

PEER LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN AN INTERNATIONALIZED STUDY

ABROAD CONTEXT: NORMS FOR TALKING ABOUT LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

Study abroad (SA) students often expect to have opportunities to interact with peers in the target language during their sojourns. However, while SA students report valuing peer relationships, to date, few studies have explored the role of peer interaction in SA (McGregor, 2016) and even less research has attended to peers' perceptions of their role in SA students' language learning (Kinging, 2017). To address this gap, this qualitative multiple case study investigates peer language socialization at an internationalized English-medium university in Canada. It focuses on how language (e.g., grammar, use, lexis, and pronunciation) and language learning were oriented to in peers' conversations, and the norms around how such topics were to be managed in informal talk.

The focal students were three Japanese undergraduate SA students, each of whom recruited several English-speaking peers with whom they recorded weekly conversations. The data, which included interviews with peers and SA students as well as the recorded conversations, were analyzed using micro-analytic approaches, including membership categorization analysis (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015; Sacks, 1992) and discursive approaches to stancetaking (Du Bois, 2007; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Findings show that SA students had difficulty forming peer relationships, despite their engagement in extracurricular activities. The interview data also reveal that SA students valued peers who were multilingual and had experience with international students, and that peers valued SA students who asked for language help and displayed willingness to improve their English. While peers' reports in interviews depicted discussions of language as relatively simple interactions, analyses of the peer interaction data demonstrated that SA students and peers required significant linguistic resources

and prior knowledge to successfully engage in talk-about-language (Levine, 2009) and that not all SA students' requests for language help were successful.

These findings point to how “doing *novice*” and “doing *expert*” may be learned practices and highlight the need to conceive of peers as historical multifaceted individuals who may or may not be willing or able to appropriately “do *expert*” in interaction with SA students. As such, this study makes a significant contribution to applied linguistics in the areas of SA, peer interaction, and language socialization.

LAY SUMMARY

This multiple case study explores how three Japanese study abroad students, with intermediate English skills, discussed language and language learning in conversations with English-speaking peers at a Canadian university. Data include interviews with the study abroad students and their peers as well as 11 hours of recorded interactions. Findings show that peers were reluctant to correct students and expected study abroad students to ask for language help. Study abroad students highlighted that peers with international experience were more supportive conversation partners than native speakers with less international experience. They also reported that they had to learn to ask for language help. Analyses of recorded conversations show that asking for language help was a complex task and that the advice peers provided was not always accurate. The results point to the need to reconsider displays of “language expertise” as a learned behaviour rather than an inherent property of native speakers.

PREFACE

This study has undergone an ethical review process which was approved on December 9th, 2015 by the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The Human Ethics Certificate #H15-02937 for “Peer language socialization in study abroad” is valid until November 3rd, 2018. This dissertation is original, independent work by the author, V. Surtees.

A version of Chapter 7 has been accepted for publication. Surtees, V. (2018). “As a friend, that’s the one thing I always am very conscious not to do”: Categorization practices in interviews with peers in the host community. *Study Abroad Research in Second Language Acquisition and International Education*.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

JC	Japan-Canada
L1	First language
L2	Second/additional language
LS	Language socialization
PWU	Pacific Western University
SA	Study abroad
TL	Target language

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DEDICATION

For Dr. Elizabeth Gatbonton.

Chapter 1: Peer interaction in study abroad

1.1 Introduction

Study abroad (SA) refers to programs where students participate in a temporary formal education experience (often in a different language) in another country or region for a fixed duration (Kinging, 2009). It is no secret that post-secondary institutions worldwide are increasingly making SA a key component of their strategies to produce multilingual and global citizens (Teichler, 2015). According to the OECD (2017), around 3.3 million students studied abroad in 2015, with that number set to double by 2020. Given the huge number of students enrolled in both short-term and degree-length international programs, it is safe to say that SA is a global economic and social phenomenon of increasing significance in the field of higher education.

In general, students who choose to enrol in SA programs do so to discover new cultures, to increase their employment prospects, and – of particular interest to this study – to improve their foreign language skills. However, while large-scale reports have identified significant benefits of SA in these three areas (University of Oxford International Strategy Office, 2015), research on language learning outcomes for sojourns lasting one year or less has tended to observe widely varying results at the individual level (Kinging, 2015a). For this reason, an increasing number of SA researchers are turning to qualitative methods to better understand how SA students' expectations, experiences, and interactions with host-community members shape students' target language (TL) development (Shively, 2018).¹ This dissertation aims to contribute

¹ I have chosen to use the term *target language* (TL) development rather than the more widespread term *second language* (L2) development to allow for the fact that most participants in this study had at least some knowledge of

to a better understanding of how SA students' (English) TL encounters shape their language learning by focusing specifically on the role of *peer relationships* and *interaction*. It does so by exploring the interactions and relationships of three Japanese undergraduate SA students and their English-speaking peers at a large western Canadian university, which I will call Pacific Western University (PWU). The three focal participants were enrolled in an eight-month program, the Japan-Canada (JC) program, and had opportunities to meet a wide variety of English-speaking peers through university residences, language exchanges, and extra-curricular activities. In what follows, I explain the ways in which this study contributes to a better understanding of the role of peer interaction in TL learning in the SA context.

1.2 Peer interaction in SA

For many SA students, a key objective of the SA experience is to make friends in the TL community (Goldoni, 2013; Mitchell, 2015; Pyper & Slagter, 2015). However, as McGregor (2016) pointed out, despite SA students' desires to engage with peers, "we still know very little about the ways in which sojourners co-construct and negotiate talk with local peers in conversation" (p. 178). Indeed, while many studies have examined the role of homestay experiences in SA (e.g., Diao, Freed, & Smith, 2011; DuFon, 2006; Greer, Brandt, & Ogawa, 2013; Iino, 2006; Ishida, 2011; Jackson, 2008; Kinginger, Lee, Wu, & Tan, 2014; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2010; Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Shively, 2016; Van Booven, 2017; Wilkinson, 1998), according to McGregor (2016), fewer studies have focused on the role of interactions with TL-speaking peers in the host community.

more than two languages, including the SA participants. *L2* is still used when referring to the additional languages of participants that were not the focus of this study and in citations from other authors.

