn speakers with explicit reference to formal meeting agendas are common. In the latter, speakers may more easily self-nominate to take turns addressing a range of topics as the role of meeting chair and a formal agenda are often absent or reduced in importance. Informal meetings are of particular importance to the present study since their more flexible turn-taking rules and range of topics:

...tend to be primarily organized around position-taking, which, rather than being some side-show to the "big decision," turns out to create the fine threads through which the web

of opinions, options, angles, alternatives, and occasional actions of “decision-making” are woven. (Boden, 1994, pp. 86-87)

Although decisions can also be made within formal meetings, Boden claims that such decisions “either take the form of a proverbial ‘rubber-stamping’ of matters negotiated and resolved elsewhere, or the ‘decision’ of the meeting is to defer the matter at hand to another time and place, generally to a smaller more specialized gathering” (1994, p. 86).

For the purposes of this study, data collection and analysis focuses on a set of face-to-face Level 2 interactions that can be considered as informal meetings based on Boden’s (1994) descriptions. As part of their work duties in SEU’s English Language Program, all teachers and staff participate in formal program-wide meetings that announce upcoming events, assign individual and group tasks, share policies determined by the program administrators, and include professional development activities. While these meetings play a central role in the organization of the ELP, crucial decisions related to the everyday management of individual ELP course levels are typically made in much smaller, face-to-face course-level meetings. Topics covered in these interactions, which may be classified as informal meetings, involve the collaborative design of semester syllabuses, course units, major assignments, midterm examinations, and final examinations. In addition, teaching group members meet following the administration of final exams to collectively assess students’ performances. To understand how these decisions affecting the instruction and assessment of Level 2 EFL students were made, it is necessary to examine how they were accomplished through the teachers’ unfolding turns-at-talk in their informal, face-to-face meetings.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Audio-Visual Recordings

Data for the study was collected in the form of audio-visual recordings of Level 2's group meetings held during the fall 2007 semester. A distinguishing characteristic of conversation analytic research methods is that they rely not on recalled, observed, researcher-invented, or experimental data but on recordings of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction (Have, 2002). While early CA theory and analysis in the 1960s and 1970s relied primarily on audio recordings of spoken interaction (Sacks, 1992a, 1992b; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), the advent of inexpensive, reliable, and largely unobtrusive video cameras has increased researchers' ability to capture participants' turns-at-talk while also recording data on gaze, gesture, and body positioning features (Goodwin, 1981, 2003; Schegloff, 1998).

In the study, recordings were made using a pair of video cameras containing internal hard disk drives (HDDs). HDD camcorders, unlike traditional video home system (VHS), Mini Digital Video (Mini DV), or Digital Video Disk (DVD) camcorders that record on cassettes or disks with highly limited storage capacities, allow for the recording and storage of multiple hours of data. This feature allows the uninterrupted recording of lengthy meetings and is particularly helpful for CA researchers who may not be present to change cassettes or disks during the interactions they record. In the present study, the researcher used two HDD camcorders: a JVC GZ-MG555U and a Panasonic SDR-H18. Information on these models is provided in Table 3-2. With identical 30 gigabytes (GB) storage capacities, the cameras record between 13 ½ and 14 hours of video at standard recording quality, which was used in the study. For the collection of audio data, both cameras' internal microphones were used. During recording, the cameras were mounted on tripods and powered through AC adaptors connected to wall outlets.

Table 3-2: Data Collection: Camcorder Information

Model	HDD capacity ⁸	Approx. recording time ⁹
JVC GZ-MG555U	30 GB	14 hours
Panasonic SDR-H18	30 GB	13 ½ hours

In the study, recordings of each of Level 2's three group meetings during the course of the semester were made using the following procedures. For their first two meetings, Level 2 members informed the researcher of the group's meeting dates and times through email or face-to-face communication. For the third meeting, the date and time were set according to ELP guidelines, and the researcher selected a meeting location for reasons discussed below. In each case, the researcher arrived at the meeting site, the ELP's conference room, before the scheduled meeting time, positioned one or both video cameras¹⁰ on tripods, and began recording prior to and during the group members' arrivals. Following the completion of each meeting, the researcher returned to the conference room to halt the recording process. Although the group members began talking with each other and the researcher as they entered the conference room, they delayed the transition to discussion of the group's business until after the researcher left the room.

Basic information on Level 2's three meetings is provided in the following table (Table 3-3):

⁸ Both cameras allow for recording onto Secure Digital (SD) cards as well as the HDDs.

⁹ Manufacturer estimates based on standard/normal play settings

¹⁰ For the first two meetings, recordings were made using both cameras. For the third meeting, only the Panasonic camera was employed as the other camera was being used to record another teaching group's meeting, which ran simultaneously with Level 2's session.

Table 3-3: Data Collection: Level 2's Group Meetings, Fall 2007 Semester

Meeting	Date	Approx. meeting time	Approx. length	Camera(s) used
1	Monday Sep.10, 2007	9:35 – 11:35 a.m.	2 hours	Panasonic, JVC
2	Wednesday Nov. 21, 2007	3:00-4:00 p.m.	59 min.	Panasonic, JVC
3	Tuesday Jan. 8, 2008	8:52-9:20 a.m.	28 minutes	Panasonic ¹¹

In the table, the approximate meeting times and lengths include pre- and post-meeting interactions that occurred as members filtered into and out of the conference room. The meeting times and lengths in the table were calculated using the start times recorded digitally in the Panasonic camcorder and the running time of each recording minus the time when no group member appeared in the visual field. Meeting 1, which was held before the start of fall classes at SEU served as an orientation session to course management for new faculty members and an opportunity to standardize instructors' course syllabuses and major course assignments. The second meeting predominantly covered issues related to the Level 2 midterm and preparations for the final examination. The third and final meeting was held after the end of classes and the morning following the administration of the course's final examination. This session covered issues related to grading policy and the division of labor for the group's collective grading session, which began immediately following the meeting.

3.3.2 Collection of Additional Materials

A secondary set of data was also collected in the form of Level 2's work-related email messages and written documents, which included a syllabus template and the final course examination. This data was gathered for three reasons. First, the researcher was able to prepare

¹¹ Only the Panasonic was available for this meeting since the JVC camcorder was being used simultaneously to collect supplemental data from another ELP teaching group meeting.

for upcoming group meetings by following members' email communication. Second, reading emails and other documents allowed the researcher to keep abreast of issues related to course design and management, a factor bolstering the researcher's general membership credentials in conversation analytic terms. Finally, written documents provided a source of supplementary data that could be referenced in cases where members made such data both relevant and consequential during their interactions.

Two procedures were used for secondary data collection. In the first, at the start of the study, the researcher asked Level 2 members to courtesy copy him on the group's email messages and to share significant course documents. Although members agreed to do this, not every group email and document was provided, and the researcher made no attempt to ensure that they were. In addition, the researcher did not catalog or systematically review received emails and documents. A rationale for the researcher's decision in both cases is that such supplemental data were not a primary object of analysis in the project, and conversation analytic methods do not require such document review or recording. Another procedure for supplemental data collection was adopted after the review of audio-visual recordings began. Based on an analysis of Level 2's third meeting, the researcher deemed the course's final examination directions to have been made both relevant and consequential to the group's unfolding turns-at-talk. Following this judgment, the researcher emailed the chairperson of Level 2 and asked for an electronic copy of the examination document, which was sent via email. This was the only time the researcher followed this procedure and requested a specific document from group members.

3.3.3 Issues in Data Collection

The following subsection details four issues related to the study's collection of audio-visual data. As discussed previously, conversation analytic research relies on the recording and

analysis of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. This focus on interactions members deem inherently meaningful is designed to ensure that data reflect members' own purposes and not those of researchers (Schegloff, 1997, 2005). In the present study, the researcher's use of video cameras to capture the spoken and visual elements of these interactions creates raises a number of issues worth considering here. These include three issues involving the relationship among the researcher, study participants, and the recording devices and one related to the limitations of the audio-visual technology used in the study.

A first challenge for the present study involves the Observer's Paradox, a longstanding concern in interview and observational studies of language use. As Labov (1972) explains, the paradox occurs because "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find how people talk when they not being systematically observed: yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (p. 209). The very presence of a researcher may be sufficient to alter ongoing language production. In CA research, the use of audio and audio-visual recording devices with extended recording times may ensure that researchers need not but be physically present during focal interactions, but these technologies may also unduly influence participants turns-at-talk. One recommendation is to gradually introduce recording devices into interactional situations over a period of time to reduce participants' anxiety or distraction levels with the technology (Have, 1999). However, researchers may not have the luxury of acclimating participants to the presence of recording devices in situations where opportunities to collect interactional data are limited. Approaching the data presented later in this study, readers should be aware that, although Level 2 members reported that the researcher's camcorders did not prove a source of undue distraction during group meetings, the technology used to record data might have influenced the interactions that occurred.

A second issue related to the relationship among the researcher, study participants, and recording technology involves the selection of a location for Level 2 meetings. For the first two recording dates, members independently choose the ELP conference room as a meeting site. For the last recording date, however, the researcher suggested members use the conference room due to the following time and space limitations. On the final recording date (Tuesday, Jan. 8, 2008), the day following the administration of final examinations in the ELP, teaching groups gathered separately for brief meetings following an ELP-wide gathering that presented general evaluation guidelines. Without consulting Level 2 members beforehand, the researcher reserved the conference room for the group by setting up recording equipment before the start of level meetings. Although this constitutes an intervention on the part of the researcher, it is doubtful that this room selection unduly influenced Level 2's interaction since its members had chosen the same space for its previous meetings.

An additional issue, and one related to the selection of a group meeting site, was the arrangement of furniture within the ELP conference room on meeting dates. Before the start of the semester, the conference room contained several chairs and a number of small tables throughout the room. To ensure the adequate recording of group members' faces and gestures during meetings, the researcher moved several of the tables and chairs to the edges of the room and set up five chairs in a semicircle at the center of the room around a small table (Figure 3-1). This arrangement limited group members' seating choices during their meetings even though individuals were able to select where they sat and could move their chairs slightly during the meeting without moving off camera. This seating arrangement, which may have played a role in the interactions that followed, was deemed necessary by the researcher since he would not be

present during the recording process and could not otherwise ensure that each group member was fully captured by the stationary video cameras.

Figure 3-1: Arrangement of furniture and camera placement during Level 2 meetings



A final issue in data collection involved the limitations of the technology used to record Level 2's interactions. A first limitation involved the use of stationary cameras during Level 2 meetings. Since the researcher was not present during group interactions to reduce the effects of the Observer's Paradox, and since group members were not asked to operate or adjust the camcorders during their meetings, data collection was constrained by the researcher's initial camera placements. As described above, an attempt was made to adjust to this limitation by positioning participants' chairs in a semicircle. Prior to meeting times, the researcher positioned one or both cameras facing the open side of the semicircle formed by the arranged chairs (Figure 3-1). This placement was chosen to capture as much of each group member's gaze directions, facial expressions, gestures, and body positioning as possible and to ensure that no one sat with her or his back to a camera. Although these procedures were taken to maximize the collection of visual data, a challenge associated with camera placement arose during actual recording. In their

meetings, members routinely leaned backward and forward in their chairs and turned their heads to face each other. This movement frequently meant that one or more members' faces and/or bodies were fully or partially hidden on the video recordings. In the two chapters that follow, this issue does not, however, play a significant role in data analysis.

A second technological limitation encountered during data collection involved the clarity of audio and visual data. First, as mentioned previously, the researcher relied solely on each camcorder's internal microphone to record Level 2's spoken interactions¹². This choice was made to minimize the amount of equipment used, to properly sync the audio and visual data, and to reduce the observer effects of the technology on participants' interaction. The resulting sound quality from both cameras was deemed acceptable for transcription purposes, but the lack of additional audio-recording devices meant that some fine-grained details were undoubtedly lost. In addition, the choice of standard play recording qualities on both cameras, a decision made to increase recording times and storage capacities on the cameras, meant that details of some captured images were somewhat indistinct. This factor did not cause notable difficulties during analysis of the visual record, but it is worth acknowledging for the sake of full transparency.

3.4 Data Analysis

The researcher began a multi-stage process of data analysis following the collection of audio-visual recordings described above. In this section, each stage of analysis is presented following a preliminary explanation of the researcher's co-membership with study participants.

¹² Prior to the start of data collection, attempts were made to connect an external microphone to the JVC camera's external microphone jack, but the poor audio quality of the resulting recordings led the researcher to abandon this option.

3.4.1 Researcher Membership Qualifications

As established previously, ethnomethodological and conversation analytic research relies on the concept of a shared membership between researchers and the participants they study (Have, 2002). This co-membership allows researchers to employ the same common sense procedures participants use in the interpretation of unfolding turns-at-talk. In the present study, the researcher's co-membership with Level 2 instructors was established in two distinct ways.

First, in terms of a shared natural language (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970), the researcher and Level 2 members can all be considered native or expert speakers of English (Rampton, 1990). In the ELP, official program documents and spoken communication between Chinese and international instructors typically involve only English although Putonghua (Mandarin) and Cantonese are frequently used among Chinese staff, faculty, and students. The use of English as a program-wide lingua franca reflects both the fact that a large majority of international instructors lack proficiency in Putonghua or Cantonese before they arrive and official efforts to increase the English proficiency levels of Chinese members of the ELP. In the meetings recorded for the present study, English is used as the medium of spoken interaction in all but a few turns-at-talk. This predominance of English in Level 2 meetings meant that the researcher who could claim only beginning levels of proficiency in Putonghua during the study's data collection and analysis phases was able to understand the vast majority of the participants' interactions.

A second point of shared membership came from the researcher's employment as an ELP instructor both before the project's conception and during its data collection period. The researcher first taught in the program during the 2004-2005 academic year, a period in which he helped design the curriculum for ELP Level 5, an academic writing course. He also served as an ELP instructor during the data collection period in the fall semester of the 2007-2008 academic

year. These periods of employment gave the researcher both participatory and observational access to a wide range of interactions among program administrators, faculty, staff, and students. They also provided a working-familiarity with program history, policies, and practices. Taken together, these experiences establish the researcher's co-membership with the Level 2 instructors and played a role in his analysis of their meeting interactions although, as explained previously, this role was strictly limited in keeping with CA's working methods.

3.4.2 Transfer, Review, and Annotation of Recordings

Following data collection, analysis began with a review of audio-visual recordings. For review purposes, data were transferred from the HDD camcorders to a MacBook Pro laptop, using Apple's iMovie software, and saved as MPEG files. The approximately three and-a-half hours of Level 2's meetings were then reviewed and annotated. This process both familiarized the researcher with the content and general form of the group's interactions and the audio-visual quality of the recorded data. Brief notations were made describing both the topics raised during each meeting and interactional episodes deemed potentially relevant to the group's decision-making processes.

3.4.3 Selection of Episodes for Analysis

Next, the researcher selected two episodes for transcription and detailed sequential analysis. Both of these were selected based on their relevance to one of the study's two research questions (Table 3-4). In addition, although all three of the group's meetings contained multiple decision-making episodes, focal episodes were chosen based on their complexity in terms of the number of turns they included and the rich variety of interactional resources they contained. The first episode was drawn from Level 2's brief third meeting on final examination policies and procedures and analyzed in relation to the study's first research question on how interactional

resources are employed in collaborative decision-making. The range of interactional resources employed in this episode, including what will be identified in Chapter Four as assessment rehearsals, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and query sequences, is notable for the manner in which it allowed instructors to openly express disagreement without explicitly challenging co-members. The second episode, which is analyzed in Chapter Five, was drawn from Level 2's first meeting of the semester and selected in relation to the study's second research question on the role of sociocultural factors in teachers' collective decision-making. In this episode, several members employ person-reference resources including pronouns and category-based terms to create culturally and personally framed arguments categorizing students and group members.

Table 3-4: Episodes Selected for Transcription and Sequential Analysis

Episode	Level 2 meeting	Excerpt length	Episode starting point	Research question
1	3	5 min. 32 sec.	22 sec. into 28 min. meeting	1) How do group members employ interactional resources to make collaborative decisions that affect their teaching and assessment of students?
2	1	10 min. 19 sec.	56 min. 35 sec. into two hour meeting	2) How are sociocultural factors including those related to instructors' experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning

				involved in collective decision-making interactions?
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3.4.4 Transcription of Episodes

Detailed transcripts of the two selected episodes were made utilizing a set of transcription symbols first developed by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson, 1985; Schegloff, 2007a) for use in conversation analysis research. These symbols (Appendix A) capture an important range of prosodic features including intonation contours and sound stretches within syllables as well as features of interaction such as speaker overlap and the connection or latching of one turn-at-talk to another. In CA practice, the selection of features to include and exclude from transcription as well the act of transcription itself serve as a crucial first level of analysis (Have, 1999).

In practice, the creation of CA transcripts is an ongoing process that involves multiple revisions and refinements (Have, 1999). The transcripts presented and discussed here (Appendices B and C) are the end product of multiple viewings employing playback and transcription software. Initially, the researcher made transcriptions in Microsoft Word documents while watching QuickTime files. Later, InqScribe software was adopted to refine the transcripts. Important features of InqScribe include the software's provision of separate media playback and transcription sections within one computer window and a variable playback speed feature that greatly enhances a researcher's ability to disambiguate quiet and overlapping speech in multiparty interactions.

In addition to computer software, the researcher relied on insights provided during group data sessions to refine the meeting transcripts further. Following initial stages of transcription, recorded and transcribed data were shared with a range of individuals including faculty and students in the Department of Applied Linguistics at Pennsylvania State University, where the

researcher was studying as a PhD candidate, and several applied linguists and teaching professionals at international conferences. Many of the suggestions made by these diverse audiences have influenced the final transcripts and analyses that appear below.

3.4.5 Sequential Analysis of Transcripts

Simultaneously with the ongoing transcription process discussed above, the researcher began analyzing the sequences of turns-at-talk captured in the recorded and transcribed data. CA research, with its localized, interactional definition of context and its use of the next-turn-proof procedure, involves the turn-by-turn analysis of member's interactions. Key to this work is the identification and understanding of how specific interactional resources accomplish the general organizational practices (turn construction, sequence organization, turn taking, and repair) found to operate within all speech exchange systems (Schegloff, 2007a). As previewed above, the resources identified in the present study include the creation of hypothetical scenarios also known as assessment rehearsals, query sequences, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and a variety of other person-reference resources.

3.4.6 Review of Program Documents

To better analyze members' turns-at-talk in the episode selected from Level 2's final meeting, the researcher also consulted the written directions provided in the group's final examination. This choice was made after the researcher deemed the members themselves had made the written text's wording both relevant and consequential to their collective decision-making. The focal interaction is presented in the first data chapter below (Chapter 4). Apart from this instance, other forms of collected data including ELP2 documents and email messages were not consulted in relation to the sequential analyses presented below.