SA studies that mention peer relationships often do so with the aim of quantifying or modelling the peer networks that SA students form (Dewey et al., 2014; Dewey, Ring, Gardner, & Belnap, 2013; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006; Mitchell, 2015; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015).

Alternatively, other qualitative and narrative studies mention peer interaction as one aspect of SA students' experiences more generally. These studies explore the ways in which a wide variety of encounters (e.g., peer relationships, homestays, classes, extracurricular activities) impact SA students' identities (Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2012; Jackson, 2008; McGregor, 2012; Stewart, 2010; Whitworth, 2006), or beliefs, attitudes, goals, or motivations (Allen, 2010; L. Miller & Ginsberg, 1995; Shively, 2016; Yang & Kim, 2011). This body of research typically highlights students' difficulties in accessing opportunities for TL interaction with peers as well as the benefits of doing so. These studies show that those who succeed in forming relationships with peers via the TL often express a deep satisfaction with their sojourns. They also point to the ways in which educational institutions can create opportunities for TL-mediated relationships through residence arrangements, language pledges, language exchange or mentorship programs, internships, and extracurricular activities (Mitchell, 2015; Trentman, 2013a).

However, given these studies' focus on a broad range of experiences, the specific contributions of interaction with peers often remain underexplored. In addition, because these studies typically rely heavily on self-report data from SA students, such as questionnaire, interview, and journal/diary data, the perspectives of host community peers are largely absent in this body of research. As such, while the perspectives of SA students are discussed in depth, the expectations, beliefs, and motivations that shape peers' engagement with SA students often go unrecognized. The studies cited above also present little evidence about what students and their

peers might talk about or the ways in which they collaboratively engage in language learning activities.

To date, what we do know about the features of TL peer interaction comes from a small number of studies that have examined specific instances of interaction between SA students and their native-speaker peers (Diao, 2013, 2016; Dings, 2012, 2014; Fernández, 2016; Ishida, 2010; Levine, 2009; Masuda, 2011; McGregor, 2016; Shively, 2013). Some of these studies have analyzed peer talk as a way to observe SA students' TL development across the sojourn. For example, Dings (2014) observed that US students developed a more varied repertoire for expressing alignment in Spanish conversations with native-speaking peers during a year-long sojourn in Spain. Others have shown that SA students sometimes discuss norms around TL use with peers, including pragmatic norms related to personal pronoun use (McGregor, 2016), differences between languages and language varieties (Fernández, 2016), and issues of pronunciation, lexis and morphosyntax (Levine, 2009).

While micro-analytic studies of peer interaction provide rich data on the ways in which peers and SA students engage with each other, peers' perspectives are still not usually presented in these studies. The language practices observed are thus seldom discussed in the context of local expectations around how language learning can or should be managed between peers. Kinginger (2012, 2017) has repeatedly pointed out that SA research needs to more systematically include the perspectives of host community members, such as peers, host teachers, families, and program administrators, in order to better understand factors that mediate access to interaction and potential sources of misunderstanding. She argues that if language learning is theorized as a social and collaborative process (Duff & Talmy, 2011), then to understand SA students'

experiences, it is at least as important to investigate the norms and values of hosts as it is to understand the perspectives of SA students themselves.

To date, only two studies (Diao, 2013; Kinginger & Wu, 2018) that I know of have adopted an integrated approach that examined both recordings and ethnographic data related to peer interaction. Diao (2013) investigated US students' development of gendered particles in Mandarin in interactions with Chinese roommates in China. In her work, Diao examined how four US students developed patterns of use that more closely resembled the patterns observed in the speech of their Chinese roommates. She also pointed to instances in which participants explicitly discussed norms around the use of gendered particles. While the main focus of her research was language use, Diao also engaged in a substantial discussion of Chinese peers' interest in English and international travel and the ways in which those interests mediated the Chinese peers' engagement with the US students. In addition, her discussion of the results attended to the ways in which discourses about "foreigners" in China shaped the ways in which peers, as well as other locals, treated and interacted with the US students.

Diao's (2013) study is relatively unique in that it not only investigates the specific affordances of peer interaction for language learning (i.e., the development of gendered particles in Mandarin) but it also addresses the underlying tensions and locally circulating norms that shaped and constrained the ways in which peers interacted. Following Diao's example, in this dissertation I add to this small but growing body of findings by investigating the interactions and perspectives of three Japanese undergraduate SA students and their TL-speaking peers at an English-medium Canadian university.

1.3 Peer language socialization

In this study, like Diao (2013), I adopt a language socialization (LS) framework to interpret peers' practices in this context (Duff & May, 2017; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). LS, broadly defined, is the process by which novice language users move toward expert status through participation in local communicative practices (Ochs, 1996). Studies that adopt an LS approach emphasize the role of meaningful interaction and recognize that learning is a dynamic and contingent process shaped and constrained by social, political, and personal factors. An increasing number of studies are adopting or advocating for LS perspectives to examine TL learning in SA, particularly in homestay interactions (Cardellio, 2016; Kinginger, 2017; Kinginger et al., 2014; Shively, 2018; Wang, 2010).

LS takes as its starting point the theoretical orientation that language learning through interaction is a negotiated and situated process in which speakers must collaboratively manage knowledge, affect, and positionality to accomplish learning (Duff & Talmy, 2011). In this sense, LS researchers understand the process of (language) learning as multi-directional and co-constructed. For this reason, an LS framework works well for understanding the ways in which peers move fluidly in interaction between “doing” *language expert/novice* and “doing” other roles, such as *friends, roommates, or teammates*.²

Despite the utility of LS for examining moment-to-moment shifts in participants' roles, most LS research has investigated interactions between speakers who more clearly “fit” into *expert* and *novice* categories, such as parents and children or teachers and students (for a review

² Throughout this dissertation, I use italics to signal my use of terms that refer to social categories. In this way, I seek to acknowledge that these types of labels refer to participants' identities *in interaction* or to locally relevant social categories that can be used as resources in interaction.

see Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Research that applies an LS framework to peer interaction is less common. To date, work that has used LS to investigate recordings of informal peer talk has typically involved children (for a review, see Kyratzis & Goodwin, 2017). LS work on interactions between adult peers, like the participants in this study, has more often been investigated from an institutional perspective in terms of workplace socialization (Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991; Li, 2000) or academic discourse socialization (for a review, see Kobayashi, Zappa-Hollman, & Duff, 2017). Diao's (2013) study on conversations between SA students from the US and their Chinese roommates is a notable exception (see discussion in previous section). Thus, this study contributes to knowledge on peer language socialization by applying an LS framework to informal interactions between young adult peers.