3.4.7 Consultation of the Existing Corpus of Conversation Analysis Transcriptions and Analyses

As Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, and Olsher (2002) explain, conversation analysis comprises not only a theory of social action accomplished through interaction and a set of research methods designed to capture and describe this interaction, but also a growing corpus of interactional data and analysis. In the present study, the researcher referenced this corpus in order to classify and discuss important features of Level 2's interactions. Key studies consulted include Boden's (1994) analysis of work-place and organizational interaction, Keith Richards's (2006) analysis of teachers' break-room and meeting interactions in a British ESL program, and Huismann's (2001) study of decision-making episodes in several Dutch organizations. These conversation analytic or CA-influenced studies provided a key set of classificatory terms with which the researcher was able to describe specific features of the Level 2's meeting interactions. Examples of the terms provided by these previous studies include Boden's (1994) query sequences and Richards's (2006) distinction between the invocation and representation of non-present others in multiparty interactions.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief outline of the current study's research design. This design includes a theoretical foundation and research methods provided by conversation analysis. A research site in an EFL program in the People's Republic of China was selected, and study participants who were members of a teaching group within the program identified. Finally, procedures for the collection and analysis of interactional data supplied by the teaching group's informal meetings were discussed. In the next two chapters, an analysis and discussion of this data will be presented.

Chapter 4

Interactional Resources for Teachers' Collective Decision-Making

In this chapter, data will be presented and analyzed in an attempt to answer the study's first research question: how do groups of teachers employ interactional resources to make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students? First, five interactional resources employed by EFL instructors during their group decision-making at Southeastern University's English Language Program will be described and data excerpts illustrating each resource presented. These excerpts will be drawn from meetings held by the study's focal group of ELP2 instructors as well those held by instructors assigned to teach ELP3, the next offering in the ELP course sequence. While these resources are initially illustrated within relatively narrow sequential contexts, analysis of an extended episode will demonstrate how ELP2 members employ four of these five resources in the accomplishment of a specific group decision. The chapter ends with a discussion of how these interactional resources help shape disagreements among group members during collective decision-making.

4.1 Interactional Resources

Among a wide range of interactional resources deployed in ELP members' group meetings, five distinct resources can be identified in their decision-making interactions. These resources—assessment replays and assessment rehearsals, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and queries—can be seen as allowing members to present arguments, align with or against co-members, and solicit their alignment during decision-making interactions. In this section, each of the five interaction strategies will be described and illustrated using examples drawn from group meetings.

4.1.1 Assessment Replays and Assessment Rehearsals

Two interactional resources employed by ELP members in their decision-making on examination policies and procedures can be described as assessment replays and assessment rehearsals. In assessment replays, teachers relate the circumstances and outcomes of previous evaluation episodes and make them relevant to a group's current deliberations. In assessment rehearsals, members envision future or hypothetical evaluation scenarios and similarly make them relevant to a group's ongoing decision-making.

The linked concepts of assessment replays and assessment rehearsals build on Horn's (2010) discussion of *teaching replays* and *teaching rehearsals* employed by members of a community of mathematics instructors in a diverse, urban high school. In both teaching replays and teaching rehearsals, an individual teacher constructs scenes and dialogues involving classroom interactions between teachers and students in order to discuss specific pedagogical challenges and choices. Horn distinguishes replays and rehearsals in this way:

...teaching replays provide blow-by-blow accounts of actual and sometimes ongoing classroom events, with teachers often acting out their part as teacher. In teaching rehearsals, teachers also portray and often act out classroom interaction, but they do so in either an imagined or anticipatory fashion. (2010, p. 234)

By sharing these classroom accounts with each other, instructors in Horn's study were able to contribute to and draw on a community of practice where peers routinely shared their instructional techniques, reasoning, and difficulties to foster situated professional learning. According to Horn, learning occurred as individual instructors used teaching replays and teaching rehearsals to re-vision their individual classroom practice in light of co-members' experiences and suggestions.

The assessment replays and assessment rehearsals identified in ELP instructors' interactions differed from the resources Horn (2010) identifies in two important ways. First, since the ELP instructors' discussions centered on the evaluation of written tests and not classroom interactions, their replays and rehearsals did not involve the detailed teacher-student dialogues Horn found in teaching replays and teaching rehearsals. Instead, assessment replays and assessment rehearsals included real or imagined examples of student responses to test questions. Second, while teachers in Horn's study used shared replays and rehearsals to further their professional learning and individual instructional practice, ELP instructors used them to reach specific, collaborative decisions that would affect their collective assessment of students. For ELP instructors, the emphasis, therefore, was less on developing shared resources for professional development than on accomplishing specific group and institutional goals and activities.

An example of an assessment replay can be found in an excerpt (Excerpt 1) taken from a teaching group's discussion of final examination policy and procedures. The topic under consideration is the group's policy on whether or not to assign credit to listening section answers that contain spelling mistakes. In the excerpt, speaker G elaborates on the previous-turn speaker's (A's) argument on lines 15, 18, and 19 to claim that it is unfair not to give credit to answers that contain minor mistakes. G, beginning on line 21, replays an assessment scenario from the group's last quiz in which she gave points for misspellings of the word "penalty" if she judged the student to have heard the word correctly. By doing this, G can be seen to align with speaker A's position and the agreement it has engendered from other group members (speakers F and E on lines 16 and 17 respectively). At the same time, G's replay can be seen as eliciting disagreement from a next-turn speaker (D) who, after aborting an

overlapped turn on line 29, raises objections on lines 31, 32, and 34 to G's position (Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 1 [ELP3 mtg3] – Assessment replay

15 A: =test. [(.) [and so if it is] close] and you kno:w=
 16 F: [o: [h yeah]
 17 E: [('oh yeah')] 'yeah']
 18 A: =that they were going for that same
 19 wo:rd, [(.) (it's just not) fair]
 20 G: [if it (.) sounds] the
 21 → same, (.) like o]n the last quiz=
 22 C: ['um hm']
 23 G: → =penalty,=if somebody wrote something that
 24 → sounded like penalty I feel like well they heard
 25 → that, [(.) and th]at's what they wrote. (..) they=
 26 E: [um hm]
 27 G: → =may not know the words they don't know
 28 → the exact spelling, [(but,)] (..)=
 29 D: [(but)]
 30 G: → =that's wh [at hey heard.]
 31 D: [but h]e:re (.) (the) task
 32 i[t is] the final a:nd one word only: (.) zero=
 33 G: ['okay']

Excerpt 2 [ELP3 mtg3] – Disagreement with an assessment replay

27 G: =may not know the words they don't know
 28 the exact spelling, [(but,)] (..)=
 29 D: → [(but)]
 30 G: =that's wh [at hey heard.]
 31 D: → [but h]e:re (.) (the) task
 32 → i[t is] the final a:nd one word only: (.) zero=
 33 G: ['okay']
 34 D: → =point fi:ve (..) point, [(..)] so:,

This disagreement, signaled initially by the speaker's twice overlapped interjection “but,” is partially predicated on the incommensurability of the replayed quiz scenario and the final examination currently being discussed. As this example illustrates, assessment replays can be used by speakers to create, align with, and support specific positions in collaborative decision-

making. At the same time, replays provide other speakers with opportunities to agree or disagree with the arguments they contain.

Like assessment replays, assessment rehearsals have specific interactional relevance to teacher deliberations. Unlike replays, however, these rehearsals involve imagined future or hypothetical scenarios that group members are encouraged to consider in their decision-making. An example of such an assessment rehearsal can be found in Excerpt 3, in which ELP2 group members discuss the evaluation of their final examination's listening section.

Excerpt 3 [ELP2 mtg3] – Assessment rehearsal

- 108 A: [I think it's
109 reasonable.
110 A: [°it's reasonable.°]
111 D: → [yeah (there's)] the problem is when we
112 dealing with different forms like if you have
113 wasted [(.) wa [sting (0.6)] now we=
114 A: [(uhm [hm °uhm°)]
115 E: [°um hm°]
116 D: =have a problem. [(0.3)] did they really=
117 A?: [°uhm°]
118 D: =understand that it was: (.) uh the pa-
119 thee uh the past participle (.) [(.) or th]e=
120 A: [°uh hm°]
121 D: =present u:h present par [°ticipile°, that's the
122 A: [°um°
123 D: =big problem.=
124 A: =uhm hm.
125 (0.3)
126 E: → I agree. (.) [(.) (cause the:n:)]
127 D: [the- tha- th]at's really
128 where it- (.) wh- how do we interpret that,
129 (.) do they rea:lly .hh not understand the
130 grammar and they got the wrong
131 gramma [r?
132 A: [hhh .hh both of you are very
133 generous (.) persons. .hhh (.) actually I quite
134 agree with you, (0.4) .hhh but according to (.)
135 the:: (.) ee el pee policy, (0.5) if one mistake then
136 it's totally wrong. (0.5) no points at all,=

In response to preceding arguments that full credit be given to misspelled responses judged to represent correctly heard words, a speaker problematizes the proposed policy through the creation of a hypothetical assessment scenario. Following the previous-turn speaker's agreement (lines 108 and 109) with a policy of assigning full credit, speaker D signals a challenge on lines 111 to 113 to the policy through the imagination of a specific evaluation problem. The hypothetical nature of this problem is indicated by the speaker's use of the conjunction "if" on line 112 to create a conditional situation. In the speaker's argument, students' provision of different grammatical forms of a word (line 113: "wasted [(.) wa[sting]") would tax instructors' ability to accurately judge comprehension through spelling. In addition to illustrating an objection to a previously stated policy position, the speaker's assessment rehearsal provides a resource for other group members to voice their agreement or disagreement. On line 126, a next-turn speaker follows a brief pause in the interaction (line 125) by voicing her agreement with the challenge suggested in the rehearsal. Also, following the speaker's continued elaboration of his argument contained in the assessment rehearsal (lines 127 to 131), an additional speaker (Excerpt 4) offers a delayed disagreement with the scenario's import starting on line 134 following a compliment (lines 132 and 133) and an initial agreement with the previous speaker or speakers (lines 133 and 134).

Excerpt 4 [ELP2 mtg3] – Delayed disagreement with an assessment rehearsal

127	D:	[the- tha- th]at's really
128		where it- (.) wh- how do we interpret that,
129		(.) do they rea:lly .hh not understand the
130		grammar and they got the wrong
131		gramma [r?
132	A:	[hhh .hh both of you are very
133		generous (.) persons. .hhh (.) actually I quite
134	→	agree with you, (0.4) .hhh but according to (.)
135		the:: (.) ee el pee policy, (0.5) if one mistake then
136		it's totally wrong. (0.5) no points at all,=

As is the case with assessment replays, assessment rehearsals allow speakers to align with or against previous speakers' positions while, in turn, providing next-turn speakers with a resource with which they can agree or disagree.

Taken together, assessment replays and rehearsals form powerful interactional resources that illustrate real or hypothetical evaluation scenarios relevant to a teaching group's ongoing decision-making. Through these replays and rehearsals, instructors are able to create, elaborate, and challenge specific arguments related to the evaluation of student performance.

4.1.2 The Invocation and Representation of Non-present Others

Further analysis of ELP teachers' collective decision-making interactions reveals that members not only use real and hypothetical assessment scenarios to advance specific arguments but that they also rely on references to non-present others to achieve similar ends. Two specific interactional resources, the invocation and representation non-present others, can be identified in this referencing practice.

Discussions of both invocations and representations can be found in Keith Richards's (2006) microanalytic, CA-influenced study of faculty and other professional group meetings. According to Richards, when members invoke a non-present other in their interactions, "...[the other] exists outside the boundaries of the group and its associated protections and powers, a legitimate target for exploitation" (2006, p. 201). Here, the exploitation Richards has in mind involves the achievement of "immediate interactional ends" (2006, p. 205) within professional talk-at-work. In contrast, when an other is represented during interaction, "...the other needs to be more carefully constructed as a relevant, if non-present, participant in the ongoing talk..." (Richards, 2006, p. 205). This fine distinction between invocation and representation can be seen

in members' individual turns-at-talk and the larger interactional sequences illustrated in the following examples from ELP meetings.

The following excerpt (Excerpt 5) taken from a discussion of final examination policy illustrates the relatively straightforward turn construction of invocations during group decision-making:

Excerpt 5 [ELP3 mtg3] – Invocation of non-present others

- 1 A: [(w-) w-] we
 2 had a [problem wi]th that last year,=
 3 D: [('see ')]
 4 B: =last (s-) semes [ter]
 5 E: ['o][h']
 6 A: [last sem]ester a:nd:, (.)
 7 → Doctor Han: (..) agreed with us that it was okay to
 8 give credit >if it< was close:.. (..) and you did
 9 not have to count it wrong if it was not spelled
 10 → exactly ri[ght.] (.) >he] and Steven Gao<=
 11 G: [(°w- °)]
 12 A: =>disagreed< but (.) you know the research
 13 shows that a listeni:n[g (.)] test is not spelling=
 14 E?: [('um')]
 15 A: =test. [(.) [and so if it is] close] and you kno:w=
 16 F: [o: [h yeah]
 17 E: [('oh yeah')] 'yeah']

In the excerpt, an instructor (A) references two non-present others as part of her extended, multi-turn argument for the provision of credit to some misspelled words on the examination's listening section. After establishing that there had been a disagreement on the same assessment topic during the previous year, the speaker on line 7 references a non-present other, Dr. Han, the ELP's executive director, and explains that he had agreed with teachers arguing for the provision of credit in some cases of misspelling. The speaker then introduces an additional non-present other, Steven Gao, the ELP's operating director, on line 10 in the context of a previous disagreement with Dr. Han. Here, the noticeably rapid pace of her speech, indicated by the

combination of “more than” and “less than” signs (> <) around her description of Steven Gao’s disagreement with Dr. Han (lines 10 and 12), and her following reference to research supporting her argument (lines 12, 13, and 15) can be analyzed as discounting Gao’s dissenting opinion. In the excerpt, the speaker’s invocation of two non-present others, in this case the ELP’s executive and operational directors, is used to support the speaker’s own, developing argument on the current group’s assessment policy. Although she exploits the two figures’ institutional authority, the speaker clearly indicates that the argument to award points for some misspelled words was initially developed by the instructors themselves (lines 7 and 8: “Doctor Han: (..) agreed with us that it was okay to give credit >if it< was close:.”). This clear distinction between group members and outside figures is a feature of invocation that distinguishes the interactional resource from the representation illustrated below.

As Richards (2006) argues, a key element of representations in organizational meetings is that they present an outside figure as “a relevant, if non-present, participant in ... ongoing talk” (p. 205). Excerpt 6 below illustrates this process of representation as an ELP2 member attempts to portray a non-present, institutional member and his statements as being directly relevant to the group’s ongoing policy deliberations.

Excerpt 6 [ELP2 mtg3] – Representing a non-present other

- 178 E: we [could have] (.) asked someone:.,
 179 B: [()]
 180 (0.6)
 181 B: last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,
 183 (0.4)
 184 B: even just one, (0.6) in one lette:r was: (.) a
 185 mistake >there's no point.<
 186 (0.9)
 187 A: (°you're right°)
 189 B: zero,
 190 (0.7)

- 191 A: (°um-°)=
 192 B: =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: do you have the exact words?=-

In the excerpt, the speaker of line 181 takes a turn in response to a previous-turn invocation of an unspecified, non-present other to help the group resolve policy difficulties (line 178: “we [could have] (.) asked someone::,”). The speaker’s response to this turn-at-talk specifically references Steven, the ELP’s operational director, and relates his previous pronouncements on the issue under discussion. What distinguishes this interactional practice from the previously discussed invocation in Excerpt 5 is the degree to which the speaker works to create a collective identity that includes both current group members and Steven. First, the form of the speaker’s first turn on line 181 (Excerpt 7) relates Steven’s pronouncement to a previous group decision embodied in the directions to the final examination:

Excerpt 7 [ELP2 mtg3] – Linking a non-present other to group members through turn form

- 180 (0.6)
 181 B: → last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,
 183 (0.4)
 184 B: even just one, (0.6) in one lette:r was: (.) a
 185 mistake >there's no point.<
 186 (0.9)

On line 181, the exact inclusivity of the first-person plural “we” is difficult to determine in isolation, but in the construction of a second pair part response to the previous speaker’s request for outside assistance, the pronoun is seen to refer to the present group’s members. A few lines later the same speaker again implicates Steven in the group’s ongoing decision-making (Excerpt 8):

Excerpt 8 [ELP2 mtg3]

- 191 A: (°um-°)=
 192 B: → =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: do you have the exact words?=

On line 192, the speaker begins a reiteration of why previous group policies formalized in the final examination directions prevent the awarding of any points to misspelled words on the listening section of the test. Here, the speaker's switch from the third person pronoun "he" to the first person "we," a first position repair in light of the restart on "he" and the repetition of "cause" before the plural pronoun, again ties Steven's pronouncement to a collective decision. In both the turns discussed here, the speaker can be seen as working interactively and incrementally to include a non-present figure as a relevant member to help the group resolve its current deliberations. In Section 4.2, this representation of the operating director and his position will be re-examined in the analysis of an extended episode of group decision-making.

4.1.3 Queries

A final interactional resource employed by ELP group members in their decision-making involves what Boden (1994) labels queries and query sequences. Boden argues that while queries may superficially resemble questions in both turn form and intonation, speakers use queries not to request information but to signal disagreement with previous turns-at-talk. Queries can also be seen to pursue "their own, often specific agendas" (p. 126). Co-members may, for this reason, respond to queries as loaded or leading questions signally speaker disagreement. Analysts are able to identify queries through co-members' acknowledgment of the argumentative "framebreak" (Boden, 1994, p. 124) they entail. Additionally, queries can be

identified through their use in “chained” sequences (Boden, 1994, p. 126) pursuing oppositional agendas.

In Excerpt 9 from an ELP2 meeting, the chained nature of query sequences is highlighted and the use of queries in the signaling speaker disagreement is demonstrated.

Excerpt 9 [ELP 2 mtg1] – Chained query sequence

- 010 (1.6)
 011 A: a:nd as the length, (.) the words how many
 012 words for each essay?
 013 (1.5)
 014 A: we: (m- eh) they may be various but we have to:,
 015 E: → we have to tell them how lo:ng?
 016 A: yea:h.
 017 (0.9)
 018 E: → why? (0.6) c- can I ask why?=
 019 A: they're required because [(if you)]do =
 020 C: [((COUGHS))]
 021 A: =not tell them, (.) they will (fill) a very short
 022 (one), (.) a short passage. (.) very short (°one°).
 023 so usually, (.) as for me (.) I will give them two
 024 hundred three hundred four hundred. like that.
 025 °something like that.°=
 026 D: =[oh I (w-)]
 027 A: =[not] exactly but (°something °),=
 028 E: → =really?
 029 D: I would [(think then)]
 030 E: → [do you help] them organize their
 031 → par- their essays?
 032 (0.4)
 033 E: → do you give them outlines to
 034 → prepara:r [e] their essays?
 035 A: [no]
 036 (0.5)
 037 E: → you don't?=
 038 A: uhn
 039 E: → why not?
 040 (1.4)
 041 A: it's unnecessary.