1.4 Talk-about-language in peer interaction

While it would of course be interesting to examine all aspects of peer interaction in the SA context, it was necessary, practically speaking, to focus on a few select practices that were particularly salient in peer talk in the local context. Thus, in this dissertation, in addition to providing more general descriptions of the interactional contexts of students' reported peer socialization experiences, I have chosen to focus on a specific event called *talk-about-language*, which Levine (2009) has defined as talk "engaged in by language learners about language in natural settings" (p. 19).

Talk-about-language includes interactions that deal overtly with aspects of language form, including pronunciation, morphosyntax, lexis, or social/pragmatic use. As an example, Levine (2009) provides the following excerpt of an interaction between a German native speaker

and Bill, an SA student from the US. In this excerpt, the talk-about-language moment comes when both speakers focus momentarily on the lexical item “share” (Figure 1.1).

1	NS1	und zieht jemand anders für (name) ein? <i>and is someone else moving in for (name)?</i>
2	Bill	nee weil er uh (..) he shares? what's share <i>no because he uh (..)</i>
3	NS1	teilen <i>share</i>
4	Bill	er teilt er teilt sein zimmer mit herr (name) <i>he shares he shares his room with (name)</i>
5	NS1	und er kann die miete alleine bezahlen? <i>and he can pay the rent alone?</i>

Figure 1.1 Talk-about-language. Excerpt reproduced from Levine (2009, p. 24, original italics, bolding, and capitalization).

Talk-about-language events can be quite brief and, as in the excerpt above, often take the form of small side sequences during conversation; here, Bill is searching for the German word (*teilen/teilt*) for “share,” which his German partner helpfully supplies. However, talk-about-language also includes interactions in which there is an extended discussion of linguistic form or use. For instance, McGregor (2016) has used the term to refer to lengthy metalinguistic or metapragmatic discussions about pronoun use in German. While Levine’s (2009) examples come exclusively from native speaker-L2 speaker interactions, he acknowledges that talk-about-language also occurs between learners as well as multilingual speakers.

Based on the incidental nature of talk-about-language events, Levine distinguished talk-about-language from the more traditional term “focus on form,” which is usually associated with institutional or educational contexts. In addition, while results from focus-on-form studies usually examine the acquisition of specific forms or meanings, according to Levine it is not

necessary to think of talk-about-language as primarily a means for learning specific language items. Rather, he suggests that talk-about-language should be conceptualized as a social practice that may afford learners opportunities for legitimate participation in local communities. In other words, the value of participating in talk-about-language may have less to do with the forms that are negotiated within a specific event and more to do with the role that the event itself plays in allowing learners to be recognized as active participants in the conversation.

In describing talk-about-language as social practice, Levine (2009) encourages researchers to reflect on how participants negotiate norms for engaging in this practice. On the surface, engaging in talk-about-language seems a simple task: when speakers encounter a language problem, they should address it briefly and move on, as Bill does in the excerpt from Levine (2009). However, as Levine remarks, in reality, talk-about-language is much more complex and involves the principled interweaving of pedagogical interactions with more mundane communication. He explains that:

There are particular patterns or “rules” of order that determine not only whether [...] a Talk-about-Language event can happen (e.g., consider whether a Talk-about-Language would be likely to occur between two strangers in a train), but also, crucially, the ways it can occur and what can count as acceptable outcomes of the event. (p. 35)

In this way, Levine acknowledges that, interactionally speaking, initiating talk-about-language can be a risky business. For language learners, asking a question might mean interrupting a peer’s exciting story. For a peer, providing correction may feel like teaching or criticizing instead of engaging in a friendly chat.

There is also some research evidence to suggest that speakers orient to and understand the complexities of “doing learning” in otherwise non-learning focused conversations. Dings (2012)

found in her analyses of peer interaction that speakers oriented to the complex rules around engaging in talk-about-language in their initial conversations. Her data showed that during their first meeting, her two participants, a US learner of Spanish and a local Spanish peer, explicitly discussed *expert* and *novice* rights and responsibilities. For example, the Spanish speaker explained his empathy with the challenges of language learning and aligned himself with the SA student as a fellow learner by describing his experiences learning English. He also encouraged the US student to make mistakes and assured her that she would not be judged for them. Similarly, Theodórsdóttir (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017; Theodórsdóttir, 2018) found that a Canadian SA student studying Icelandic often pre-negotiated rights to engage in talk-about-language or “practicing” with service staff before conversing with them on other mundane topics. These findings point to the potential importance of knowing and negotiating the rules for engaging in talk-about-language in informal interactions outside the classroom. Therefore, in this research I pay particular attention to the situated production of norms and expectations surrounding peers’ engagement in talk-about-language and discuss these in the context of prevailing assumptions about English and about language learning in SA contexts.

1.5 Peers at an internationalized Canadian university

Before presenting the research questions and describing the organization of this dissertation, it is worth taking a moment to address my use of the term “peer” in this research. Readers may well be wondering why I have not yet specified what I mean by “peer” – TL-learning peers, same-aged peers, locals, Canadians, native speakers of English, Japanese native speakers? The answer is that not one of these labels applied to all peers in this study. Although I discuss participant recruitment and profiles of participants in more detail in Chapter 4, here I

explain some of the dilemmas I had about how best to describe participants in terms of “peer” socialization.

As mentioned in the introduction, the institution at which this research took place, Pacific Western University (PWU, pseudonym), is a large English-medium university located in western Canada. As with many large urban universities in English-speaking countries, the student body at PWU was and is highly linguistically and ethnically diverse. In addition, a high proportion of students, both domestic and international, are from Asian backgrounds. Thus, when I asked the three focal SA students in this study to recruit any peers with whom they had regular conversations in the TL, English, they naturally recruited people from a wide range of backgrounds and with diverse linguistic histories. While almost all the peers were more proficient in English than the SA students, almost all were multilingual. For example, one SA student recruited an international student from Britain who had just come back from an SA sojourn in Morocco, where she had been studying Arabic. Another SA student recruited a bilingual English-Chinese Canadian student who had immigrated to western Canada as a child. Clearly, then, terms like *native speaker* were insufficient for capturing the complexity of these transnational peers’ histories and identities. These peers’ various institutional statuses (as international students, domestic students, and exchange students) also called into question my initial intention to refer to the Japanese focal participants as *SA students*, since some of the peers were also conventionally SA students. I considered labelling SA students as *learners*; however, doing so would run the risk of implying that peer interaction was always about “language learning,” which of course was not the case.

Since the term *peer* implies a relatively symmetrical non-institutional relationship without the implication of any particularly deep ties or intimacy, it ultimately seemed most

appropriate to refer to both categories of participants in this way. In addition, by referring to all participants as “peers,” I opened up analytic space to consider the ways in which the participants treated each other at specific moments in interaction (e.g., as representatives of a national culture, as language learners, as friends). In other words, this choice allows me to adopt an emic perspective to interpreting the various ways in which the participants understood their relationships and to better account for the ways in which peers shifted between talk-about-language and other activities in their interaction. In the remainder of this dissertation, the two categories of participants are simply distinguished by their program affiliations: the three focal SA students in this study are referred to as JC peers (after the program in which they were enrolled) and the peers they recruited are referred to as PWU peers (based on their enrolment as students at PWU).

1.6 Reflexivity

Throughout this dissertation, I have included hyper-reflexive comments (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014) such as those found in section 1.5 above. According to Byrd Clark and Dervin (2014), *hyper-reflexivity* refers to the ongoing and complex process whereby researchers engage, throughout all phases of the research project, with issues of representation, methodological dilemmas, and the researcher’s positioning. As Byrd Clark and Dervin explain, these sorts of hyper-reflexive practices demand “a willingness to go and sit with the uncomfortableness and messiness of one’s own ideological attachments, ways of representing and investing, and a willingness, at the same time, to flexibly engage and negotiate meanings with one another” (p. 25). These authors also highlight the role of ongoing collaboration and negotiation with both participants and colleagues for promoting deeper engagement with research data. Throughout

this dissertation, I have included comments that address my (ongoing) realizations about the ways in my research design and personal assumptions shaped my interactions with the participants and my interpretations of their experiences. I also point out unexpected incidents that arose during data generation, ongoing adaptations to the study procedures, dilemmas concerning representation, and shifts in my thinking about how to interpret the findings.

For example, as discussed above, I struggled throughout the writing phase to choose labels for different types of participants. The more I reflected on the subject, the more I realized that my choice of participant labels was a pragmatic referential issue as well as a theoretical and epistemological one. My emic approach to data analysis dictated that I choose a label that was locally relevant to participants. Thus, I sought out the label most used by participants to talk about their relationships. The data showed that peers most frequently referred to each other simply as “friends”; however, the label *friend* failed to reflect the field of research I was trying to address (i.e., *peer* socialization) and it also became apparent that many of the PWU peers were conventionally-speaking not friends (or at least not close friends) to JC peers. Instead, it was pointed out to me by a committee member that the explicit mention of the *friend* category seemed to be doing important interactional work in the interviews. This realization led me to shift the focus of my analyses to better understand how participants used the term *friend* in talk when discussing their relationships and involvement in JC peers’ learning. Thus, my ultimate decision to describe participants as JC and PWU peers emerged out of extensive reflection and consultation.

In most cases, by calling into question the ways in which aspects of the study, such as recruitment categories and interview questions, influenced the kinds of data that were generated, I was able to provide a more nuanced and ultimately more revealing account of peer interaction

in this context. As researchers are increasingly recognizing, by attending to assumptions that are embedded in the research design, analysts are better equipped to move beyond foregone conclusions to examine the subtle ways in which participants engage with those assumptions (Potter & Hepburn, 2012). For instance, while at first the diversity of participants' linguistic expertise and histories posed a challenge for writing up this study, acknowledging it enables me to make an important contribution to research in SA that I did not foresee at the outset of the study. Specifically, this research addresses the ways in which the multilingual and international backgrounds of these peers were important factors that shaped the JC peers' experiences. Thus, by assuming a systematically reflexive approach to data analysis (as well as to data generation, as I discuss in Chapter 4), this study contributes to critically engaging with taken-for-granted assumptions about language learning in SA (these assumptions are discussed in Chapter 2).

1.7 Research questions and organization of the dissertation

The research presented in this dissertation is a multiple case study involving three Japanese undergraduate SA students (hereafter known as *JC peers*) and the English-speaking peers with whom they formed relationships during the second semester of their sojourns (hereafter known as *PWU peers*). The research was guided by the following questions:

- 1. How do JC peers describe the contribution of peer interaction and/or relationships to their English learning? How do PWU peers describe their contributions to JC peers' English learning?*
- 2. What role (if any) does talk-about-language play in interaction, how is it initiated, and how is it discursively managed?*

The first set of questions aimed to uncover the ways in which JC and PWU peers discursively constructed *expert* and *novice* roles in interviews. In this study, I conceptualized *expert* and *novice* roles as identity categories that were made locally relevant in specific instances of talk. By focusing on participants' *descriptions* of their roles, I sought to examine the ways in which they (and I) co-constructed norms and expectations around the rights and responsibilities of *novice peers* in this context and characteristics linked to *expert peers* who were described as especially helpful or supportive. The second research question aimed to investigate the discursive characteristics of talk-about-language in informal interactions between JC students and PWU peers. I discuss the resources that participants used to engage in this kind of talk, its frequency, and its outcomes. In examining these two related aspects, I shed light on the benefits of viewing talk-about-language as a collaborative and negotiated social practice in this context.