Here, speaker A introduces the topic of word counts for student essays and solicits co-members' opinions on the minimum word limits the group should set for each assignment

(lines 011, 012, and 014). In response, E, the next-turn speaker on line 015, initiates what appears to be an extended sequence of question-and-answer pair parts provided by her and the previous-turn speaker. Although it is not clear from A's answers that A acknowledges E as advocating an alternative policy position, the extended nature of the sequence with seven distinct question turns being offered by her co-member (lines 015, 018, 028, 030 and 031, 033 and 034, 037, and 039) indicate that E is using queries both to outline a disagreement with the practice of setting essay word counts and to suggest a process approach to composition based on scaffolded outlining. The exact nature of E's disagreement and policy alternative is revealed when she details her position beginning on line 042 of the transcript (Excerpt 10):

Excerpt 10 [ELP2 mtg1]

041 A: it's unnecessary.
 042 E: → but if you give them an outli:ne, the:n I don't
 043 think you need to tell (them) / (em)
 044 how lo:ng because the:n, .hhh if you help
 045 them prepa:re their essay then, (.) they
 046 won't (.) give you this, (.) the- the- b-
 047 they must give you:: (.) this long.
 048 (0.5)

In the example, the appearance of turns formally identifiable as questions but appearing sequentially not as first pair part requests for information but in a series of linked turns designed to challenge previous-turn statements illustrates queries' interactional utility in signaling speaker disagreement.

Boden's (1994) study of talk in organizational meetings reveals that queries such as those used in the example above are commonly found in workplace interactions. An analysis of ELP meeting data in Excerpts 9 and 10 and the extended decision-making episode in the following section (Excerpt 16) suggests that queries and sequences of linked queries provide an interactional resource for the introduction of disagreement in teachers' decision-making.

4.2 Episode Analysis

In the preceding section five interactional resources used in ELP member's collective decision-making were illustrated using excerpts drawn from teachers' meetings. In this section, four of these resources' employment in a specific episode of decision-making will be analyzed in an extended excerpt from ELP2's final meeting of the semester. This analysis addresses the study's first research question: how do groups of teachers employ interactional resources to make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students? Through this analysis it will be argued that in the episode under consideration, assessment rehearsals, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and query sequences allow members to present oppositional arguments without openly claiming disagreement with co-members.

As discussed previously, ELP teaching groups hold their last meeting of each semester the day following the administration of final examinations. These meetings typically involve discussions of ELP-wide evaluation policies and procedures, issues related to the evaluation of the group's particular course examination, and the assignment of test sections to specific group members for assessment. The excerpt presented in this section involves ELP2 members' attempts to reach a policy decision on the assessment of their exam's listening section. Before presenting an excerpt from this episode that illustrates the group's accomplishment of an important policy decision, a brief synopsis of the group's deliberative interaction up to the point of the excerpt is in order.

At the start of ELP2's meeting (Appendix B contains a complete transcript of the meeting's first five and-a-half minutes), Ann, the group's chairperson, broaches the topic of assessing the exam's listening section as she initiates a discussion of member's evaluation

assignments. After Eve raises the issue of how misspelled items on this section should be judged, Ann proposes that the group assign half a point to misspelled words judged to represent correctly heard items. Eve then disagrees with the half-point deduction claiming it unfairly conflates students' listening and spelling abilities. Ann responds by calling Eve's argument reasonable. At this point, Don raises a challenge to Eve's proposal by introducing an assessment rehearsal that problematizes teachers' ability to judge the grammatical appropriateness of some misspelled items (see Excerpt 3 above). In response, Ann acknowledges both Eve and Don's positions and moves to reconfirm her support of providing credit for some misspelled words even while acknowledging that this position contradicts ELP policy stipulating no credit should be given to misspelled words. At this point the extended focal excerpt (Excerpt 11) captures group members' continuing deliberations and final decision on this aspect of assessment policy:

Excerpt 11 [ELP2 mtg3] –

Interactional achievement of a group decision on assessment policy

- 147 A: okay, (.) then I agree.
 148 (0.2)
 149 D: yeah you- you also have
 150 situa [tions where you]
 151 A: [>do you have any prob]lem,<
 152 D: where you have like s[teak] and=
 153 A: [uhm]
 154 D: =stake ess tee ee aa kay and ess tee ay
 155 kay ee [(0.5)] now whatta we do.
 156 A: [uhm]
 157 (0.8)
 158 E: but I don't think on this test we have
 159 anything like that. [(.) do we?]
 160 D: [we:ll I:- (.)] I'm just
 161 saying this is the [se are examples of]
 162 E: [right right, yeah]
 163 you're right.=
 164 D: =of the kind of errors that a:re (0.5) in a
 165 listening test, (.) .hh again (.) (a-) a steak is

166 something you eat, a stake another stake
 167 is the one you drive in the ground, do they
 168 really understand that you can't eat the
 169 one (uh-) the stick that you (.) put in the ground.
 170 (0.5) ('you know') or are they gonna try to
 171 hammer in a a piece of
 172 meat. [°right°) .hh y]ou know that's- (uh) th- this=
 173 E: [hh hh hh]
 174 D: =is the problem with this kind of thing. but,
 175 (1.0)
 176 B?: except (the-) (.)
 177 B?/E?: (>do you think-<)
 178 E: we [could have] (.) asked someone:.,
 179 B: [()]
 180 (0.6)
 181 B: last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,
 183 (0.4)
 184 B: even just one, (0.6) in one lette:r was: (.) a
 185 mistake >there's no point.<
 186 (0.9)
 187 A: (°you're right°)
 188 (0.4)
 189 B: zero,
 190 (0.7)
 191 A: (°um-°)=
 192 B: =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: do you have the exact words?=
 198 C: =yes=
 199 B: =they have to put the exact word (there)
 200 an [()]
 201 E: [but it doesn't] [say the (exact) spelling]
 202 A: [(is) it exact word]
 203 or the exact spelling,
 204 E: it doesn ['t] say exact spelling [thou]gh=
 205 B: [well]
 206 A: [yeah]
 207 E: =the direc [tions aren't clear]
 208 C: [i think that u:h (.)] I think that
 209 you'd better th- uh a:h (0.2) talk to Steven
 210 before we we do it.
 211 A: i don't think (.) I don't think it's necessary.

212 .hh a:s (.) if you ask Steven, (.) I can
 213 guarantee (you) [(0.2) hi]s answer will=
 214 E: [hh hh hh]
 215 A: =be wrong.
 216 (0.2)
 217 A: .hh but actually:, [(1.0)] (.) just (like this) (.)=
 218 C: [°hm°]
 219 A: =deduct half the points. this my policy.
 220 (0.9)
 221 b [e]cause (.) I think it- is for listening,
 222 C: [uhm]
 223 A: =(.) not for spelling, [(.) so] if he can=
 224 E: [uhm hm]
 225 A: =understand it, we should give them
 226 some points [to encourage them.] (o)kay, (.)=
 227 D: [°yeah that's right. °]
 228 A: =this the difference from the totally
 229 wro:ng or nothing there. .hh so this why I sa:y
 230 we should give (.) half points. [(°to °)
 231 D: [but is it is it
 232 possible to divide it uh like is thee: (.) is
 233 the- (.) thee: value two o:r just one (.) >I
 234 mean- < .hh (w-) we can't give- (0.4) point
 235 five of a mark, (.) we can only: (.) we can
 236 only give integral num- integral numbers.

In the excerpt, group members employ four of the interactional resources presented earlier in the chapter—assessment rehearsal, the invocation and representation of a non-present other, and queries—to present arguments and align with or against each other's arguments as members moves toward the achievement of a group policy decision. Unlike the treatment of these resources in the preceding section, the following data analysis will center on an analysis of how these interactional resources are employed in the accomplishment of a specific collective decision.

The first interactional resource employed in the excerpt is an assessment rehearsal. Following Ann's confirmation of support for a policy assigning full credit to some of

students' misspelled words, Don responds by initiating what is hearable as a rehearsal problematizing the emerging position (Excerpt 12):

Excerpt 12 [ELP2 mtg3] – Assessment rehearsal: Distinguishing between homophones

- 147 A: okay, (.) then I agree.
 148 (0.2)
 149 D: → yeah you- you also have
 150 → situa [tions where you]
 151 A: [>do you have any prob]lem,<
 152 D: → where you have like s[teak] and=
 153 A: [uhm]
 154 D: → =stake ess tee ee aa kay and ess tee ay
 155 → kay ee [(0.5)] now whatta we do.
 156 A: [uhm]
 157 (0.8)
 158 E: but I don't think on this test we have
 159 anything like that. [(.) do we?]

The rehearsal involves teachers' ability to accurately judge students' listening comprehension in instances where homophones like "steak" and "stake" are involved (lines 152, 154, and 155). Eve, the next-turn speaker, voices an initial objection to Don's rehearsal by claiming on lines 158 and 159 that Don's choice of homophones does not anticipate items instructors will encounter in their assessment of the final examination. Don, in his response to this objection, clarifies that he is only presenting typical examples in a hypothetical rehearsal of the difficulties associated with listening assessments (lines 160, 161, 164, and 165). Following Eve's concession of the point on lines 162 and 163, Don continues to develop his assessment rehearsal (lines 165 to 172 and 174).

After Don's rehearsal, two members, Eve and Bev, can be seen to employ, in turn, the invocation and the representation of non-present others for distinct interactional purposes (Excerpt 13):

Excerpt 13 [ELP2 mtg3] – The invocation and representation of non-present others

174 D: =is the problem with this kind of thing. but,
 175 (1.0)
 176 B?: except (the-) (.)
 177 B?/E?: (>do you think-<)
 178 E: → we [could have] (.) asked someone:.,
 179 B: [()]
 180 (0.6)
 181 B: → last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,

First, following the completion of Don's turn-at-talk on line 174, a one second pause indicating a transition relevance place (line 175), and two lines of indistinct and possibly overlapping speech by Bev and/or Eve, Eve takes a turn on line 178 that can be analyzed as invoking the assistance of a generic, non-present other ("someone") in reference to the group's policy discussion. Although it is possible to analyze the formal and prosodic details of Eve's turn—the use of the modal perfect ("could have asked") and lack of rising question intonation—to indicate she intends to register a retroactive complaint about the group's difficulties rather than ask for outside assistance in the present, Bev responds on line 181 by initiating a multi-turn representation of Steven's previous pronouncement on the policy issue. Here it is important to note that whatever Eve's intentions were in invoking a non-present other in reference to the group's discussion, Bev treats Eve's turn-at-talk as providing as an opening and a resource to reference a specific, institutionally powerful figure and to make his opinion directly relevant to the group's interaction.

In the earlier discussion of representation as an interactional resource (subsection 4.1.2), it was argued that Bev used pronouns to make the ELP's operational director and his position relevant to the group's deliberation. Here, an additional point related to Bev's turns-at-talk is worth considering. The fact that she develops what is sequentially analyzable as an unpopular

opinion across several turns-at-talk makes it possible to view her as both the relayer and co-author of arguments attributed to a non-present other. By presenting herself as a simple conduit for other's arguments, however, she is able both to avoid explicitly bringing herself into conflict with fellow group members and to rely on the institutional authority of a non-present figure.

Examining the entire sequence of turns from lines 181 to 197, two related features, the relative absence of backchannels or other responses to Bev's turns-at-talk and notable pauses between her turns, suggest that co-members do not agree with the opinion being offered (Excerpt 14):

Excerpt 14 [ELP2 mtg3]

180 (0.6)
 181 B: last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,
 183 → (0.4)
 184 B: even just one, (0.6) in one letter was: (.) a
 185 mistake >there's no point.<
 186 → (0.9)
 187 A: → (°you're right°)
 188 → (0.4)
 189 B: zero,
 190 → (0.7)
 191 A: → (°um-°)=
 192 B: =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 → (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: do you have the exact words?=

The preference for agreement CA analysts have discussed in turn construction and turn sequencing suggests that speakers frequently design turns that are likely to be agreed with by other speakers in terms of turn form and positioning. The absence of and noticeable delay in such responses are both signs of potential recipient disagreement and have, in addition, been identified as interactional features that may prompt a prior-turn speaker to self-repair. Such self-repair is

frequently seen in the modification of a previous turn's form before a next-speaker can explicitly express disagreement in a turn-at-talk (line 3, Excerpt 15):

Excerpt 15 (Frankel, 1984, p. 153) [G.L:2; cited in Have, 1999, p. 4]

- 1 Pt: This- chemotherapy (0.2) it won't have any lasting effects on havin'
kids will it?
2 (2.2)
3 Pt: → It will?
4 Dr: I'm afraid so

In this example, the first pair part speaker, offers a transition space repair (Schegloff, 1992c) on line 3 after a 2.2 second pause. Here the speaker analyzes the notable pause as indicating the recipient of the initial turn-at-talk will not provide a second pair part response agreeing with that turn's construction. In the transition space repair, the speaker modifies the initial turn's form from a negative to a positive construction ("it won't...will it?" → "It will?"), which promptly receives a second pair part response on line 4 that affirms the reworded question's proposition. The point to be made here is that participants typically modify turn forms in response to open disagreements or delays in agreement from co-members in order to maintain interactional agreement.

In Excerpt 14, the pauses following Bev's turns (lines 183,186, 188, 190, and 194) combined with the muted backchannels on lines 187 ("(°you're right°)") and 191 ("(°um-°)=") indicate a lack of agreement between the speaker and her co-members. The fact that Bev continues to develop the position she presents, with her insertion of "zero" on line 189 reiterating her early claim on line 185 that even words with one misspelled letter receive "no point," suggests she is acting here as more than the simple presenter of another's opinion.

Building on Goffman's (1981) formulation of a participation framework and production format for the categorization of speaker roles in spoken communication, Levinson (1988) argues

that "...in certain circumstance one can be clear about who the speaker is without being clear about whether the speaker is acting as *relayer* or *author*" (p. 200; emphasis in the original). In the excerpt under consideration, although Bev explicitly presents herself as a relayer of Steven's opinion, the interactional investment she makes in supporting this opinion suggests she is likely also presenting a position to which she subscribes as a co-author.

As noted above, Bev receives relatively little response to her representation of Steven's pronouncements on examination policy. Once she directly implicates the written examination directions in her representation (lines 193, 195, and 196; Excerpt 16), however, she garners the response of a fellow group member. In the following discussion, Ann's response on line 197 and the responses her turns-at-talk in turn engender are as part of an extended query sequence problematizing the wording of the examination's directions and therefore challenging a key basis of Bev's arguments. Borrowing from the wording of Bev's previous turn-at-talk on lines 195 and 196, Ann asks what initially may be read as an insert sequence first pair part clarification request concerning the directions' wording (line 197: "do you have the exact words?="). The unhesitating and linked responses of first Cal and then Bev's next turns (line 198 and lines 199 and 200 respectively) indicate they interpret Ann's turn as a relatively straightforward request for information. In contrast to Cal and Bev, however, Eve also responds to Ann's turn (line 201) by pointing out a slight omission in her two co-members' responses.

Excerpt 16 [ELp2 mtg3]

- 192 B: =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: → do you have the exact words?=
 198 C: =yes=
 199 B: =they have to put the exact word (there)

200 an [()]
201 E: [but it doesn't] [say the (exact) spelling]
202 A: → [(is) it exact word]
203 → or the exact spelling,
204 E: it doesn ['t] say exact spelling [thou]gh=
205 B: [well]
206 A: [yeah]
207 E: =the direc[tions aren't clear]
208 C: [I think that u:h (.)] I think that
209 you'd better th- uh a:h (0.2) talk to Steven
210 before we we do it.

Eve claims that the examination directions do not indicate “exact spelling” is necessary and therefore directly challenges a key element of the argument Bev claimed to represent. Ann’s next turn-response (lines 202 and 203) to Eve’s turn on line 201 incorporates her co-member’s wording. By continuing Eve’s challenge of the directions in a turn formally designed as a question (“(is) it exact word or the exact spelling,”), Ann’s turn is more clearly identified as a query signaling disagreement with Bev and Cal’s claim. While Eve’s response to Ann on lines 204 and 207 confirms that the directions do not indicate exact spelling is required and suggests that the directions’ wording is therefore ambiguous, Bev’s overlapped, one-word turn on line 205 (“well”) indicates a hesitation to respond to the query and the challenge it represents. By using both a pair of linked queries and the supporting responses of Eve, Ann is therefore able to undercut an important element of Bev’s and, by extension, Cal’s arguments on the group’s examination policy. Here the query sequence allows Ann to challenge two co-members in a formally indirect manner by requesting that they clarify an important element in their argument. With the clarity of the examination’s wording thrown into doubt with Eve’s interactional assistance, the strength of Bev and Cal’s claims is diminished.

As explained previously (4.1.3), an important factor in the identification of queries and query sequences is the extent to which other participants recognize such turns as suggesting an

alternative position or framebreak (Boden, 1994). Such recognition may be seen in the interaction under examination here (Excerpt 17) with Cal's turn beginning on line 208:

Excerpt 17 [ELP2 mtg3] –

Recognition of framebreak through invocation of a non-present other's mediation

- 202 A: [(is) it exact word]
 203 or the exact spelling,
 204 E: it doesn't ['t] say exact spelling [thou]gh=
 205 B: [well]
 206 A: [yeah]
 207 E: =the direc [tions aren't clear]
 208 C: → [I think that u:h (.)] I think that
 209 → you'd better th- uh a:h (0.2) talk to Steven
 210 → before we we do it.

Here Cal argues that group members should consult with Steven before making a decision on policy. This invocation of a non-present authority may indicate that Cal believes the group will make a decision contradicting officially stated policy. Since Cal does not make such a belief clear (line 210: “before we we do it.”), however, his invocation of Steven's authority suggests that he at least recognizes the challenge Ann and Eve's preceding turns pose to a resolution of the group's decision-making.

Following Cal's invocation of Steven as an institutional authority or mediator in the group's deliberation, Ann moves to close down discussion of examination policy and formulate a group decision. This move (Excerpt 18) is accomplished in two steps: the rejection of Steven as a relevant figure in the group's deliberations and the statement of a personal grading policy that is extended to cover the group's collective evaluation.

Excerpt 18 [ELP2 mtg3] –

Rejection of outside mediation and formulation of a group policy decision

- 208 C: [I think that u:h (.)] I think that
 209 you'd better th- uh a:h (0.2) talk to Steven
 210 before we we do it.
 211 A: I don't think (.) I don't think it's necessary.

212 .hh a:s (.) if you ask Steven, (.) I can
 213 guarantee (you) [(0.2) hi]s answer will=
 214 E: [hh hh hh]
 215 A: =be wrong.
 216 (0.2)
 217 A: .hh but actually:, [(1.0)] (.) just (like this) (.)=
 218 C: [°hm°]
 219 A: =deduct half the points. this my policy.
 220 (0.9)
 221 b [e]cause (.) I think it- is for listening,
 222 C: [uhm]
 223 A: =(.) not for spelling, [(.) so] if he can=
 224 E: [uhm hm]
 225 A: =understand it, we should give them
 226 some points [to encourage them.] (o)kay, (.)=
 227 D: [°yeah that's right. °]
 228 A: =this the difference from the totally
 229 wro:ng or nothing there. .hh so this why I sa:y
 230 we should give (.) half points. [(°to °)
 231 D: [but is it is it
 232 possible to divide it uh like is thee: (.) is

In the first step, Ann rejects Cal's request for a consultation with Steven and then explains her reasoning for the move. The wording of the rejection with its use of the first person singular pronoun and suggestion of a personal opinion with the verb "think" mirrors the formal construction of Cal's previous turn-at-talk (line 208). The wording of both these speakers' turns is notable for the extent it eschews the pattern of indirect argumentation previously provided with the assessment rehearsal, representation of another's opinion, and query sequence. The move to personally claimed opinions here may be seen to indicate an increased intensity in the group's deliberations as conflicting opinions crystallize.

Following her rejection of Cal's request, Ann explains her reasoning by either evaluating or representing Steven's anticipated mediation response (Excerpt 19). Difficulty in analyzing Ann's explanation (lines 212, 213, and 215) is due to her turn's form and the fact that the turn meets with no spoken response from other group members.

Excerpt 19 [ELP2 mtg3] – Rejection of outside mediation

210 before we we do it.
211 A: I don't think (.) I don't think it's necessary.
212 → .hh a:s (.) if you ask Steven, (.) I can
213 → guarantee (you) [(0.2) hi]s answer will=
214 E: [hh hh hh]
215 A: → =be wrong.
216 (0.2)
217 A: .hh but actually:, [(1.0)] (.) just (like this) (.)=

Here the form of her turn alternately indicates that Steven's answer to the group's question will be incorrect or inappropriate or that Steven will claim any spelling mistakes on the listening section make a student's answer wrong. Regardless of Ann's reasoning here, her rejection of Steven's input in the group's decision-making is apparent.

Ann next moves to suggest and support a group policy decision of partial credit for some misspelled words that restates her first position on the topic offered at the start of the group's discussion (lines 046 to 055, Appendix B). Notable in these turns is the manner in which Ann moves to extend personal policy preferences (lines 219, 221, and 229) to collective evaluation practices (lines 225 and 230; Excerpt 20):

Excerpt 20 [ELP2 mtg3] – Formulation of a group policy decision

216 (0.2)
217 A: .hh but actually:, [(1.0)] (.) just (like this) (.)=
218 C: [°hm°]
219 A: → =deduct half the points. this my policy.
220 (0.9)
221 → b [e]cause (.) I think it- is for listening,
222 C: [uhm]
223 A: =(.) not for spelling, [(.) so] if he can=
224 E: [uhm hm]
225 A: → =understand it, we should give them
226 some points [to encourage them.] (o)kay, (.)=
227 D: [°yeah that's right. °]
228 A: =this the difference from the totally
229 → wro:ng or nothing there. .hh so this why I sa:y
230 → we should give (.) half points. [(°to °)]

231 D: [but is it is it
 232 possible to divide it uh like is thee: (.) is

This move from the personal to the group frame allows the speaker to formulate what in effect becomes collective policy on assessment of the exam's listening section. Although discussion of the topic continues for several lines after Ann's formulation as group member's first discuss the logistical feasibility of assigning half points to listening section items (e.g. lines 231 to 236) and the procedures the listening section evaluator will follow, Ann's statement of policy here becomes the one that is adopted by the group. After Ann's turns-at-talk in Excerpt 20, the official ELP policy as purportedly captured in the written text of the examination directions and Bev's earlier arguments is no longer a topic of discussion for group members.

In her discussion of decision-making in organizational meetings, Huisman (2001) argues that one of the difficulties in locating the exact interactional moments at which group decisions are made is that they can often only be identified retroactively. In the episode considered here, Ann's formulation of a group decision rejecting and closing the group's discussion of official ELP policy can be seen as one such moment.

4.3 Discussion

Reviewing the preceding analysis of ELP2's group decision-making, two points worthy of further discussion can be highlighted. In the first, as analysis of the group's decision-making episode suggests, interactional resources such as assessment rehearsals, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and query sequences can be used to introduce significant disagreements among members without explicitly bringing them into conflict with each other. In addition, the role of the teaching group's chairperson in formulating a final, collective evaluation policy suggests the powerful interface between institutions and their smaller collaborative groups. Both of these topics will be discussed in this section.

As previous commentary on teacher collaboration has suggested, some degree of conflict may be necessary for the sustainable and productive functioning of teaching groups (Grossman, Wineburg, and Woolworth, 2001; Achinstein, 2002). In addition, research on a range of collaboration models has found that absent opportunities for members to express individual differences and disagreements, instructors are only likely to experience superficial professional benefits from collaboration (Wang, Strong, & Odell, 2004; Siefert & Mandzuk, 2006; Wood 2007; Curry, 2008). An analysis of ELP2's decision-making interactions reveals that one way members are able to reconcile the twin imperatives of expressing disagreement and maintaining group cohesion is through the use of interactional resources that signal differences in opinion without directly bringing members into conflict with each other. With an assessment rehearsal, one member is able to problematize an emerging policy position without openly stating a disagreement. Similarly, through the representation of a non-present other's opinion, another member is able to offer and arguably co-author an alternative policy position without explicitly claiming a personal disagreement with her co-members. Finally, through the use of a query sequence, two members are able to collaborate in creating a counterargument challenging co-members' arguments through an ambiguation of key supporting evidence. In his analysis of interaction in collaborative work groups, Richards (2006) claims that collaborative argumentation "...shares some features with conventional argument but is designed differently, not as a form of pseudo-argument but as a form of engagement that moves from accommodation to alignment via genuine disagreement" (p. 75). In the deliberative episode reviewed in this chapter, it appears as if these interactional resources allow members to voice real disagreement without threatening the collegial accommodation and ultimate alignment necessary for the achievement of a group policy decision.

An additional point worth discussing based on the preceding data analysis is the extent to which members' institutional roles, namely Ann's official position as group chair, play in the group's final decision. Although a range of interactional resources allows members to voice disagreements without threatening group cohesion, the group's final decision as articulated by Ann in Excerpt 20 largely goes unchallenged by her co-members. Ann's statement therefore effectively closes off discussion of official assessment policies and instead moves members toward articulating a group policy based on the assignment of partial credit to some misspelled test items. Although there is little interactional evidence to explain the power of Ann's final policy statement, her institutionally invested authority may explain the force her arguments ultimately hold. If similar role-based authority can be seen as a decisive factor in group decision-making, the deliberative autonomy of similar teachers' groups may be called into question. At the same time, the irony of ELP2's final decision may be that while their group policy ultimately rested on the arguments of an institutionally powerful group member, the policy that was chosen directly violated a larger institutional assessment policy. The group's deliberations can, in this way, be seen to both being influenced by a larger institutional decision—the ELP directors' selection of Ann as group leader—and influencing high stakes institutional practices through the modification of ELP assessment policy.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has presented, analyzed, and discussed data related to the study's first research question: how do groups of teachers employ interactional resources to make collective decisions that affect their instruction and assessment of students? From ELP teachers' meeting data, a series of interactional resources including assessment replays and

assessment rehearsals; the invocation and representation of non-present others; and queries were identified and illustrated. Next, the employment of these resources in an episode of collective decision-making was analyzed. Finally, these interactional resources' capacity to mitigate conflicts associated with member disagreements was suggested and the impact the institutionally derived role of group chair may have on collaborative decision-making and institutional practice discussed.

Chapter 5

Sociocultural Factors in Teachers' Collective Decision-Making:

The Role of Person-Reference Resources in Framing Interpretation

In this chapter, findings are presented that answer the study's second research question: how are sociocultural factors including those related to instructors' experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning involved in collective decision-making interactions? Here analysis will focus on a range of person-reference resources employed by ELP2 members in a decision-making episode from the group's first meeting of the semester. In the episode, several person-reference resources are used to create culturally based frames of interpretation with which to debate a specific instructional practice. At the same time, by employing person-reference in a different manner, other members work to interactionally create an alternative, personal frame of interpretation that seeks compromise in place of culturally framed disagreement. From this analysis, it will be argued that sociocultural factors, viewed as static structural properties in macrosocial interpretations of social action, are in large degree a product of specific interactional practices.

Following this introduction, the first section of this chapter presents generalizations about how members refer to present and non-present persons during their talk-in-interaction. These generalizations are drawn from Schegloff's (2007b) discussion of how person-reference resources are used and distributed in interactional data. An additional component of this first section is a discussion of how membership categorization analysis (MCA) may be used to examine how members use category reference terms to frame their ongoing interactions. In the next section, a synopsis of a decision-making episode drawn from ELP2's first meeting of the semester will be presented to provide readers with a general context for the analysis that

follows. This analysis will focus on three extended target sequences in which members use both category reference and other person-reference resources to present and support arguments, seek alignment, and reach a collective decision on course policy. A claim arising from this analysis is that members use person-reference resources to signal both culturally and personally framed experiences with and beliefs about language teaching and learning. The chapter ends with a discussion of how these often competing frames of reference are related to previous research on the role sociocultural differences play in intercultural interaction among teachers.

5.1 Person-Reference and Membership Categorization

A common resource in ordinary conversation and more specialized speech exchange systems are references to persons both engaged in and outside of a given interaction. Schegloff (2007b) argues that while a variety of resources such as names, pronouns, descriptions, and category terms (based on age, ethnicity, profession, etc.) may be used to refer to persons, these resources are distributed unequally in interactional data. In the following list of generalizations, he outlines how these resources are typically employed with items ranked in order from most to least commonly used (Schegloff, 2007b, pp. 437, 438; emphasis in the original):

1. There is a dedicated terminology for speaker and targeted recipient(s): I, you and their grammatical variants (me, mine..., You, you...).
2. For others than speaker and targeted recipient(s), on *non-initial* occasions of mention, pronouns can be used to do referring. As stated here, this is far too gross. In practice, the domain relative to which ‘initial/non-initial occasion of mention’ is

figured implicates assessment by the participants in a fashion which is far from mechanical.

3. For others than speaker and targeted recipient(s), on *initial* occasions of mention, if recipient(s) are figured to know, or know of, the one(s) to be mentioned, then referring may be done by using a/the name by which recipient(s) are figured to know, or know of, that one(s), or by some description by which recipient(s) are figured to know, or know of, that one(s) – with name being preferred to recognitional description, if possible. ...
4. For others than speaker and targeted recipient(s), on initial occasions of mention, if recipient(s) are figured *not* to know, or know of the one(s) to be mentioned, then (some) category term(s) can be used to do referring.
5. For others than speaker and targeted recipient(s), on initial occasions of mention, if recipient(s) are figured *not* to know, or know of, the one(s) to be mentioned, then topic- or activity-relevant descriptions can be used to do referring ...

An important person-reference resource not included in Schegloff's generalizations is the exclusive first person dual or plural pro-form. In their UG-based discussion of "person and number features" in pronouns across a range of world languages, Harley and Ritter (2002, p. 482) detail a feature-geometric approach to pronoun analysis. From this perspective, first person exclusive dual and plural pronouns differ from first person inclusive forms in that they "are represented by the projection of the feature Speaker without the Addressee node" (p. 490). These resources can most clearly be distinguished in languages such as Chinook; Kalihna, a member of the Carib language family; and Daga, a member of the Trans-New Guinea language family, that contain pro-forms dedicated to both the inclusive and exclusive

first person plural (Harley & Ritter, 2002). A common instantiation of this resource in English would be the use of an exclusive “we” in situations where a speaker references him or herself and present and/or non-present others but excludes the recipient(s) of the turn-at-talk.

For both Schegloff (2007b) and the purposes of the present chapter’s analysis, a significant distinction to be drawn in the foregoing list of resources is the one between category-based terms and other forms of person-reference. This distinction can be related to the practice of membership categorization analysis (MCA), a research approach based on Sacks’ early studies that has garnered increased attention in recent years (Sacks, 1972; Hester & Eglin, 1997; Silverman, 1998; Schegloff, 2007b).

In several lectures from the mid-1960s, Sacks (1972) claimed that speakers and recipients in interactions frequently treat certain person-references as belonging to natural collections of category terms known as membership categorization devices (MCDs). For example, an MCD based on family roles might be assumed to include terms such as baby, mother, father, son, and daughter. Additionally, an MCD based on school roles might include the terms student, teacher, and principal. When one category within an MCD is introduced in an interaction, the other categories within the MCD may be considered active and therefore potentially relevant to an ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 2007b).

Frequently implicated in MCDs are specific category-bound activities (CBAs), which are associated with particular category terms. In the classic example drawn from Sacks’s work (1972), the activity of crying would frequently be seen to activate the category of baby within an MCD related to “stage of life” (Schegloff, 2007b). As Schegloff explains, “[s]o, if one can, one will ordinarily see or report that ‘the *baby* cried,’ not that ‘the *male* cried’ or that ‘the

Methodist cried’ or that ‘the *Libra* cried’, even when each of those category memberships is correct” (2007b, p. 470; emphasis in the original).

Aspects of MCA have proven particularly popular among analysts exploring how sociocultural differences are constructed, ascribed, and evaluated in instances of cross-cultural comparison and intercultural or interethnic interaction (Hansen, 2005; Zimmerman 2007). For example, Grancea’s (2010) study of social tensions between ethnic Hungarians and ethnic Romanians in northeast Romania uses MCA as a framework to analyze intraethnic focus group discussions. The author found that while group members formed shared, commonsense complaints about the behavior of members from the other ethnic group, they did not always agree on analyses of specific examples offered in co-members’ stories. In one storytelling episode among a group of ethnic Romanians, for example, recipients of a complaint against Hungarian children rejected the storyteller’s reliance on an ethnically framed interpretation of the children’s rude behavior toward Romanian workers. While the speaker claimed the children’s rudeness was the result of Hungarian socialization practices, her focus-group partners blamed a Romanian worker for inciting the children’s behavior (pp. 179, 180). Commenting on this alternation between culturally and more personally framed interpretations of events in the focus groups, Grancea argues:

Despite the heavily ethnicized frame and just prior displays of ethnic affiliation, recipients inspect stories for their illustrative value and, when not convinced of a story’s relevance for the interethnic complaint, propose – and, if necessary, defend – non-ethnic interpretations, which can threaten and sometimes undo the previously accomplished ethnic solidarity. (2010, p. 180)

This and similar studies using an MCA framework illustrate the power of MCDs to create group cohesion through shared, commonsense category references that create a specific culturally based frame of interpretation for members. At the same time, Grancea's (2010) study illustrates the interactionally constructed nature of category-based reference and instances where members may reject such references in favor of alternative frames.

In the analysis that follows, category-based person-reference and other person-reference resources will be shown to play a significant role in how ELP2 members describe and negotiate differences in teaching beliefs and practices as the group makes a collective decision on instructional policy. It will be argued that this interactional deployment of person-reference resources allows members to create varied and often opposing frames of interpretation for co-members to consider and align with or against. Here, the term *frame* will be used in Goffman's (1974) general sense of a means allowing individuals to describe and organize aspects of a given situation thereby "rendering what would be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful" (p. 21). In the analysis that follows, members' creation and defense of both personal and culturally based frames of interpretation will be shown to be vital to the group's discussion and accomplishment of a particular collective decision.

5.2 Episode Synopsis

In this chapter, the use of person-reference resources will be examined in target sequences taken from an extended decision-making episode among ELP2 members. A full transcript of the episode can be found in Appendix C. Occurring midway through ELP2's initial two-hour meeting (minutes 056:35 to 107:16 in the recording), the ten and-a-half minute episode involves a discussion and collective determination of minimum word counts for each of the course's three

major writing assignments. In the episode, disagreement among group members develops over the general practice of assigning minimum word counts to student essay assignments. Two group members suggest alternative policies and instructional practices, but the group ultimately decides to adopt specific word counts for the assignments. Before the topic is closed, two members suggest that discussions on alternative instruction practices may continue in the future.

5.3 Target Sequences

To discuss how members create both culturally based and personal frames of reference to describe teaching beliefs and practices during their interaction, three target sequences from the group's decision-making episode will be presented and analyzed below. In each target sequence, particular attention will be paid to how members use person-reference resources to make arguments, offer examples, and agree or disagree with each other.

5.3.1 First Target Sequence: Competing Personal and Culturally Based Frames of Interpretation

The first target sequence starts immediately after an extended query sequence that opens the group's discussion of minimum word counts for student essays. This query sequence—analyzed in the previous chapter as Excerpt 9 in subsection 4.1.3—involves one member, Eve, challenging the basic practice of assigning minimum word counts and suggesting an alternative approach based on students' outlining of essays in a pre-writing stage. Following the completion of the query sequence with Ann's final second pair part response on line 41, Eve begins a more detailed argument for the use of outlines in writing instruction (Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1 [ELP2 mtg1] – First target sequence

- 041 A: it's unnecessary.
 042 E: but if you give them an outli:ne, the:n: I don't
 043 think you need to tell (them) / (em)
 044 how lo:ng because the:n, .hhh if you help

- 045 them prepare their essay then, (.) they
 046 won't (.) give you this, (.) the- the- b-
 047 they must give you:: (.) this long.
 048 (0.5)
 049 A: (°uhmm°)
 050 A: (°they usually° we) don't give them the outline.
 051 they have to write (a) / (the) outline themselves.
 052 E: no I mean I- not the information but like a
 053 worksheet where they can create an outline.
 054 A: °umhm°
 055 E: so:: (.) I don't have anything to show you I'm
 056 sorry but, (.) I have:, (0.5) I have like worksheets
 057 that I've created in the past;
 058 A: °umhm°=
 059 E: =where:, (0.4) um it's it's like a planning
 060 worksheet so:, (.) it has boxes and- (.) t- um (.)
 061 like information where they have to fill it in;
 062 (.) and then from that worksheet then they can
 063 write their essay:, (0.3) but if they don't fill in the
 064 worksheet then they cannot write an essay >or
 065 they'll write three sentences or something,< .hh
 066 um but if they fill it in; (.) then (they) take
 067 that and they write a uh a good
 068 essay. (.) [fro]m that.= I've had a lot of=
 069 C: [°um°]
 070 E: = success with that.
 071 A: °ye°ah maybe you could give us (.) show
 072 us the::=
 073 E: =of course of course=
 074 A: =okay?=
 075 E: =yeah I would be happy to:, (..) but I I
 076 hesitate to give (.) number of words;
 077 because [(.) i]f I do that then I get (.)=
 078 C/D?: [°u::m°]
 079 E: = garbage.
 080 (0.8)
 081 A: um hm=
 082 B: =()
 083 E: you know (if- they're) just writing
 084 repeat [ti::ng] it's- it's not good essay (.)=
 085 D: [°um°]
 086 E: =it's long enough but it's::, (.) it's not quality.=
 087 D: =(°s °)=
 088 E: =so that's why I:: I::, I help students plan
 089 essays; (.) um I give them outlines so
 090 they can fill in their ideas into the outline, and

091 then they can take that and write an essay, an
 092 and I know, >I check the outlines too< to make
 093 sure that it's not- bad, u:m, and the::n, so that's
 094 like an assignment >you know<, fill this ou:t,
 095 bring it ba:ck, I will- I'll take it home I'll read
 096 them I'll check them I'll, write suggestio:ns or
 097 corrections, .hhh and the::n they can take that
 098 ba:ck and write their essay, (.) so::, (.) and then
 099 I don't- I don't worry about getti:ng, (.) three
 100 sentences because I kno:w that they've had to
 101 think and prepa:re and then write an essay, so::,
 102 that's why I: I don't I don't usually give,
 103 numbers.
 104 (0.5)
 104 A: I think it's a very good idea but, (1.2) [()]
 106 E: [okay I'll I'll
 107 I'll show it to you.
 108 A: yeah=
 109 E: =yeah thanks okay=
 110 D: =I think also (uh),
 111 E: well-
 112 D: (>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,
 113 E: um hm
 114 D: and you- every student is sort of fixed on a
 115 minimum number of words. (.) this is it. now, so
 116 that means that if they've got to write uh a
 117 hundred and fifty, they only really write
 118 seventy. (.) then they're gonna say the same thing
 119 over and over and over again. they'll say it four
 120 times, (.) uh in order to build up the number of
 121 words.
 122 A?: (um hm)
 123 D: that's sort of what happens. in fact [()]
 124 B: [((shakes head no))
 125 E: [well, I (would)
 126 give that essay back then=
 127 C: = [let me tell you (once) ()] [several =
 128 E: = [and say do [it o(h)ver(h). hh huh hh .hhh]
 129 B: [°hh hh hh °] [I've never =
 130 =[met such kind of student]
 131 C: =[years ago one of student told me] tha a:h (he has)
 132 the experience (th- the) strategy how to deal with
 133 how many words (and then), if you don't have
 134 too much to say, you try to make different words
 135 you say, if you want to express many you
 136 don't use many, you use a lot of.=

- 137 D: =yeah yeah. [oh yeah () yeah yeah yeah.
 138 C: [so you add three words instead
 139 of one.
 140 C: [you add two more.
 141 B: [(yeah)
 142 D: yeah sure ().=

To analyze person-reference in this target sequence, two distinct parts of the sequence will be examined in turn. The first part, from lines 41 to 109, primarily involves two speakers, Eve and Ann, while the second, from lines 110 to 142, involves a greater range of speakers including Don, Bev, Eve, and Cal. A second distinction between the two parts involves the types of person-reference each includes and the alternative frames of interpretation that are created.