In the chapters that follow, I introduce readers to key assumptions about language learning in the field of SA, describe the theory and methods that informed this study, and present the findings of the research. In Chapter 2, I critically discuss assumptions in SA research with a particular emphasis on the importance of the native speaker (TL) interlocutor in both students' and researchers' understandings of the value of the SA context. I also present the unique features of the multicultural and multilingual context in which this study was undertaken and point to the specificities of studying English (rather than other languages) abroad. In Chapter 3, I discuss language socialization (LS) in more depth and review how it has been applied to examine discursive social practices in SA contexts. I also introduce three constructs that informed the analyses and interpretation of the findings in this study: language ideologies, identity categories, and stancetaking. Chapter 4 presents the design of the study, including data generation and recruitment strategies, transcription conventions, case selection, coding, and analysis. Chapters

5-8 present findings related to the research questions about participants' descriptions of and engagement in talk-about-language practices. Chapter 5 provides a detailed description of the three JC peers' experiences ("stories") of peer socialization during their eight-month sojourns and situates their reported experiences in their local and ideological contexts. Chapter 6 explores the ways in which participants and I co-constructed local categories of *expert* and *novice* and the ways in which language ideologies mediated these category constructions in interviews. Chapter 7 examines the responsibilities that PWU peers assigned to themselves and to JC peers when describing their roles in talk-about-language. Chapter 8 analyzes instances of talk-about-language in recorded peer conversations. Through a micro-analysis of peers' talk, it examines the ways in which JC and PWU peers initiated and negotiated talk-about-language and the extent to which the language problems that were discussed were successfully resolved. It also highlights the value of understanding talk-about-language as a form of social practice. Finally, in Chapter 9, I conclude by drawing connections between these chapters, addressing limitations, and pointing to future directions for research.

1.8 Inspiration for the work

As is often the case with doctoral work, my research was initially inspired by my own SA experience. In 2004, I left my Canadian university to complete my third year as an undergraduate exchange student in France. I departed on my journey determined to speak as much French as possible and to make many French friends. Much like the participants in this study, I lived in a university residence with local French students as well as international and exchange students. Despite my best efforts, I found it hard to make friends with French speakers. They could be funny and assertive when I, with my limited French language skills, could not. I found myself

spending a lot of time with students from the United Kingdom and Canada with whom I spoke mostly English. Thus, as is the case for many SA students, I was initially very discouraged. However, despite the initial setbacks, after a few months I was fortunate to meet a few French-speakers in my classes and my residence who were interested in being my friends. To my delight at the time, they were all what might conventionally be called native speakers and I valued them for their “Frenchness” and for the access they provided to other sympathetic French speakers. They took the time to mentor me and were patient with my language development.

When I returned home after my sojourn, many people told me that I had succeeded in improving my French because I had worked hard and avoided speaking too much English. While it is true that I was a dedicated language learner, I could not have succeeded if no one had taken the time to speak with me in the TL. Even then, I felt my learning was a joint effort and was due in large part to the patience and kindness of my French-speaking friends. In this dissertation, I intend to unpack the ways in which the kind of support I experienced in conversations with my French friends was actually achieved (or not achieved) in talk between JC and PWU peers in a very different context. As such, this dissertation will provide an empirically grounded examination of some of the affordances of peer talk in SA contexts and some of the constraints on maximizing those potential affordances.

Chapter 2: Study abroad at an internationalized university

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I located this study within a specific context: an eight-month SA program in Canada hosted at an internationalized university. Therefore, an important first step in this dissertation is to explain more precisely what I mean by the terms “SA” and “internationalized university.” It might seem logical to approach this question from a programmatic perspective. However, given this study’s focus on local understandings of how SA students “should” learn English during their sojourns and how peers “should” and “do” help them, for the purposes of this research, here I will define SA in terms of its taken-for-granted benefits for language learning.³ Thus, this chapter provides a critical overview of common assumptions and expectations associated with language learning in SA as well as features frequently associated with multilingual and multicultural English-medium campuses. It also discusses the ways in which these assumptions have shaped trends in SA research.

By unpacking the common understandings of SA found in the research literature as well as SA advertising and policy, I will be better able in later chapters to interpret the ways in which JC and PWU peers drew on, reproduced, resisted, or transformed these widespread discourses about the value of SA. Taking stock of SA assumptions also opens up space to problematize naturalized conceptions about the features of SA as a context for language learning (Surtees, 2016) and to identify key gaps in the literature. The first half of the chapter addresses three common SA assumptions while the second half provides a critical discussion of SA in English-

³ A program overview and definition are still provided in Chapter 4 as part of the description of the context for the study.

speaking contexts where internationalization efforts have led to increasingly diverse multilingual student populations.

2.2 SA conceptualizations

The term “SA” encompasses a wide variety of program designs and components, involving everything from intensive language learning, service learning, and humanitarian work, to subject-area courses, homestays, or cultural excursions (or a combination of all of these). Some scholars use “SA” to refer to any sojourn for educational purposes outside of the country of origin while others use the label to refer to sojourns of between one week and one year which do not lead to a degree in the host country (Kinging, 2009). Engle and Engle (2003) identified as many as seven categories of SA programs, ranging from study tours for beginner language learners to one-year programs for advanced learners. The SA label also covers individual student exchanges (like my own SA sojourn in France described in Chapter 1) and cohort-based programs in which students attend classes with co-nationals (like the program reported in this research). Most SA researchers likely would agree that SA refers to programs that foster intercultural awareness and global citizenship – and sometimes foreign language skills – through international mobility. However, given the wide array of formats that exist, defining the common features of SA is a more difficult task than one might expect. Despite the challenges inherent in identifying a clear programmatic definition, SA has indeed become a coherent area of research. There are now two academic journals fully dedicated to the subject: *Frontiers*, established by Barbara Freed in 1995, which is a general journal about linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of learning outside one’s own country, and *Study Abroad Research in Second Language Acquisition and International Education*, established in 2016, which focuses more specifically on linguistic

dimensions of SA. The existence of these journals suggests that scholars view SA as an important domain for various kinds of interdisciplinary research.