5.3.1.1 First target sequence, part 1. In the initial part of the target sequence, the primary person-reference resource employed by both Eve and Ann are pronouns. Their use can be analyzed as follows. First, their first and second person pronouns are predominantly used to indicate the speaker and recipient of a given turn-at-talk (Excerpt 2):

Excerpt 2 [ELP2 mtg 1] – First and second pronoun indicating speaker and recipient

- 055 E: → so:: (.) I don't have anything to show you I'm
 056 → sorry but, (.) I ha:ve:, (0.5) I have like worksheets
 057 → that I've created in the pa:st:_z
 ...
 071 A: → °ye°ah maybe you could give us (.) show
 072 → us the::=
 073 E: =of course of course=
 074 A: =okay?=
 075 E: → =yeah I would be happy to:, (..) but I I
 ...
 104 A: → I think it's a very good idea but, (1.2) [()
 106 E: → [okay I'll I'll
 107 → I'll show it to you.

In lines 055 to 057 and 106 and 107, for example, Eve uses 'I' to refer to herself and 'you' to indicate the recipient of her turns-at-talk, Ann. Similarly, Ann on line 104 uses 'I' to refer to

herself and, on line 071, ‘you’ to indicate Eve. Notable exceptions to this practice include the possible use of ‘you’ as a generic or unspecific ‘one’¹³ on lines 42 to 47 (Excerpt 3) and the use of an exclusive ‘we’ on line 50 (Excerpt 4) indicating an unspecified collectivity not containing Eve, the recipient of the turn-at-talk. Here, Ann’s use of ‘we’ is analyzable as an exclusive first person plural pronoun designed in response to Eve’s previous-turn distinction (lines 042 to 047) between her own instructional practices and those of either Ann or a generic teacher.

Excerpt 3 [ELP2 mtg 1] – ‘You’ used as unspecific ‘one’

- 041 A: it's unnecessary.
 042 E: → but if you give them an outli:ne, the:n I don't
 043 → think you need to tell (them) / (em)
 044 → how lo:ng because the:n, .hhh if you help
 045 them prepa:re their essay then, (.) they
 046 → won't (.) give you this, (.) the- the- b-
 047 → they must give you:: (.) this long.
 048 (0.5)
 049 A: (°uhmm°)

Excerpt 4 [ELP2 mtg 1] – Exclusive ‘we’

- 049 A: (°uhmm°)
 050 A: → (°they usually° we) don't give them the outline.
 051 they have to write (a) / (the) outline themself.
 052 E: no I mean I- not the information but like a

In addition, third person plural pronouns ‘they’ and ‘them’ in this part of the sequence (lines 042, 043, 045, 047, 050, 051, 061 to 067, and 089 to 091) appear to refer exclusively to people who can be identified under the general membership category term “students” in an MCD based on school roles (Excerpt 5). Here, although the specific category term “students” is used only once and rather late in the sequence (line 88), the context of the group’s overall interaction in which teaching policy and practice are discussed would seem to indicate that the

¹³ “...as in ‘one doesn’t want...’ or no one wants...” (Schegloff, 2007a, p. 449)

term has been activated and made available for members through previous turns-at-talk (see Schegloff's [2007a] second guideline above).

Excerpt 5 [ELP2 mtg 1] –

Third person plural pronouns referring to the membership category “students”

- 042 E: → but if you give them an outli:ne, the:n I don't
 043 → think you need to tell (them) / (em)
 044 how lo:ng because the:n, .hhh if you help
 045 → them prepa:re their essay then, (.) they
 046 won't (.) give you this, (.) the- the- b-
 047 → they must give you:: (.) this long.

 050 A: → (°they usually° we) don't give them the outline.
 051 → they have to write (a) / (the) outline themself.
 ...
 058 A: °umhm°=
 059 E: =whe::re, (0.4) um it's it's like a planning
 060 worksheet so::, (.) it has boxes a:nd- (.) t- um (.)
 061 → like information where they have to fill it i:n_l
 062 → (.) and the:n from that worksheet then they can
 063 → write their essa:y, (0.3) but if they don't fill in the
 064 → worksheet then they cannot write an essay >or
 065 → they'll write three sentences or something,< .hh
 066 → u:m but if they fill it i:n_l (.) the:n (they) take
 067 → that and they write a uh a good
 068 essay. (.)[fro]m that.= I've had a lot of=
 069 C: [°um°]
 070 E: = success with that.
 ...
 088 E: =so that's why I:: I:::, I help students plan
 089 → essays_l (.) u::m I give them outli:nes so
 090 → they can fi:ll in their ideas into the outli:ne, and
 091 → then they can take that and write an essay, an

In this first part of the target sequence, Ann and Eve create arguments about instructional practice based respectively on collective precedent (line 50: “we) don’t give them the outline.”) and personal teaching experience with students who are defined in general category-based terms. Eve’s contributions are notable for the degree they rely on pronouns to create a personal frame of reference that positions her (“I”) in a direct instructional relationship with students (“they”) and

their work. Eve's deployment of this personal frame is used to construct counterarguments, based on her past teaching experience, to the collective precedent outlined in Ann's explanation for the assignment of minimum word counts for student writing.

The first part of the target sequence ends after Eve agrees to share a document illustrating her teaching approach in an interactional move reconfirming her earlier offer on lines 73 and 75. The exchange ends with a sequence closing adjacency pair on lines 108 and 109 (Excerpt 6) confirming a later review of the document:

Excerpt 6 [ELP2 mtg 1]

102		that's why I: I don't I don't usually give,
103		numbers.
104		(0.5)
104	A:	I think it's a very good idea but, (1.2) [()
106	E:	[okay I'll I'll
107		I'll show it to you.
108	A: →	yeah=
109	E: →	=yeah thanks okay=
110	D:	=I think also (uh),

5.3.1.2 First target sequence, part 2. While the first part of the target sequence was dominated by Ann's personally framed arguments that employed personal pronouns and a general, category-based reference to students, the second part offers an alternative, culturally based category reference for members to consider.

Immediately following Eve's turn on line 109, Don continues discussion of the preceding topic (line 110: "=I think also (uh),") by suggesting an alternative frame for her to consider (Excerpt 7). In the excerpt, after first self-nominating as next-turn speaker, Don turns to face Eve, who sits on his left (Figure 5-1) and urges her to consider the current geographic and/or cultural setting of their interaction (line 112: "(>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,").

Excerpt 7 [ELP2 mtg1] – Category reference – Chinese students’ behavior

- 109 E: =yeah thanks okay=
 110 D: =I think also (uh),
 111 E: well-
 112 D: → (>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,
 113 E: um hm
 114 D: → and you- every student is sort of fixed on a
 115 → minimum number of words. (.) this is it. now, so
 116 that means that if they've got to write uh a
 117 hundred and fifty, they only really write
 118 → seventy. (.) then they're gonna say the same thing
 119 → over and over and over again. they'll say it four
 120 times, (.) uh in order to build up the number of
 121 words.
 122 A?: (um hm)
 123 D: that's sort of what happens. in fact [()]
 124 B: [((shakes head no))]
 125 E: [well, I (would)]
 126 give that essay back then=
 127 C: = [let me tell you (once) ()] [several =

Figure 5-1: [ELP2 mtg 1 – Line 112] – “(>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,”
 [Arrow: Don turns to face Eve]



Don’s description following this reference can therefore be analyzed as specifically implicating Chinese students and not the more generic membership category used earlier by Eve. Don may also be seen as attributing specific, category-bound activities to Chinese students (lines 114 and 115: “every student is sort of fixed on a minimum number of words;”

and lines 118 and 119: “they’re gonna say the same thing over and over and over again.”) that may indicate a negative critique of their flexibility and creativity in approaching writing assignments. An additional factor that distinguishes Don’s category reference from Eve’s is that Don does not use personal pronouns to place himself in a direct teaching relationship with the students he describes. In contrast to Eve’s person-reference practice that creates a personal frame of interpretation, Don may therefore be seen as working to create a more specific, culturally based category reference with which to consider students and their behavior.

Following Don’s categorization and characterization of Chinese students on lines 114 to 121 and 123, three different co-members respond to his claims (Excerpt 8):

Excerpt 8 [ELP2 mtg1] – Responses to a characterization of Chinese students’ behavior

- 120 D: times, (.) uh in order to build up the number of
 121 words.
 122 A?: (um hm)
 123 D: that’s sort of what happens. in fact [()]
 124 B: → [((shakes head no))
 125 E: → [well, I (would)
 126 → give that essay back then=
 127 C: → = [let me tell you (once) ()] [several =
 128 E: → = [and say do [it o(h)ver(h). hh huh hh .hhh]
 129 B: → [°hh hh hh °] [I’ve never =
 130 → =[met such kind of student]
 131 C: → =[years ago one of student told me] tha a:h (he has)
 132 the experience (th- the) strategy how to deal with
 133 how many words (and then), if you don’t have
 134 too much to say, you try to make different words
 135 you say, if you want to express many you
 136 don’t use many, you use a lot of.=
 137 D: =yeah yeah. [oh yeah () yeah yeah yeah.
 138 C: [so you add three words instead
 139 of one.
 140 C: [you add two more.
 141 B: [(yeah)
 142 D: yeah sure ().=

In contrast to Don's use of membership categorization to create a shared, commonsense frame of interpretation, the three following speakers rely on more personal frames to appraise Don's characterization. First, Bev rejects Don's statement non-verbally on line 124 before claiming that she has no experiences with the type of student Don describes (lines 129 and 130). Eve responds not by rejecting Don's categorization but by claiming she would not tolerate such behavior from students (lines 125, 126, and 128). Finally, Cal relates a personal experience he had with a student that supports Don's characterization (line 127, 131 to 136, and 138 to 140). Don, on lines 137 and 142, offers his agreement with Cal's story and confirms the support it provides his own previous claims (see Excerpt 7).

Reviewing the target sequence as a whole, it is possible to see how group members use person-reference resources to construct both personal and culturally based frames of interpretation to present arguments and agree or disagree with co-members' claims. These two frames are found later in the episode as well and play an important role in the group's later accomplishment of a policy decision on the topic under consideration.

5.3.2 Second Target Sequence: Referencing a Chinese EFL Instructor's Frame of Interpretation

Slightly later in the group's interaction Bev employs another culturally based frame of reference to offer an alternative appraisal of Chinese student's writing (lines 166 to 168 and 170 to 178, Excerpt 9). Although Bev's turns-at-talk appear immediately after Don's advocacy and description of an alternative instructional policy based on assigning maximum word limits (lines 155, 157 to 159, and 162 to 165), they appear designed to counter Don's negative characterization of Chinese students' behavior discussed in the previous subsection.

Cal's offer, and her confirmation of the professor's name. Particularly notable here is how Bev's code switch to Putonghua combines with her nomination of Cal as next-turn speaker, as seen by her pointing toward him using her pen (Figure 5-2), to both index a Chinese or Chinese cultural insider's membership for her and Cal and to gain Cal's support if not alignment with the larger argument she is making. Here, both members' knowledge of Putonghua—a language rarely used in ELP2's full group meetings—and their shared knowledge of a Chinese authority on EFL education reference distinct Chinese cultural and local EFL instructor frames of interpretation.

Figure 5-2: [ELP2 mtg1 – Line 168 and 169] – Nominating a co-member to take a turn
[Arrow: Bev, on left behind Ann, points to Cal (R) with her pen]



Through her use of the above resources, Bev is able to create a complex argument that references her own educational experiences, cultural membership, and local professional knowledge while also invoking the opinions of a recognized authority on EFL education. At the same time, through her use of code-switching and the organization of turn-taking rules, she is able to recruit a co-member's support for the argument she makes. This combination of personal and culturally based frames of reference distinguishes Bev's referencing practice from the ones examined in the preceding target sequence.

In response to Bev's turns-at-talk, two co-members, Don and Eve, align against her argument by co-constructing a critique of the policy invoked by Bev (Excerpt 11):

Excerpt 11 [ELP2 mtg 1] – Aligning against a previous-turn speaker

- 177 B: write more and more and more.
 178 be [cause,
 179 D: → [oh well the that, see that for us would be
 180 (encourage) bad writing.
 181 E: → yeah.
 182 D: that would (require-) encourage (an) inefficient
 183 um=
 184 E: → = use of words=
 185 D: → = wordiness, [like you say, three words=
 186 B: [but like (right) now at their=
 187 D: =[instead of one (that).

Of note here is the use of the exclusive first person plural pronoun “us” on line 179 to signal a collective disagreement. Although Don does not gesture or gaze toward Eve during his turns-at-talk in this sequence (Figure 5-3), Eve's confirmation on line 181 and co-construction of the argument on line 18 indicates that she views herself as part of this collectively framed disagreement.

Figure 5-3: [ELP2 mtg1 – Lines 179 -181] – Aligning against a previous-turn speaker
 [Arrows: Don and Eve align against Bev's position]



This alignment between Don and Eve reflects both of their previously stated objections to a policy of assigning minimum word counts even though both have previously failed to

formulate a joint policy alternative (Excerpt 12). In this earlier attempt to create alignment, Don explicitly includes Eve in his use of an exclusive first person plural pronoun (line 155) by pointing toward her with the pen in his right hand (Figure 5-4).

Excerpt 12 [ELP2 mtg1] – Failure to formulate a jointly supported policy alternative

- 154 B: =(this much) writing that's good.
 155 D: → now I'll tell you what, our approach would be,=
 156 E?: um hm
 157 D: I would tell them I want you to write a
 158 maximum number of words. not a
 159 minimum, [a maximum]
 160 E: → [I'm not going to give] them a
 161 → word count.

Figure 5-4: [ELP2 mtg1 – Line 155] –
 Signaling a claimed alignment against a previous-turn speaker
 [Arrow: Don points to Eve with his pen]



To summarize an analysis of this target sequence, Bev's employment of a personal and culturally framed argument through a variety of person-reference resources, and her code switch to Putonghua, can be seen to draw support from one co-member while also creating an opportunity for two other co-members' to align against her position.

5.3.3 Third Target Sequence: Alternative, Culturally Based Frames and the Accomplishment of a Group Decision

In the third and final target sequence examined here, the group moves toward and achieves a collective decision on a policy of assigning minimum word limits on student writing assignments (Excerpt 13):

Excerpt 13 [ELP2 mtg1] – Third target sequence

- 236 D: [that's what I'm saying, (.) they're just, (.)
 237 counting up the number of words.=
 238 C: =ye:s.
 239 (1.0)
 240 D: alright anyway th- th- I was just saying that this
 241 is China, tee ai see, (you'll have
 242 to,) [(.) °get used to it.°
 243 B: [a:n (sorry) usually like in the final-
 244 exam or in our see ee tee four (or) see ee tee
 245 six, [the: u:h, (.)] we also ask=
 246 D: [(°that's it yeah°)]
 247 B: =th[e st]udents to write certain number=
 248 A: [yeah]
 249 B: =of words,
 250 B: s[o (we) like to train them (.) that] way.
 251 D: [(°yeah that's true°) (°)]
 252 (1.2)
 253 D: u::h, can I make a plea for a hundred and fifty
 254 for the descriptive, two hundred for the opinion
 255 and two fifty for cause and effect.=
 256 A: =yeah. (..) okay.=
 257 D: =I think that you (wanted) to two hundred for
 258 the descriptive i don't think,
 259 A: =(but) /(oh) it doesn't
 260 matter. [(yeah)]=
 261 D: [>that- that- that-< ()]=
 262 A: =() >it's subject to] change it's=
 263 D: =what (are they gonna) describe,]
 264 A: =subject to change<=
 265 D: =a place I've been to.
 266 (..)
 267 A: °okay.°
 268 (2.1)
 269 A: (a:nd), (.) I'm still interested in your form.

270 D: °y[eah° (° °)
 271 E: [ye:s, I: I would love to: show
 272 it to y[ou:,=
 273 D?: [()
 274 A: =(°sure°)
 275 E: =I: I ha:ve, (0.7) I I guess- obviously my
 276 experience is diffe [rent] than yours=
 277 A: [°um hm°]
 278 E: =but, (0.2) u:hm, (.) I've- (0.6) I've found that
 279 giving students a number isn't always helpful,
 280 but maybe if they're used to a numbe:r, I don't
 281 know I'll try try and see:, (.) but, (.) uhm I

In the sequence, in response to Don's repeated complaint about the Chinese educational system embedded in the phrase "this is China" (lines 240 and 241), Bev explains and defends Chinese instructional practices. Don acknowledges the legitimacy of with Bev's position and, by moving to suggest specific word counts for each essay assignment, signals his acceptance of the practice Bev describes. Following this effective accomplishment of a group decision on instructional policy, Ann and Eve return to the topic of alternative composition practices.

A detailed analysis of this sequence is divided into two parts, with part one covering interactions immediately prior to and including the group's accomplishment of a collective decision (lines 236 to 267) and part two involving an interaction with a group member who has not signaled her assent to the adopted policy (lines 268 to 281). Taken together analyses of both parts reveals how members use person-reference resources to alternately frame disagreements as culturally or personally derived. While culturally based frames of interpretation do not provide members with a basis for negotiation or compromise in this case, the personal frame leaves open the possibility of future discussion and mutual understanding.

5.3.3.1 Third target sequence, part 1. In the first part of the target sequence, Don works to close down a previous sequence in which he both argued for an alternative policy of

assigning maximum word limits and aligned with a co-member, Cal, to critique the writing practices of some students (lines 192 to 237; Appendix C).

After first signaling a closure of the previous topic and a transition toward another subject (line 240: “alright anyway th- th-”), Don indicates a return to a culturally based frame of reference (lines 240 to 242, Excerpt 14). His word choice here echoes that of his earlier contribution criticizing Chinese students’ writing (Excerpt 15). The repetition of the phrase “this is China” and the addition of its acronym (“T.I.C. ”) on lines 240 to 242 may suggest an idiomatic usage implying a general critique of Chinese practices. Of additional interest here is how Don may be seen to address his co-member Eve with these lines. By gazing toward Eve while he speaks the phrase and acronym under discussion, Don signals her as the primary recipient of his turn (Figure 5-5). In combination with his turn-at-talk, Don’s partial shrug (Streeck, 2009) or lateral and backward gesture with his open right hand with the palm facing upward (Kendon, 2004), appears to signal resignation in the face of the cultural frame of interpretation he describes.