For Engle and Engle (2003), what separates SA from study at home is mainly students' experiences with "focused and reflective interaction with the host culture" (p. 4).⁴ According to these authors, the aim of any SA sojourn "should be to present participants with a challenge—the emotional and intellectual challenge of direct, authentic cultural encounters and guided reflection upon those encounters" (p. 7). As a result, they conclude that most SA programs should be designed to give students opportunities to acquire linguistic and intercultural competence through interaction in the host culture. These kinds of statements, which are reproduced through much of the literature on SA, represent three key widespread assumptions that I will examine in this chapter: the beneficial role of interactions within an immersive environment, linguistic, and cultural, in the host community, and finally, mobility as a privileged means for accumulating social capital. In the next sections, I focus specifically on the ways in which these assumptions appear in literature and advertising related to sojourns that include language learning as a major program component.

2.2.1 Immersion

The first assumption about SA involves the role of immersion (Freed, 1998). Learning objectives in SA have traditionally revolved around language and culture learning that occurs as a result of being immersed in daily activities in another country or region. This assumption is often stated directly within SA and SA-related policy. For instance, in the US, Allen and Dupuy

⁴ Engle and Engle (2003) distinguish between "knowledge-based" SA, which covers programs in the sciences and engineering that are meant to foster specific knowledge, and "culturalist" SA, which focuses on the objectives mentioned above. Like Engle and Engle, in this dissertation I refer to the latter type of SA.

(2012) have reviewed the way in which the “Communities standard” of the US Standards for foreign language learning links mobility and immersion. They point especially to a line of the policy that recommends that US students learn foreign languages by “traveling to communities and countries where the language is used extensively to further develop their language skills and understanding of culture” (p. 468). By connecting “traveling,” “extensive use,” and “language learning,” this policy naturalizes the connection between immersion in an environment where the language is frequently used and development of language proficiency.

SA marketing and networking websites also boldly proclaim similar links between travel and immersion. Such websites are designed to guide users through the process of selecting, planning, and engaging successfully in an educational experience abroad. For example, the website StudyandGoAbroad.com, a high-traffic consumer portal run by Education Dynamics targeted at US students, is designed both as an information hub for SA students and as a third party recruitment tool for SA program providers.⁵ In a post about the 25 benefits of SA, the website describes language acquisition as one of the top SA benefits, explaining that “immersion in another country is the quickest way to master the local language.”

[\(http://www.studyandgoabroad.com/study-abroad/program-types/study-articles/benefits-studying-abroad/\)](http://www.studyandgoabroad.com/study-abroad/program-types/study-articles/benefits-studying-abroad/).

These claims in advertising, as well as policy (such as the “communities standard” policy, discussed above) appear to filter down to SA students in important ways. A number of studies (e.g., Jackson, 2008; Meier & Daniels, 2013; Mitchell, 2015; Yang & Kim, 2011) have

⁵ Studyabroad.com targets over 1.7 million US students and has been operating since 1995 (Source: <https://www.educationdynamics.com/inquiry-generation/consumer-portals>).

noted that SA students often expect to be surrounded by the TL and to have many opportunities to use it. However, while policy, advertising, and SA students themselves continue to conceptualize SA as an immersive experience, SA researchers have found that most students do not experience “immersion” in the conventional sense (i.e., frequent opportunities for sustained interaction in the TL). As early as the 1990s, Freed (1998) pointed to the difficulties that students face in making connections with TL speakers in the host community. For example, in one study (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004), Freed found that an intensive learning program in the home country offered more opportunities for TL use than the SA context. Other researchers, such as Coleman (2013, 2015) and Mas Alcolea (2017), have also explained that SA students tend to interact more with each other and with other international students than with local native speakers. Kinginger (2013) also points out that with the rapid rise of technology and social networking, students can now stay in touch with family members and friends, often calling them multiple times daily, reducing incentives and opportunities to make relationships in the host community. Finally, special attention is now being paid to the experiences of Anglophone SA students (Mitchell, Tracy-Ventura, & McManus, 2017), who are often spoken to in English in countries around the world, regardless of their attempts to use the TL.

Despite this widespread acknowledgement that simply enrolling in SA does not guarantee immersion (or learning), there is still a tendency in SA research to construe sojourns as *potentially* immersive experiences. In this sense, what Doerr (2013b) refers to as “the discourse of immersion” appears to serve as a powerful resource for making sense of the value of SA.⁶

⁶ Doerr (2013b) does not provide a definition of discourse but from her work, it seems clear that she is referring to what Gee (2015) refers to as big D discourses, that is, social and historical identities and attributes that are widely recognizable in talk and text and which are used to make sense of small ‘d’ discourses (i.e., specific instances of talk and text).

Kubota (2016) also recently identified the notion of immersion as a cornerstone of the SA literature. She remarks that SA research continues to assume that proficiency gains are best realized by maximizing TL exposure (often through homestay arrangements) and by minimizing first language use, a notion that is also reinforced by theory and research in second language acquisition from past decades that emphasize the role of input, interaction, and output for second language learning (see Duff & Surtees, 2018 for discussion). This emphasis on immersion constructs the ideal learner subject in SA as “learning-by-doing” (Doerr, 2015, p. 361), or in other words, as primarily experiential learners who have a high degree of autonomy and agency.

One consequence of viewing SA as potentially immersive is that SA research, particularly research that investigates language learning, tends to focus on the roles of broad forms of cultural and linguistic learning fostered through participation in mundane social activities, such as making friends, shopping for groceries, ordering at cafés, or taking public transit. Doerr (2012) explains that this focus on out-of-class experiences is unusual in research on educational contexts, and that research in most degree-seeking programs, for example, tends to focus on disciplinary outcomes and classroom practice. As a result of this focus on exploring and experiencing the mundane, she explains that SA often has “no clearly set goals, no supervision, and no evaluation” (p. 263). Doerr acknowledges that most SA programs involve some form of coursework and assignments. However, she writes that although SA coursework often teaches knowledge about the host society, language, or culture, “such knowledge about the host society is valued less than mundane experience” (p. 262) by both programs and students.