Excerpt 14 [ELP2 mtg1] –

A culturally based frame of reference: “this is China, tee ai see,”

239 (1.0)
 240 D: → alright anyway th- th- I was just saying that this
 241 → is China, tee ai see, (you'll have
 242 → to,) [(.) °get used to it.°
 243 B: [a:n (sorry) usually like in the final-

Excerpt 15 [ELP2 mtg1] – Early use of the phrase “this is China”

111 E: well-
 112 D: → (>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,
 113 E: um hm
 114 D: → and you- every student is sort of fixed on a
 115 → minimum number of words. (.) this is it. now, so

Figure 5-5: [ELP2 mtg1 – Lines 240 and 241] –
 “This is China, tee ai see,” – An Open Hand Supine gesture indicating an inability to act
 [Arrow: Don’s gesture with his right hand]



According to Kendon (2004), who would classify this and similar hand movements as members of an Open Hand Supine family of gestures, this gesture is typically “found in contexts where the speaker displays either an unwillingness to intervene with respect to something, or an inability to do so” (p. 265). Streeck’s (2009) analysis of shrugs and partial shrugs similarly describes such gestures as indicating “a retreat or withdrawal from action” (p. 168). Streeck (2009) also notes that shrugs play an important role in aligning speakers’ stances in interactions. In the context of Don and Eve’s previously aligned arguments against a policy of assigning minimum word counts, the gesture indicates Don’s resignation on the topic under discussion. Also of interest in his turn-at-talk is his claim on lines 241 and 242 that Eve will “have to, (.) °get used to it.°.” In the context of the culturally based frame Don is referencing, this turn also categorizes Eve as a cultural outsider or someone unfamiliar with Chinese educational practices. Since Eve does not respond verbally to Don’s turn, however, it is impossible to know if she interprets his turn in this way.

As Don finishes his turn, Bev interrupts to add an additional argument in favor of her previously stated position.¹⁴ This argument uses what are analyzable as exclusive first person plural pronouns to defend the practice of assigning minimum word counts (Excerpt 16):

Excerpt 16 [ELP2 mtg1] –

Use of exclusive first person plural pronouns to signal a Chinese frame of reference

- 242 to,) [(.) °get used to it.°
 243 B: [a:n (sorry) usually like in the final-
 244 → exam or in our see ee tee four (or) see ee tee
 245 → six, [the: u:h, (.)] we also ask=
 246 D: [(°that's it yeah°)]
 247 B: = th[e st]udents to write certain number=
 248 A: [yeah]
 249 B: =of words,
 250 B: → s[o (we) like to train them (.) that] way.
 251 D: [(°yeah that's true°) (° °)]
 252 (1.2)
 253 D: u::h, can I make a plea for a hundred and fifty
 254 for the descriptive, two hundred for the opinion
 255 and two fifty for cause and effect.=

That these pronouns reference a Chinese perspective on the issue can be seen on lines 244 and 245 where Bev introduces the example of the CET-4 and CET-6, two high stakes, nationwide English tests for university students in China. By claiming these tests as “our see ee tee four (or) see ee tee six,” Bev describes specific Chinese assessment and teaching practices that Don (lines 246 and 251) and Ann (line 248) both appear to acknowledge.

What follows in the remainder of this first part of the target sequence (lines 253 to 267) is Don’s negotiations with Ann over the exact word counts and topics the group should assign for student writing assignments. Don’s turns here follow his previous statement and gesture of resignation (lines 240 and 241) and acknowledgement of Bev’s culturally based arguments

¹⁴ That Bev herself recognizes her turn as interruption is indicated by her apparent exclamation of “sorry” after she begins the turn on line 243.

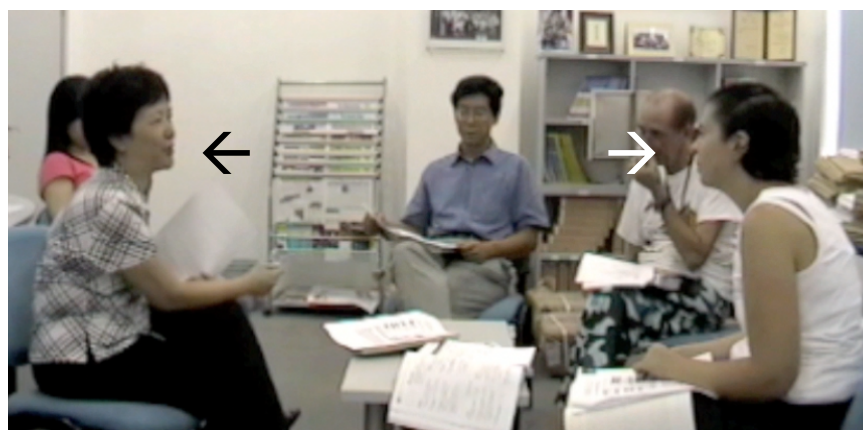
(lines 246 and 251). Ann's turn on line 267 ("°okay.°") acknowledges a close of negotiations and the group's final decision on adopting specific minimum word counts.

5.3.3.2 Third target sequence, part 2. Following both her previous turn marking the group's accomplishment of a decision and after a lengthy pause on line 268, Ann addresses Eve and returns to their earlier discussion of a worksheet Eve designed to help students create essay outlines (Excerpt 17). Ann signals Eve as the recipient of her turn by shifting her gaze from Don to Eve and gesturing slightly toward Eve with her right forearm (Figure 5-6).

Excerpt 17 [ELP2 mtg1] – Returning to a personal frame of reference

- 268 (2.1)
 269 A: → (a:nd), (.) I'm still interested in your form.
 270 D: °y[eah° (° °)
 271 E: → [ye:s, I: I would love to: show
 272 → it to y[ou:,=
 273 D?: [()
 274 A: =(°sure°)
 275 E: → = I: I ha:ve, (0.7) I I guess- obviously my
 276 → experience is diffe [rent] than yours=
 277 A: [°um hm°]
 278 E: → =but, (0.2) u:hm, (.) I've- (0.6) I've found that
 279 → giving students a number isn't always helpful,
 280 → but maybe if they're used to a numbe:r, I don't
 281 → know I'll try try and see:, (.) but, (.) uhm I
 282 would rather help them plan the essa:y, (.) uhm
 283 and teach them how to do it than give them a
 284 number=that's, (. [.) that's my;]

Figure 5-6: [ELP2 mtg1 – Line 269] – Returning to a personal frame of reference
 [Arrows: Ann (L) turns to address Eve (R)]



The use of first and second person pronouns in Ann's turn (line 269) and Eve's responses (lines 271 and 272 and lines 275 and 276) indicates a return to a more personal frame of reference that contrasts with the culturally based frames created in the first part of the target sequence. Particularly notable here is the manner in which Eve, on lines 275 and 276, directly contrasts her and Ann's personal experiences related to the policy issue. This acknowledgement of alternative perspectives would seem to reframe group disagreements as a matter of personal not culturally based difference. Although Eve does, beginning on line 281, go on to reaffirm her previous position supporting process-based techniques instead of minimum word counts to guide student writing, her acknowledgement of local student expectations and a willingness to work with them (lines 278 to 281) seems to indicate she is willing to consider different perspectives on the matter.

5.4 Discussion

In the preceding section, an analysis of data from ELP2's first meeting revealed how person-reference resources were employed by members in the collective accomplishment of an important policy decision. These references included category-based person-references that framed the practices of Chinese students and teachers both positively and negatively and, in the case of Don's spoken and gestural turn on lines 240 and 241, signal a resignation in the face of these prevailing practices. At the same time, person-references in the form of personal pronouns indicating speaker and recipient were used to create an alternate, personal frame of reference based on individual beliefs and past experiences with teaching. In the literature on intercultural EFL instructor relationships presented earlier, two recurring challenges are the isolation and/or balkanization of teachers (Adamson, 1995; Hessler, 2001; Hiramatsu, 2005;

Mihyon, 2009) and the significant intergroup disagreements that frequently result from divergent, culturally bound beliefs on language teaching and learning (Scovel, 1983; Penner, 1995; Hu, 2002b; Wolff, 2009). As this chapter's data analysis suggests, person-reference terms may serve as significant resources to both foster and defuse these two challenges to professional, intercultural community building.

Reviewing the use of culturally bound reference terms in the decision-making episode's three target sequences, it is possible to argue that such terms served as particular sources of and support for disagreement among group members. First, in target sequences one and three, Don's use of the phrase "this is China" (line 112 and lines 240 and 241) and its acronym "T.I.C." (line 241) can be seen to activate a frame of interpretation negatively assessing Chinese students by connecting them to a specific set of category bound activities on lines 114 to 121.

Don's deployment of gaze to signal Eve as the primary recipient of both these turns-at-talk when combined with his claim that she will "have to get used to it" one lines 241 and 242 would also seem to use person-reference to categorize her as a cultural outsider or someone unfamiliar with educational practices in the People's Republic. In this sense, his interactional moves might be interpreted as an attempt to socialize, or literally interpolate (Althusser, 1971), Eve as a recently arrived, expatriate instructor in China.

Taken as a whole, Don's turns-at-talk and deployment of gaze resources may be read as an attempt both criticize Chinese educational practices and to align with Eve to create a counterargument based on a shared cultural frame of interpretation. This analysis must be tempered by the fact that Eve's responses to these and Don's other attempts to create a joint

counterargument indicate that she only partially acknowledges and agrees with his perspective (Excerpts 8, 11, 12, and 14).

Finally, Don's partial shrug or use of an Open Hand Supine gesture with his turn at talk on lines 240 and 241 can be read as a signal of resignation or surrender in the face of prevailing cultural norms. Don's following turns-at-talk that both accept Bev's elaboration of these norms (lines 246 and 251) and then take an active role in determining the minimum word counts he had previously rejected (lines 253 to 255) would seem to illustrate the acquiescence he had previously suggested to Eve. While Don's move here does move the group to a final alignment on a policy decision, it is doubtful that it represents his genuine acceptance or compromise with the practice of assigning word counts. In other words, it may represent a retreat into a culturally based, and balkanized (Hargreaves, 1994), frame of interpretation that abandons meaningful intercultural compromise and negotiation.

In a similar manner, Bev's use of person-reference resources to create a frame of interpretation based explicitly on a Chinese cultural insider's perspective also seems to rule out meaningful discussion of alternative policy options or teaching practices. In particular, her use of exclusive, first person plural pronouns (Excerpt 16) to claim a specific Chinese pedagogy based on examination imperatives would also seem to signal an unwillingness to compromise on the decision at hand.

In contrast to Don and Bev's use of person-reference resources to create divergent and, to a significant extent, inflexible stances in the group's deliberations, other members can be seen to suggest areas for compromise by relying more on personal frames of reference. Eve's insistence on presenting her arguments in terms of personally held beliefs about and experiences with writing instruction (see Excerpts 5 and 17) combine with Ann's interest in

examining one of Eve's teaching worksheets, even after a collective decision rejecting Eve's arguments has been reached, would seem to indicate mutual interest in intercultural negotiation and learning. Instead of removing difference to the arguably inaccessible level of culture, the two co-members frame their difference as at least partially a matter of personal belief and experience. Here, Eve's comments on lines 278 to 281 (Excerpt 17) explicitly illustrate this perspective and appear to indicate a basis for future discussions that downplay the more inflexible frames of other group members.

Although the data set examined in this chapter remains necessarily limited, an analysis of how ELP2 instructors use person-reference to discuss member differences suggests ways interactional resources may be used to give or deny sociocultural factors an explicit role in teachers' decision-making. In this particular episode, a reliance on a personal framing of difference suggests ways in which teachers might avoid or at least better manage the isolation, balkanization, and culturally based disagreements often associated with intercultural teaching collaborations.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter a decision-making episode from ELP2's first meeting was analyzed to understand how group members made sociocultural factors related to their teaching beliefs and experiences relevant to the group's interaction. This analysis focused on member's use of person-reference resources to create personal and culturally based frames of interpretation. An analysis of three target sequences in the interaction revealed that members also used these resources to align with or against co-members' positions and to reach a final collective decision on an important policy matter. In the end, it was suggested that two members' use of person-reference to create culturally based frames of interpretation revealed and supported an

unwillingness to compromise on important pedagogical issues that might be seen as a source of difficulty in intercultural understanding. In contrast, two other group members used person-reference resources to develop an alternative, personal frame of interpretation that could serve as a future basis for mutual understanding and professional development.

Chapter 6

Implications

In this final chapter, the study's implications for our understanding of teacher collaboration will be discussed. Here the focus will be on how teachers' collective decision-making is accomplished through interactional resources that have remained largely unreported in the literature. Of particular interest is the way these resources both express and mitigate disagreement among instructors. Additional implications include considerations for teachers, school administrators, and teacher educators interested in initiating, developing, and supporting instructors' collaborative relationships. Finally, the study's contribution to research on teachers' knowledge and beliefs, organizational behavior, and intercultural communication will be considered. The chapter ends with a discussion of the study's limitations and suggestions for further research.

6.1 Interactional Resources and the Accomplishment of Disagreement

Teacher collaboration has been championed as both a means of achieving educational reform and, to the degree it fosters instructors' professional development and community building, a legitimate goal of such reform. Despite continued enthusiasm for several collaborative models, considerable gaps remain in our knowledge of how these models work or fail to work in practice. A gap addressed in the present study involves our understanding of the fine-grained, interactional resources teachers employ in their collaborations. To date, statistical analyses, narrative case studies, instructor interviews, and general observations have helped sketch the broad outlines of what teacher collaboration looks like in practice and what it can achieve, but they often fail to explain how such collaboration is actually accomplished in situ in the ongoing interactional moment. Commenting on the process of educational reform, Fullan

(1991) argues that “[n]eglect of the phenomenology of change—that is, how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended—is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reforms” (p. 4). This study’s adoption of conversation analytic theory and research methods illustrates a way for researchers to access the phenomenological details of collaboration as they occur not as they are recalled or seen at an impressionistic distance. With such detail, researchers can better track and understand how teacher collaboration accomplishes specific institutional actions and helps instructors develop new forms of professional knowledge.

Two recurring and linked themes in previous research are the pitfalls of superficial or limited collaboration and the importance of meaningful conflict in the collaborative process. As a number of studies have found, while collaboration may create enhanced collegiality and offer teachers valuable social and emotional support, it does not necessarily result in instructors’ pedagogical development, greater student achievement, or the attainment of larger policy objectives. Here, Grossman, Wineburg, and Woolworth’s (2001) critique of a “pseudocommunity” based on efforts to downplay individual differences and group conflict offers important points to consider. Without the opportunity or incentive to claim divergent viewpoints, individual instructors may favor forms of collaboration that threaten neither peers nor their own, frequently individualistic, notions of teaching practice. The challenge for teachers therefore involves welcoming productive forms of conflict without damaging the mutual engagement necessary for collaboration to occur. This challenge is part of a larger dilemma facing teachers and other educational professionals as they deal with institutional conflict. As Uline, Tschannen-Moran, and Perez (2003) argue, “[e]ducators must find ways to legitimize critique and controversy within organizational life. The rules of courtesy and civility do not

necessarily run counter to criticism. It is important to find ways to maintain the former without silencing the latter” (p. 813). How ELP2 members were able to achieve both goals in their collective decision-making is seen through an examination of the interactional resources they employed.

In the decision-making episodes analyzed in the study, ELP2 members presented divergent opinions, aligned with and against each other, and reached collective decisions using a variety of interactional resources. How these resources were able to both reveal differences among members and mitigate the potentially negative consequences of disagreement is worth reviewing.

In the first episode (taken from the group’s final meeting of the semester), assessment rehearsals, the invocation and representation of non-present others, and query sequences were all used to introduce significant disagreement into the group’s deliberations without group members explicitly voicing disagreement with each other. This episode illustrates ways in which instructors may shape interactions to simultaneously voice and mitigate intragroup conflict during collective decision-making.

The second episode (taken from the group’s first meeting) revealed how the use of person-reference resources allowed members to alternately frame disagreement as a matter of cultural or individual difference. Despite the relative inflexibility of the culturally framed arguments, those that were personally framed allowed members to characterize difference not as an inherent or intractable source of conflict but as a legitimate site for professional negotiation and learning. This episode suggests how interactional resources can help teachers negotiate significant social and cultural differences without recourse to divisive or essentializing discourses that close off avenues to mutual understanding vital to ongoing collaboration.

Considered together, the interactional resources members employed in both focal episodes offer an important starting point for explorations of how teaching groups can benefit from the conflicts inherent in divergent points of view while maintaining a meaningful sense of community.

6.2 Implications for Teachers and Program Administrators

The present study also offers a pair of implications for teachers and program administrators to consider as they weigh collaborative options. First, returning to the role of conflict in successful teacher partnerships, educators must consider what incentives can be used to not only encourage collaboration but to ensure that it serves as a cohesive framework for instructors to voice and negotiate significant differences. A number of studies on mentoring, pre-service teaching cohorts, and professional learning groups suggest that without shared and consequential objects of attention on which teachers can meaningfully agree or disagree, there is often little motivation for instructors to engage in collaborative relationships (e.g. Seifert & Mandzuk, 2006; Wood, 2007; Curry, 2008). A review of ELP2 members' interactions suggests, however, that by providing teaching groups with the mandate to make decisions that affect each member's teaching and assessment practice, schools may provide a tangible incentive that encourages teachers' ongoing investment in collaboration.

Although shared decision-making may serve as powerful incentive for teachers to engage in collaboration, ELP2's interactions raise an additional point to consider. As the first decision-making episode examined here revealed, teachers' collaborative decisions can also serve to implicitly or explicitly modify and even overturn organizational policies established by program administrators. This tension between group autonomy and overarching organizational goals

represents a significant challenge to collaborative practices in schools and other organizations.

Katambwe and Taylor (2006) describe this tension as follows:

Organizations, as they accommodate themselves to serve a varied clientele, need to encourage the emergence of communities of practice characterized by diverse modes of thought, missions, technologies, and disciplinary backgrounds. At the same time they need to display unity of purpose in competing with other organizations and institutions, even if this means imposing limitations on the liberty of action of members. (p. 55)

While schools and academic programs frequently experience different performance pressures than businesses, government agencies, and NGOs, the maintenance of institutional cohesion remains imperative.

In the English Language Program considered in this study, administrators employed veteran teachers as group chairs to both facilitate collaboration and ensure group decisions fit the program's overall policy framework. As suggested in chapter four, however, the irony of ELP2's decision-making in at least one episode is that the group chair took an active interactional role in countermanding the program director's acknowledged position on assessment policy. Although data is not available to analyze the effect the group's decision had on either members' evaluation practices or their further interaction with the ELP administration, this episode illustrates the significant challenges that arise when balancing working groups' collaborative autonomy with the cohesion of the institutions to which these groups belong.