This focus on the value of exploring and experiencing the broader cultural environment with few guidelines means that SA research also tends to focus on the cultural, personal, and linguistic learning that results from students’ social experiences rather than from their classroom

encounters. Since 2000, rather than focusing on gains in writing ability, for example, studies have more often examined how out-of-class experiences such as homestays impact identity development (Anya, 2017; Benson et al., 2012; Jackson, 2008; Kinginger, 2004, 2015b; McGregor, 2012; Mitchell, Tracy-Ventura, & McManus, 2015; Mitchell et al., 2017; Pellegrino, 2005) and social/pragmatic learning (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Barron, 2007; Diao, 2016; Kinginger & Belz, 2005; Shardakova, 2005; Shively, 2011; Taguchi, 2011).

Doerr (2015) has also observed that much SA research has focused on shedding light on factors that mitigate immersive experiences and prevent contact with host communities (e.g., cohorts with the same L1, lack of motivation, discriminatory experiences based on race or gender, homesickness, and low language proficiency) or has focused on developing program design elements to enhance it. These elements often include assignments such as homestay interview activities (Diao et al., 2011; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2010) and ethnography projects (Jackson, 2006; Lee, 2012; Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan, & Street, 2001).

This study is one such project that focuses on students' out-of-class experiences. Like the research described above, it is predicated on the assumption that in an SA program in an English-speaking country, students will naturally be interested in and able to access opportunities for contact in English. It also assumes that such interactions will likely be valuable language learning opportunities for speakers of other languages (Japanese, in this case) and seeks to shed light on institutional initiatives that promote or constrain students' access to opportunities for interaction. Like many of the studies cited in the paragraph above, it focuses on informal spoken interaction rather than disciplinary competences or classroom talk. Therefore, it is safe to say that through these design choices, this project is to some extent complicit in reproducing assumptions about the immersive potential of SA.

While this study does assume the potential value of SA for providing access to opportunities to use English, and thus for English language development, among other forms of learning, the findings of this project also resist SA assumptions that intersect with discourses of immersion, particularly with regard to the nature of the host community in which SA students are “immersed.” Assumptions about the host community and the types of language input and practice they provide are discussed in next section.

2.2.2 The native speaker

Doerr (2012) explains that what separates SA from learning at home is the assumption that SA naturally confronts students with cultural difference, making the otherness of the host community a defining pedagogical feature of the SA experience.⁷ She argues that SA materials used by students construct “unfamiliarity as a place-specific attraction” (p. 264) that cannot be replicated on home campuses. However, in most SA contexts, not all types of difference are treated as equally beneficial or desirable for language (or culture) learning. Rather, in most cases, it is native speakers (or idealized versions of native speakers) who are depicted as the embodiments and privileged conduits of unfamiliarity in the SA context and thus as legitimate members of the host community (Kubota, 2016b). Therefore, immersion in SA is not a neutral concept but refers to experiences within a specific “native” cultural/linguistic community.⁸

In today’s globalized world, most scholars would agree that this idealized conception of the host community as a culturally unified space inhabited by primarily monolingual native speakers is illusory and antiquated. It is increasingly rare to find communities where the majority

⁷ This is not necessarily only a characteristic of SA but of foreign language education more generally.

⁸ I recognize that many of these labels are problematic and do not account for the complex situations of individual speakers.

of speakers have no knowledge of another language, and even more rare to find such an environment in the universities or large cities where most SA programs are hosted. As Coleman (2015) notes, “each of us, in an age of global migrations and internationalised campuses, possesses a linguistic repertoire embracing more or less complete but overlapping systems” (p. 45). SA researchers are now acknowledging that the spaces that SA students travel to are racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse (Anya, 2017; Glaser, 2017; Kaypak & Ortaçtepe, 2014; Shiri, 2005); however, while the diversity of the overall context is acknowledged, interactions with local native speakers remain the central objective of most SA sojourns and continue to be an important goal for most SA students (Doerr, 2015).⁹ For instance, most interaction research in SA still focuses exclusively on interactions between SA students and native speakers (e.g., Diao, 2016; Dings, 2012; McGregor, 2016; Shively, 2018).

An implication of the centrality of the native speaker in SA as an agent of TL socialization is that SA research does not tend to recognize host community members as potentially multilingual (and non-“native”). This lack of recognition is in contrast with much recent research in the field of applied linguistics more generally, where advocates for the multilingual turn (e.g., May, 2014) are highlighting the benefits of conceiving of speakers with varied repertoires as multilingual (or plurilingual) language users rather than as deficient native speakers. In my view, host members’ multilingual repertoires are likely overlooked for several reasons. First, the idealized native speaker is most often assumed to be monolingual, a

⁹ A good example of this can be found in an SA blog, where Nate, a young man from the US, identifies his greatest personal language learning victory as “having a full conversation with a native Beijinger” (<http://thestudyabroadblog.com/steps-to-improve-your-language-fluency/>). However, there is some evidence in Erasmus contexts that students value multilingual communities over native speaker communities (Kalocsai, 2009).

phenomenon referred to as the monolingual bias (May, 2014; Rampton, 1990).¹⁰ The connection between the *native speaker* (as a category type) and monolingualism can be traced to both the Chomskyan notion of the idealized native speaker as well as what has been referred to as the Herderian ideology of “one language, one nation” (Ricento, 2006; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), in which the people of a particular geo-political place – usually a nation-state – are assumed to speak one specific language and only that language as their mother tongue. Secondly, native speakers are thought to be more “authentic” users of the TL; portraying them as multilingual may make them appear less authentic. Indeed, in their volume on authenticity in SA, Van Compernelle and McGregor (2016) explain that the lay notion of authenticity, which they term authenticity of correspondence, is intimately connected “with the lexicogrammatical conventions and/or sociolinguistic and pragmatic practices of native speakers” (p. 1). Since theoretically, the role of hosts in SA is principally to provide “authentic” TL models and experiences of “difference,” host knowledge that does not contribute to that goal, including knowledge of other languages such as the SA students’ L1, often goes unmentioned.¹¹

In addition, the continued importance of the native speaker concept in SA has often meant that interactions with other speakers of the TL (e.g., non-native, international, bilingual, heritage, and near-native speakers) are not mentioned, are avoided, or in the best cases, are conceptualized as stepping stones toward interaction with native speakers. For example, Coleman’s (2015) model of the concentric circles of socialization in SA identifies three groups

¹⁰ The monolingual bias also refers to the notion that native-speaker status is what TL learners should strive to attain despite the fact that they can never be monolingual (May, 2014).