For program administrators, two facile implications of this episode would be that greater attention to the selection of group leaders and more oversight of teaching groups are needed to align groups with larger institutional goals. At the same time, how the autonomy of teachers' groups can be effectively delimited without undermining the incentive to collaborate is a matter

both instructors and administrators must consider carefully and, when possible, negotiate in the establishment of collaborative ventures. With teaching groups' freedom to maneuver effectively understood, opportunities for intra-organizational misunderstanding and conflict can be reduced.

6.3 Implications for Teacher Educators

For teacher educators, an additional implication of this study involves consideration of how teacher collaboration and its resulting interactional data may play a role in enhancing pre- and in-service training. As the review of the literature suggests, many teacher training programs are already exploiting the collaborative potentials of the pre-service environment. These efforts have included reflective journal entries shared with teacher educators and/or classmates, team-based lesson planning and microteaching, and enhanced mentoring relationships with in-service instructors. Despite these efforts, many programs continue to treat collaboration as a tool to foster teachers' individual development and not as a point of reflection in its own right or a training model for future school-based collaboration. As Welch (1998) has argued, "[t]eacher education programs are often void of any coursework or field experiences exploring the sociocultural complexities and procedures of collaboration" (p. 27). Data from the present study suggest several ways in which teacher partnerships can become a legitimate and productive focus of training programs.

First, interactional data from naturally occurring teacher meetings and conversations may be used as objects of discussion and analysis in professional development courses. For example, sequences such as both of ELP2's decision-making episodes can be used to stimulate debate on the role conflict plays in teacher collaboration and to encourage an investigation of how interactional resources shape such relationships. Additionally, an examination of personal and culturally framed arguments can serve as a consciousness raising introduction to the role

sociocultural differences play in both teaching practice and peer interaction. This attention to the details of talk-in-interaction may be enhanced with the recording and analysis of pre- and in-service teachers' own collaborations with classmates, colleagues, mentors, and teacher educators.

In addition, teacher training courses can focus more explicitly on the myriad forms of group work and peer interaction instructors will encounter in their early teaching assignments. By considering the faculty meetings, group planning sessions, mentoring relationships, and the casual office, lunch, and break room conversations that make up much of teachers' daily activity, teacher educators can more fully prepare novice instructors for the peer relationships they will form on the job. Designing activities with collaboration itself serving as a focus of discussion, teacher educators can foster trainees' awareness of the role collegiality plays in teachers' professional development and the formation of school-based communities of practice.

6.4 Implications for Research

In addition to offering suggestions for teachers, program administrators, and teacher educators to consider regarding instructor collaboration, the present study provides insights that contribute to ongoing research in several fields. This section will explore three of these research areas: work on teacher knowledge and beliefs, organizational behavior, and intercultural communication.

6.4.1 Teacher Knowledge and Beliefs

Attention to teachers' collective decision-making and other forms of collaboration offers a new research perspective from which to investigate instructors' knowledge and beliefs. In recent decades, work in this area has focused primarily on classroom observations and teachers' accounts drawn from, among other sources, oral or written narratives, interviews, and stimulated recall sessions (Johnson, 1999; Haney & McArthur, 2002; Johnson & Golombek, 2002). As this

study suggests, however, greater attention to the ways instructors make their knowledge, beliefs, and experiences relevant in their interactions with colleagues provides an additional resource for researchers to consider (see also Gill & Hoffman, 2009). In the present study, for example, a methodological focus on the microanalytic details of talk-in-interaction revealed how instructors use specific interactional resources to present their teaching knowledge and beliefs as they accomplish specific collaborative activities directly affecting their teaching and assessment practices. This suggests that similar collaborative environments provide a vital yet under-researched source of information on instructors.

6.4.2 Organizational Behavior

As suggested above, many of the challenges schools encounter with teacher collaboration mirror issues faced in other organizations as they attempt to utilize the significant energies groups can provide. The analysis in this study suggests that greater attention to the details of talk-in-interaction offers insights on how group collaboration both accomplishes the work of organizations and offers potential sources of resistance to larger organizational goals. In this respect, the study can be seen as contributing to connectionist models of organizational functioning (Taylor & Van Every, 2000) that challenge earlier hierarchical conceptions premised on linear processing models (March & Simon, 1958). By specifically exploring how interactional resources are deployed in consequential group deliberations, the study also offers a detailed account of how organizational sensemaking occurs in real time (Huisman, 2001; Weick, 1995, 2001, 2009).

6.4.3 Intercultural Communication

A final contribution of the present study is the suggestion of a more nuanced and phenomenologically based understanding of intercultural communication (ICC). To date, the

dominant strand of ICC research has relied heavily on an interactional sociolinguistic perspective that views individual behavior as largely determined by individuals' membership in specific social and cultural groups (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007). From this perspective, even when participants in an interaction share the use of a natural language, sociocultural factors at work in conversational inferences will frequently impinge on interaction. This and related macrosocial perspectives typically present intercultural differences as inherent sources of difficulty if not outright communications failure. Here Holliday, Hyde, and Kullman's (2004) resource book on intercultural communication provides a typical example of this perspective. Explaining the ratio of negative to positive ICC examples presented in their book, the authors write:

If the balance is more on the side of people failing, followed by a discussion on how they went wrong, this is because in the majority of cases we do indeed get things seriously wrong, and this is something which needs to be dealt with. (Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2004, pp. 2, 3)

The sense of ameliorative mission that this and similar texts devoted to the general study of ICC or communication between specific sociocultural groups (e.g. Young, 1994, Gao & Ting-Toomey, 1998) display, while admirable, risks elevating the search for cultural difference and conflict, along with efforts at remediation, above the immediate interactional purposes of the individuals they study. At the close of the second edition of their widely cited text on intercultural communication, Scollon and Scollon (2001), argue that "in many cases, perhaps most cases, from the point of view of ordinary people culture is not a *conscious* dimension of interpretation and so as analysts we should use great caution in introducing it in our work" (p. 284; emphasis in the original). Despite this admonition, culture continues to be the overriding

factor in contemporary approaches to understanding communication between individuals nominally considered members of different social or cultural groups.

In contrast, the present study's deployment of conversation analysis to examine ELP2's second decision-making episode suggests a more nuanced way to describe how members treat difference and disagreement in interaction. Through their use of person-reference resources that alternately suggested cultural or personal frames of interpretation, group members could be seen to claim how sociocultural factors were and were not relevant to their ongoing discussion and disagreements. Particularly notable in this regard were the efforts two members, Ann and Eve, made to reframe their disagreement as one based on personal differences open to negotiation and potential compromise. This analysis would seem to contradict Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2007) claim that "[c]onversation analysts do not account for the on-line processing that individuals must do in maintaining conversational cooperation with specific persons, nor do they attempt to deal with the role of context and cultural presuppositions in conversation" (p. 19). In the episode presented here, not only do members clearly make culture-based perspectives relevant and consequential to their interactions, they also attempt to override the cultural frame to seek an intersubjectivity based on personal experiences and beliefs and the promise of mutual professional growth. Here it can be argued that strength of CA's claim of being both context-free and context-sensitive is best demonstrated (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

6.5 Study Limitations

Two limitations of the present study include the relative paucity of data collected and issues surrounding the researcher's co-membership with study participants. On the first count, while the two focal episodes analyzed here reveal the complex interactional resources members used to accomplish important group decisions, more work is needed to reveal how common these

resources are in teachers' decision-making and what additional resources may be employed. This is not to suggest the preceding analysis is invalid for relying on exemplary data—conversation analysis has rarely claimed generalizability for anything beyond the basic organizational features of talk-in-interaction—only that a greater attention to instances of collective decision-making will help build the robust corpus of interactional data on which conversation analysis routinely draws (Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002).

In terms of researcher membership, although I shared both the general experience of teacher collaboration and a specific working knowledge of the English Language Program with study participants, I can claim only a partial co-membership in many respects. As an instructor from North America with teaching experience in several EFL contexts, my insights on interaction between native and non-native English-speaking instructors are necessarily biased toward understanding the expatriate experience. Here, however, I believe the rigors of CA's unique working methods force individual researchers to go beyond mere intuition to find the concrete interactional details supporting a particular reading of events. In other words, this claim of a study limitation does not diminish the import of the findings shared here, but it does suggest nuances in the interactional data may have been overlooked or emphasized due to my specific perspective as an analyst. Even though I formed strong personal and professional relationships with Chinese instructors and staff members in the English Language Program, my insights on educational practice and general teacher relations in the People's Republic remains necessarily limited. In the future, I believe the insights of Chinese colleagues and co-researchers will enrich a reading of this and similar interactional data.

6.6 Future Research Directions

A number of research options based on the present study's findings and including ideas suggested in the preceding section are worth pursuing in the future. First, the analysis of interactional data from additional sites of teacher collaboration would undoubtedly add to the present study's claims about ELP2's collective decision-making. Of particular interest would be the ways in which the deployment of interactional resources in the present study may differ from that in groups where collective decision-making is not a primary responsibility. Such research would help explore the present study's general claim that occasions for meaningful deliberation encourage a greater investment in collaboration as seen in teachers' willingness to express and pursue disagreements with each other. In addition, data collected on a wider variety of interactions between instructors would undoubtedly provide a richer understanding of how they collaborate both professionally and socially. Here particular attention should be paid to the way in which interactions in classrooms, hallways, and offices as well as social events outside of schools both contribute to teacher collegiality and professional development and connect with the more formal types of group collaboration discussed in this study. Although data from impromptu interactions is frequently more difficult to collect, it is vital for our understanding of collaboration in all its forms.

Research on teacher collaboration can also be productively linked to the study of other interactions comprising the social lives of schools. As Boden (1994) and a number of other CA researchers have argued, organizations are formed and maintained not by policy guidelines or organizational trees but through the complex lamination of conversations, meetings, and other interactions that make up much of the average work week. In terms of schools, additional research on how teachers interact with students, both in and outside the classroom; school

administrators and staff; educational specialists; and parents and other community members may also better reveal the impact teacher collaboration ultimately has on teaching practice and beliefs.

Next, as the preceding section suggested, an encouragement of research partnerships involving members from differing social and cultural backgrounds will help address the realities of an increasingly diverse educational environment. Although conversation analysts explicitly avoid macrosocial descriptions of individuals and consider category-based analyses only when members themselves make them both interactionally relevant and consequential, researchers' co-membership with the people they study is still very much at the heart of the CA enterprise. This is not to claim that researchers are limited to studying the interactions of individuals with whom they share the same basic set of category features, an unrealistic scenario at best. It does, however, suggest that CA relies to a significant degree on intuitions that are not always objectively traceable. While researchers may share the same set of methods and findings, the initial intuitions guiding their analyses may differ. In other words, the impetus for the CA analyst's question of "*why that now...*?" may frequently derive from the unique perspectives researchers bring to the data. Research partnerships that capture a diversity of perspectives on what is frequently termed intercultural communication can therefore prove the most productive way to explore how teachers from different backgrounds collaborate with each other.

Finally, to open CA-based analyses of instructor collaboration to a wider audience of researchers, educators, and program administrators, productive links between conversation analysis and other research methods should continue to be pursued for projects and findings that are at once broad in scope and nuanced in their attention to the details of social interaction. Revisiting past controversies surrounding CA's theory and research methods (Moerman, 1986; Schegloff, 1997, 1999b, 2005; Wetherell, 1998; Billig, 1999; Levinson, 2005) such links need

not and should not come at the expense of conversation analysis's phenomenological orientation and unique perspective on social context. Instead, CA's arguably spartan attention to the details of interaction can be seen as an important supplement and, where needed, corrective to macrosocial, historical, and ethnographic approaches that seek to describe human social life on a larger scale. Compared and connected with work from these alternative perspectives, CA analyses can in turn gain new sites for investigation and a greater relevance for audiences accustomed to viewing the social in more panoramic terms (Latour, 2005). Although, the present study has not directly attempted such a combination of micro and macro perspectives, its use of CA theory and methods to explore the complexities of sociocultural difference in one group's interactions provides an introductory point of connection between alternative framings of the social world.

6.7 Summary Remarks

The study presented here has addressed how one group of teachers collaborates and employs interactional resources to accomplish important collective decisions affecting its members' instruction and assessment of students. As a review of the literature on such collaboration revealed, relatively little is known about how instructors use talk-in-interaction to accomplish important tasks such as decision-making or how they may make their social and cultural backgrounds relevant in their collective decision-making. To address research questions based on these gaps in the literature, the theory and research methods of conversation analysis were employed to create a fine-grained, phenomenologically grounded analysis of one teaching group's decision-making interactions. The group in question was comprised of EFL instructors at a Chinese university and contained both local Chinese instructors and international native English-speaking teachers from English-dominant countries. Following a review of the group's

meetings over the course of one academic semester, two focal decision-making episodes were selected and analyzed to address the study's two research questions. In the first episode, members were found to employ a range of interactional resources that both expressed disagreement while working to limit direct expressions of conflict among members. In the second episode, members used person-reference resources to alternately frame positions in cultural or personal terms. One implication of both analyses is that teachers collaborating on important group decisions have both the incentive to disagree with each other and interactional resources that allow them to pursue disagreement without destroying the unity of purpose necessary for collaborative groups to function over time. Additional implications suggest that this and similar studies can be used to develop meaningful collaborations that foster pre- and in-service teachers' professional development and contribute to research on teachers' knowledge and beliefs, organizational behavior, and intercultural communication. Finally, possibilities for future research that overcomes the scope and perspectival limitations of the present study were suggested. By detailing how one group of instructors accomplished collective decision-making through the unfolding moment of talk-in-interaction, this study both makes a contribution to our knowledge of teacher collaboration and suggests ways such collaborations can better meet the needs of teachers and the schools they serve.

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APPENDIX A: CONVERSATION-ANALYTIC TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

Based on the work of Gail Jefferson (1985)
(Schegloff, 2007)

Overlapping utterance	[]
Latched utterance	=
Untimed micropause	(.)
Timed pause (tenths of a second)	(0.6)
Untimed pause (longer than 0.2 sec.)	(..)
Indistinct speech	()
Transcriptionist doubt (alternative hearings)	(book) (was) / (is)
Nonlinguistic information	(())
Rapid speech	> <
Lengthened speech	< >
Relatively quiet speech	° °
Sound cutoff	- (hyphen)
Sound/syllable extension	::
Stopping fall in tone	.
Continuing intonation	,
Intermediate intonation (between continuing and rising intonation)	˩
Rising intonation	?
Emphasized speech (volume or stress)	_____ (underlining)

Aspiration/laughter hh
(Number of “hs” indicate sound length)

Aspiration/laughter within words (h) example: o(h)ver(h).

Inhalation .hh
(Number of “hs” indicate sound length)

APPENDIX B: ELP2 MTG3 TRANSCRIPT

00:00:22.00-00:05:54.20

018 D: (were you) alright? °yeah°,
 019 (19.4)
 020 A: .hh okay this is the guideline that (0.8) Steven
 021 read to us just now, (.) (kay).
 022 (.)
 023 if you- you're not clear with the details you
 024 can (0.4) take a look at it after(wards).
 025 (1.4)
 026 A: a:nd as for the: (0.9) grading .hhh I suggest
 027 one of us (.) do the subjective items,
 028 (0.9)
 029 because it's so simple, only two parts,=
 030 E: =°uhm hm°=
 031 D?: =°uhm°
 032 A: and its very simple just- to see whether
 033 their spelling is right, (.) it's correct,=
 034 C?: =(uhm)=
 035 A: =we don't have to think much about the
 036 structure of the (ballots), so I think ones (.)
 037 (teachers) to do the grading to do this
 038 grading is enough.=
 039 B: =uhm hm=
 040 A: =(you) think so=
 041 E: =so if they- if they misspell
 042 somethin[g the:n the:y]
 043 A: [.hh yes th]at's the problem, (.) that's the
 044 things we have to consider (that's), (.) if
 045 it's totally (.) nothing there, (.) of course,
 046 .hhh if (.) they put something the:re but you
 047 can see that he (.) actually does not
 048 get the right thing, (.) he did not (.)
 049 understand the right thing, .hh then (.) no
 050 points, .hh but i:f (.) .hh he- you can see
 051 (where) he has got the words [(.) but th]e
 052 E: ['um hm']
 053 A: spelling might be: [(0.8) wrong] (.)=
 054 E: [°wro:ng yeah°]
 055 A: =then give half points.
 056 (0.7)
 057 B: (°alright°)=
 058 A: =[(what do you think so)]
 059 E: =[only hal]f?=

060 A: =yes (.) half- [b e c]ause there's one=
 061 D: [(simple)]
 062 A: =point. (0.8) (yeah.) / (there.)
 063 one [point]s for each. .hhh
 064 E: [°(wow)°]
 065 E: what if they only miss like one or two
 066 letters?
 067 (1.0)
 068 D: (°yeah°)=
 069 A: =(yeah) it's half point.=do you think it's too
 070 serious o:r- (.) yo[u sh:-
 071 E: [I think that's kind of
 072 strict.
 073 D: yeah. (.) (y- uh[this is] ()]
 074 E: [(well (be)cau]:se)=
 075 A: [(or) just (.)]
 076 A: =no deduction?
 077 (0.6)
 078 E: we:ll because I think (.) you're testing
 079 spelling then instead of testing listening,=
 080 A: =uh hm=
 081 D: =righ [t
 082 E: [a:nd, (0.5) it's (.) you're testing more
 083 than one thing, [and th]is is supposed to=
 084 A: [°uhm hm°]
 085 E: =be .hhh discrete point testing, testing one
 086 thing at a time,=
 087 A: =°uhm hm°
 088 E: .hh so: if (.) if it's: (0.3) if the spelling is
 089 wro:ng then you're testing listening a:nd
 090 you're testing spelling, [.hhh] bu:t (0.4)
 091 A: [uhm hm]
 092 E: if the spelling is wro:ng but you can see:
 093 they understood the wo:rd, [.hh (.)]=
 094 A: [uhm hm]
 095 E: =the:n (0.2) I think (.) that we should give
 096 them (a) poi:nt, (0.3) I mea[n unless it's=
 097 A: [(° °)
 098 E: =ra:dically wro:ng [like half the word is=
 099 A: [(°uhm°)
 100 E: =mis[spe:lled, .hh and they're sort of just=
 101 A: [°uhm°
 102 E: =guessing- you can tell that they're- (0.8)
 103 it's- (.) crazy guessing,
 104 I [don't know, (.) I I think]=
 105 D: [°uhm hm° °uhm hm°]

- 106 E: =that's [(.)] (a little [:
 107 D: [yeah]
 108 A: [I think it's
 109 reasonable.
 110 A: [°it's reasonable. °]
 111 D: [yeah (there's)] the problem is when we
 112 dealing with different forms like if you have
 113 wasted [(.) wa [sting (0.6)] now we=
 114 A: [(uhm [hm °uhm°]
 115 E: [°um hm°]
 116 D: =have a problem. [(0.3)] did they really=
 117 A?: [°uhm°]
 118 D: =understand that it was: (.) uh the pa-
 119 thee uh the past participle (.) [(.) or th] e=
 120 A: [°uh hm°]
 121 D: =present u:h present par[°ticipple°, that's the
 122 A: [°um°]
 123 D: =big problem.=
 124 A: =uhm hm.
 125 (0.3)
 126 E: I agree. (.) [(.) (cause the:n:)]
 127 D: [the- tha- th] at's really
 128 where it- (.) wh- how do we interpret that,
 129 (.) do they rea:lly .hh not understand the
 130 grammar and they got the wrong
 131 grammar[r?
 132 A: [hhh .hh both of you are very
 133 generous (.) persons. .hhh (.) actually I quite
 134 agree with you, (0.4) .hhh but according to (.)
 135 the:: (.) ee el pee policy, (0.5) if one mistake then
 136 it's totally wrong. (0.5) no points at all,=
 137 D: =°yeah°=
 138 A: =okay, (.) but I agree, (.) because we're
 139 testing their listening instead of the
 140 spelling.=
 141 E: =I mean with the vocabulary yes[: I a]gree they=
 142 D: [°yeah°]
 143 E: =have the word right [there, th] ere=
 144 A: [uhm hm yeah]
 145 E: =sh [ould be no mistakes.
 146 A: [yeah
 147 A: okay, (.) then I agree.
 148 (0.2)
 149 D: yeah you- you also have
 150 situa[tions where you]
 151 A: [>do you have any prob]lem,<

152 D: where you have like s[teak] and=
 153 A: [uhm]
 154 D: =stake ess tee ee aa kay and ess tee ay
 155 kay ee [(0.5)] now whatta we do.
 156 A: [uhm]
 157 (0.8)
 158 E: but I don't think on this test we have
 159 anything like that. [(.) do we?]
 160 D: [we:ll I:- (.)] I'm just
 161 saying this is the[se are examples of]
 162 E: [right right, yeah]
 163 you're right.=
 164 D: =of the kind of errors that a:re (0.5) in a
 165 listening test, (.) .hh again (.) (a-) a steak is
 166 something you eat, a stake another stake
 167 is the one you drive in the ground, do they
 168 really understand that you can't eat the
 169 one (uh-) the stick that you (.) put in the ground.
 170 (0.5) ('you know') or are they gonna try to
 171 hammer in a a piece of
 172 meat. [°right°) .hh y]ou know that's- (uh) th- this=
 173 E: [hh hh hh]
 174 D: =is the problem with this kind of thing. but,
 175 (1.0)
 176 B?: except (the-) (.)
 177 B?/E?: → (>do you think-<)
 178 E: we[could have] (.) asked someone::,
 179 B: [()]
 180 (0.6)
 181 B: last year Steven is like (.) emphasize we
 182 have put the exact words there,
 183 (0.4)
 184 B: even just one, (0.6) in one lette:r was: (.) a
 185 mistake >there's no point.<
 186 (0.9)
 187 A: (°you're right°)
 188 (0.4)
 189 B: zero,
 190 (0.7)
 191 A: (°um-°)=
 192 B: =so: we::ll (.) cause he: he said cause we
 193 put (0.5) in the direction exact word.
 194 (0.9)
 195 if you don't put exact word (°there°) (0.2)
 196 that is wrong.
 197 A: do you have the exact words?=

198 C: =yes=
 199 B: =they have to put the exact word (there)
 200 an [()]
 201 E: [but it doesn't] [say the (exact) spelling]
 202 A: [(is) it exact word]
 203 or the exact spelling,
 204 E: it doesn't [say exact spelling] [thou]gh=
 205 B: [well]
 206 A: [yeah]
 207 E: =the direc[tions aren't clear]
 208 C: [I think that u:h (.)] I think that
 209 you'd better th- uh a:h (0.2) talk to Steven
 210 before we we do it.
 211 A: I don't think (.) I don't think it's necessary.
 212 .hh a:s (.) if you ask Steven, (.) I can
 213 guarantee (you) [(0.2) hi]s answer will=
 214 E: [hh hh hh]
 215 A: =be wrong.
 216 (0.2)
 217 A: .hh but actually:, [(1.0)] (.) just (like this) (.)=
 218 C: [°hm°]
 219 A: =deduct half the points. this my policy.
 220 (0.9)
 221 b[e]cause (.) I think it- is for listening,
 222 C: [uhm]
 223 A: =(.) not for spelling, [(.) so] if he can=
 224 E: [uhm hm]
 225 A: =understand it, we should give them
 226 some points [to encourage them.] (o)kay, (.)=
 227 D: [°yeah that's right. °]
 228 A: =this the difference from the totally
 229 wro:ng or nothing there. .hh so this why I sa:y
 230 we should give (.) half points.[(°to °)
 231 D: [but is it is it
 232 possible to divide it uh like is thee: (.) is
 233 the- (.) thee: value two o:r just one (.) >I
 234 mean- < .hh (w-) we can't give- (0.4) point
 235 five of a mark, (.) we can only: (.) we can
 236 only give integral num- integral numbers.

APPENDIX C: ELP2 MTG1 TRANSCRIPT

(056:35-107:16)

- 001 (..)
 002 A: u::[h (° this one °)] here
 003 E: [second class of the week_L]
 004 C: oh second
 005 class [of the week second- second time] of=
 006 A: [second- second class of that week]
 007 C: =(the) week.
 008 C: okay.
 009 C: °alright.°
 010 (1.6)
 011 A: a:nd as the length, (.) the words how many
 012 words for each essay?
 013 (1.5)
 014 A: we: (m- eh) they may be various but we have to:.,
 015 E: we have to tell them how lo:ng?
 016 A: yea:h.
 017 (0.9)
 018 E: why? (0.6) c- can I ask why?=
 019 A: they're required because [(if you)] do =
 020 C: [((coughs))]
 021 A: =not tell them, (.) they will (fill) a very short
 022 (one), (.) a short passage. (.) very short (°one°).
 023 so usually, (.) as for me (.) I will give them two
 024 hundred three hundred four hundred. like that.
 025 °something like that.°=
 026 D: =[oh I (w-)]
 027 A: =[not] exactly but (°something°) (° °),=
 028 E: =really?
 029 D: I would [(think then)]
 030 E: [do you help] them organize their
 031 par- their essays?
 032 (0.4)
 033 E: do you give them outlines to
 034 prepa:r [e] their essays?
 035 A: [no]
 036 (0.5)
 037 E: you don't?=
 038 A: uhn
 039 E: why not?
 040 (1.4)
 041 A: it's unnecessary.
 042 E: but if you give them an outli:ne, the:n: I don't

043 think you need to tell (them) / (em)
 044 how lo:ng because the:n, .hhh if you help
 045 them prepa:re their essay then, (.) they
 046 won't (.) give you this, (.) the- the- b-
 047 they must give you:: (.) this long.
 048 (0.5)
 049 A: (°uhmm°)
 050 A: (°they usually° we) don't give them the outline.
 051 they have to write (a) / (the) outline themself.
 052 E: no I mean I- not the information but like a
 053 workshee:t where they ca:n create an outline.
 054 A: °umhm°
 055 E: so:: (.) I don't have anything to show you I'm
 056 sorry but, (.) I ha:ve:, (0.5) I have like worksheets
 057 that I've created in the pa:st;
 058 A: °umhm°=
 059 E: =whe::re, (0.4) um it's it's like a planning
 060 worksheet so::, (.) it has boxes a:nd- (.) t- um (.)
 061 like information where they have to fill it i:n;
 062 (.) and the:n from that worksheet then they can
 063 write their essa:y, (0.3) but if they don't fill in the
 064 worksheet then they cannot write an essay >or
 065 they'll write three sentences or something,< .hh
 066 u:m but if they fill it i:n; (.) the:n (they) take
 067 that and they write a uh a good
 068 essay. (.)[fro]m that.= I've had a lot of=
 069 C: [°um°]
 070 E: = success with that.
 071 A: °ye°ah maybe you could give us (.) show
 072 us the::=
 073 E: =of course of course=
 074 A: =okay?=
 075 E: =yeah I would be happy to:, (..) but I I
 076 hesitate to gi:ve (.) numbe:r of words;
 077 because [(.) i]f I do that then I get (.)=
 078 C/D?: [°u::m°]
 079 E: = garbage.
 080 (0.8)
 081 A: um hm=
 082 B: =()
 083 E: you know (if- they're) just writi::ng
 084 repea [ti::ng] it's- it's not good essay (.)=
 085 D: [°um°]
 086 E: =it's lo:ng enough but it's::, (.) it's not quality.=
 087 D: =(°s °)=
 088 E: =so that's why I:: I:::, I help students plan

089 essays₂ (.) u::m I give them outli:nes so
 090 they can fi:ll in their ideas into the outli:ne, and
 091 then they can take that and write an essay, an
 092 and I know, >I check the outlines too< to make
 093 sure that it's not- bad, u:m, and the::n, so that's
 094 like an assignment >you know<, fill this ou:t,
 095 bring it ba:ck, I will- I'll take it home I'll read
 096 them I'll check them I'll, write suggestio:ns or
 097 corrections, .hhh and the::n they can take that
 098 ba:ck and write their essay, (.) so::, (.) and then
 099 I don't- I don't worry about getti:ng, (.) three
 100 sentences because I kno:w that they've had to
 101 think and prepa:re and then write an essay, so::,
 102 that's why I: I don't I don't usually give,
 103 numbers.
 104 (0.5)
 104 A: I think it's a very good idea but, (1.2) [()]
 106 E: [okay I'll I'll
 107 I'll show it to you.
 108 A: yeah=
 109 E: =yeah thanks okay=
 110 D: =I think also (uh),
 111 E: well-
 112 D: (>uh see you<) have to remember this is China,
 113 E: um hm
 114 D: and you- every student is sort of fixed on a
 115 minimum number of words. (.) this is it. now, so
 116 that means that if they've got to write uh a
 117 hundred and fifty, they only really write
 118 seventy. (.) then they're gonna say the same thing
 119 over and over and over again. they'll say it four
 120 times, (.) uh in order to build up the number of
 121 words.
 122 A?: (um hm)
 123 D: that's sort of what happens. in fact [()]
 124 B: [((shakes head no))
 125 E: [well, I (would)
 126 give that essay back then=
 127 C: = [let me tell you (once) ()] [several =
 128 E: = [and say do [it o(h)ver(h). hh huh hh .hhh]
 129 B: [°hh hh hh °] [I've never =
 130 =[met such kind of student]
 131 C: =[years ago one of student told me] tha a:h (he has)
 132 the experience (th- the) strategy how to deal with
 133 how many words (and then), if you don't have
 134 too much to say, you try to make different words

- 135 you say, if you want to express many you
 136 don't use many, you use a lot of.=
- 137 D: =yeah yeah. [oh yeah () yeah yeah yeah.
 138 C: [so you add three words instead
 139 of one.
 140 C: [you add two more.
 141 B: [(yeah)
 142 D: yeah sure ().=
- 143 B: =if the student would like to express the same
 144 opinions but uses different words every time I
 145 will give him a lot, a a high grade. that means
 146 he she really has uh like, very large amount of
 147 vocabulary,=
 148 D: =see I (),
 149 B: or like,
 150 E: but it's not a good essay if they
 151 just [(use a lot []]
 152 C: [(what he's talking about is[]]
 153 B: [()]=
 154 =(this much) writing that's good.
 155 D: now I'll tell you what, our approach would be,=
 156 E?: um hm
- 157 D: I would tell them I want you to write a
 158 maximum number of words. not a
 159 minimum, [a maximum]
 160 E: [I'm not going to give] them a
 161 word count.
 162 D: I want you to tell me the story, but you will tell
 163 me the story with a maximum number of
 164 words. it's very easy to write many many many
 165 words.
- 166 B: You know what, (like) when I was in
 167 Guangdong University (of) Foreign Studies my
 168 professor uh 那个° (°w-°)
 °na ge° (°w-°)
 °that° (°w-°)
- 169 C: 王初明.=
 Wang Chuming.=
 170 B: =王初明. he's very very famous
 =*Wang Chuming*.
 171 professor in the English teaching. he told- like
 172 when he was my professor he told us you write
 173 more then (a) high grade (I'll) give it to you. so
 174 no matter, if you have stick to the topic but the
 175 more you write the higher grade you'll get. and
 176 then that's the way he encourage the student to

177 write more and more and more.
 178 be[cause,
 179 D: [oh well the that, see that for us would be
 180 (encourage) bad writing.
 181 E: yeah.
 182 D: that would (require-) encourage (an) inefficient
 183 um=
 184 E: =use of words=
 185 D: =wordiness, [like you say, three words=
 186 B: [but like (right) now at their=
 187 D: =[instead of one (that).
 188 B: =[level (like), the the very important thing is to
 189 practice. if they practice enough then they will
 190 have uh uhb uh make a progress in the near
 191 future.
 192 D: uh yeah if you're going to write say for a
 193 newspaper (uhn I) uhn I would say probably it
 194 happened to us when (we) were writing for the
 195 for the website, we were told to write a hundred
 196 and fifty words,
 197 B: um hm.
 198 D: believe me, it was quite a chore, for me to keep
 199 it down to a hundred and fifty words. (it's)
 200 much more difficult to write fewer words than
 201 more words.
 202 B: right, [but,]
 203 D: [that's] more skillful,
 204 B: but they are the beginners.
 205 D: yeah but that's what I'm saying, we should be
 206 teaching them to tell the story (an ana) I don't
 207 mean just a one sentence or a three sentence
 208 story, someth- some boys () before they
 209 went to play basketball,=
 210 E: =hh hh=
 211 D: =I'm I I mean they- you've still got to tell me
 212 the story but I want you to tell me the story in a
 213 minimum number of words, (.) efficiently, (..)
 214 compactly, (.) () one of the things we
 215 should be teaching them is (.) compact
 216 writing.=
 217 B: =uh hm=
 218 D: =() which is what we would be required to do
 219 if you're gonna write for a newspaper.=
 220 C: I think it depends (that's all) for some of the
 221 students they (w-), even if they they (aren't)
 222 very good writers they they will not repeat

223 again and again one or two ideas, (..) but for
 224 some other students they usually they- when it
 225 comes to writing they- they- they almost have
 226 nothing to say.=
 227 D: =that's right.=
 228 C: =so they [just] keep=
 229 D: [()]
 230 C: =writ:ng, [about] =
 231 D: [the same thing]
 232 C: = the same thing.=
 233 D: =yeah sure.
 234 (..)
 235 C: y [eah
 236 D: [that's what I'm saying, (.) they're just, (.)
 237 counting up the number of words.=
 238 C: =ye:s.
 239 (1.0)
 240 D: alright anyway th- th- I was just saying that this
 241 is China, tee ai see, (you'll have
 242 to,) [(.) °get used to it.°
 243 B: [a:n (sorry) usually like in the final-
 244 exam or in our see ee tee four (or) see ee tee
 245 six, [the: u:h, (.)] we also ask=
 246 D: [(°that's it yeah°)]
 247 B: =th[e st]udents to write certain number=
 248 A: [yeah]
 249 B: =of words,
 250 B: s[o (we) like to train them (.) that] way.
 251 D: [(°yeah that's true°) (° °)]
 252 (1.2)
 253 D: u::h, can I make a plea for a hundred and fifty
 254 for the descriptive, two hundred for the opinion
 255 and two fifty for cause and effect.=
 256 A: =yeah. (..) okay.=
 257 D: =I think that you (wanted) to two hundred for
 258 the descriptive I don't think,
 259 A: =(but) /(oh) it doesn't
 260 matter. [(yeah)]=
 261 D: [>that- that- that- < ()]=
 262 A: = () >it's subject to]change it's=
 263 D: =what (are they gonna) describe,]
 264 A: =subject to change<=
 265 D: =a place I've been to.
 266 (..)
 267 A: °okay.°
 268 (2.1)

- 269 A: (a:nd), (.) I'm still interested in your form.
 270 D: °y[eah° (° °)
 271 E: [ye:s, I: I would love to: show
 272 it to y[ou:;=
 273 D?: [()
 274 A: =(°sure°)
 275 E: = I: I ha:ve, (0.7) I I guess- obviously my
 276 experience is diffe [rent] than yours=
 277 A: [°um hm°]
 278 E: =but, (0.2) u:hm, (.) I've- (0.6) I've found that
 279 giving students a number isn't always helpful,
 280 but maybe if they're used to a numbe:r, I don't
 281 know I'll try try and see:, (.) but, (.) uhm I
 282 would rather help them plan the essa:y, (.) uhm
 283 and teach them how to do it than give them a
 284 number=that's, (.) that's my;]
 285 D: [()]the
 286 trouble i [s Eve,] the system here=
 287 E: [>(feeling)<]
 288 D: =peenalizes them for doing that.
 289 (1.2)
 290 D: (do-) that- that's my point °I guess.° (.) >if you-
 291 if they can-< they can- using you:r technique,
 292 (..) they can tell the story in seventy fi:ve
 293 words. (.) yes, because it's efficient (.) compact
 294 writing, (..) they get- they get peenalized for
 295 that, (..) th [e-] because they- (..) they're=
 296 E: [we: ll]
 297 D: =told to write a hundred fifty words, (.) so now
 298 they've got to pad it ou:t, (..) uh in order to
 299 make the numbers up for you. (..) that's one of
 300 the problems (°that° [])
 301 E: [I understand that (.) but,
 302 (..) u:hm, (..) my experience is that if you give
 303 them, you know you need to ha:ve, (.) you need
 304 to have a topic you need to ha:ve, (..) you
 305 kno::w, (..) three detail- four details about the
 306 topic you, you need to explain those details and
 307 you need to have a conclusion,= >those are<
 308 that's a lot of requirements, (.) I:: (.) I usually
 309 require: (..) uhm (.) parts of the essa:y, not
 310 words, = >I guess my requirement is just
 311 different.< (.) I I talk about the essay
 312 differently, (..) so:: (.) uhm (.) I I never fi:nd
 313 that students, (..) well if they if they write too
 314 little they left something that I've required out,

315 (.) they've left it out, (.) so I guess that's my::
 316 (.) maybe: I just look at the essay (a)
 317 differently, I'm requiring parts of the essay,
 318 =make sure you have a topic make sure you
 319 have an introduction, make sure you have: (.)
 320 you know, four details about the pla:ce, make
 321 sure you have two sentences to explai:n, (.)
 322 each detai:l, make sure you have a conclusion
 323 and a- you know if you have all of those parts
 324 (.) then I don't worry about >the num<ber of
 325 words becau:se (.) you will have plenty ofh
 326 words.=
 327 B: =yeah that's also what we did last=
 328 year. = [(uh like)] like at least give us two=
 329 E: [okay]
 330 B: =examples or at least have to use sixteen
 331 words that you've learned
 332 from [(the vocabulary)]=
 333 E: [>right right right yeah (yeah) yeah<]=
 334 A: =°uhm [hm°
 335 E: [okay so we're thinking the same thing
 336 then. = okay good.
 337 B: and also, (..) ask them like in between like two
 338 hundred (and) two fifty wo:rd:s: [()
 339 E: [yeah I would
 340 probably give them a max (i-) if I gave them a
 341 number no(h)mo(h)re tha(h)an(h)=
 342 B: =yeah=
 343 D: =yeah=
 344 E: =plea(h)se, (.) I don't want
 345 to [read more] than [(.)]=
 346 D: [()] [°that's right°]
 347 E: =so many words.=
 348 D: =°yeah yeah yeah that's right (yeah)°
 349 E: yeah [(.)] okay. (.) alright good, now I=
 350 D: [°yeah°]
 351 = under [stand.
 352 A: [(° °)
 353 (..)
 354 A: okay
 355 next, ([]) the=
 356 D: [((CLEARS THROAT))]
 357 A: = assignment i:s, (..) about the quiz and final
 358 exam.
 359 (..)

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