¹¹ An exception to this would be work on less frequently studied languages in SA, such as Arabic and Chinese, in which host members’ knowledge of different dialects is noted as well as their knowledge of or desires to learn English (Diao, 2016; Trentman, 2013b).

with whom SA students interact: co-nationals, internationals, and locals. While Coleman acknowledges that interacting with all types of speakers can afford different sorts of learning opportunities, he still views the movement from internationals to locals as a “progression of friendships” (p. 44), with the native-speaker friendships being the highest level of progression. Students also report prioritizing interactions with native speakers and avoiding interactions with others and particularly co-national peers (Magnan & Back, 2007). Wilkinson and Hall (2002) for example found that, much like I did in my own sojourn (described in Chapter 1), SA students in France tried to avoid contact with co-nationals as much possible in order to take advantage of the language learning possibilities afforded by native speaker interactions.

As a result of the perceived hierarchy between native speakers and other TL speakers in SA, there has been very little research on how multilingual speakers contribute to language learning in these contexts. However, the little amount of research available clearly demonstrates the value of being more inclusive of various others in SA. For example, Kaloscai (2009) found that while Erasmus students with first languages other than English viewed English native speakers “as uncaring and inefficient communicators” (p. 40), they valued other L2 learning peers for the willingness to accommodate to different ways of using English. Within their *lingua franca* communities, these students often engaged in creative hybrid language practices and collaboratively solved language problems. In a study on the value of interaction between L2 learning peers in SA, Hassall (2015) found that Australian SA students in Indonesia supported each other’s language learning through a variety of practices, including explicit discussions of pragmatic norms. Hassall found that students frequently noticed pragmatic moves in their Australian peers’ TL speech that they had been unable to notice in the fast speech of native speakers of Indonesian. Fernández (2016) also explored interaction between multilingual

students in SA. In her study, she examined interactions between Kaelyn, an SA student from the US in Argentina, and Analía, a local Spanish speaker. She explained that the two had been paired as conversation partners so that Kaelyn could practice Spanish during her time abroad. She also noted that Analía had volunteered for the program because she already had experience teaching English and Spanish as additional languages and planned to go the US on exchange the following year. In their interactions together, the two women often discussed different uses of personal pronouns and in a later interview, Kaelyn explained that Analía had used *tú* (the informal version most commonly used across all Spanish-speaking countries) more often than *vos* (the informal, local version of the pronoun used in some South American countries, such as Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay) with her because she had become used to doing so with her students. By understanding and acknowledging Analía's language history, Fernández was better able to make sense of Analía's language choices and the strategies she used to support Kaelyn. These findings highlight the urgent need for more research on how a range of interlocutors contribute to language learning in SA contexts. This dissertation addresses this need by identifying and discussing the various language backgrounds of PWU peers and by complicating the notion of native speaker privilege and expertise in SA.

2.2.3 Capital accumulation

SA programs are one of many internationalization initiatives that are intended to “develop a globally competitive national labour force” (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 2014, p. 4). Thus, a final key assumption about SA involves its value as an index of “worldliness” and communication skills, which are viewed as significant assets for future employability. SA websites often highlight the value of SA for developing the elusive soft skills valued in today's labour market, including flexibility, innovativeness, motivation, endurance and

problem-solving skills. The following quote taken from www.studyabroad.com (the website discussed in section 2.2.1), demonstrates this tendency:

As cliché as it sounds, by studying abroad you will become a much worldlier person, and become more marketable to grad schools and employers because of the intangible life skills you're going to pick up along the way. Think of it as gaining a sort of cultural capital. The fact that you've studied abroad will answer many people's questions about what type of person you are, even before they have to ask. (Student Guide, studyabroad.com)

This connection between “intangible life skills” and SA experience is also supported to some extent by large-scale studies. For example, findings from a study of the impact of Erasmus mobility programs on students' employability (European Union, 2014) found that “Erasmus students have better employability skills after a stay abroad than 70% of all students” (p. 14).

Given SA's focus on the skilling of individuals for optimal participation in the global labour market, Kubota (2016b) has located SA as being embedded within a neoliberal *social imaginary*. A social imaginary, according to Rizvi and Lingard's (2010) definition, is a largely implicit “way of thinking shared in society by ordinary people” [which is] “embedded in ideas and practices, carrying within it deeper normative notions and images, constitutive of a society” (Kubota, 2016b, p. 34). For Kubota (2016b), “a neoliberal social imaginary constructs an image of the neoliberal subject as equipped with communication skills, a global mindset, and intercultural competence and thus as competitive in global labour marketplaces” (p. 349). In her article, she argues that SA students are neoliberal subjects, who, through their excursions, acquire capital in the form of language skills as well as the ability to thrive in a new and foreign

environment. As will become evident in this study, JC peers also clearly cited neoliberal rationales for their sojourns, including the desire to become more employable in Japan.

One implication of this neoliberal vision has been that SA research tends to focus on the skills that SA students accumulate during their sojourns (i.e., outcomes) rather than SA students' contributions to host communities (with the exception of the economic impact of fee-paying students) (Parry, 2015). Viewed from another angle, because SA is viewed as an educational product, the main focus of SA research has essentially been on customer satisfaction – that is, whether or not SA students (the customers) achieve the promised results. From this perspective, host communities are often conceptualized as service providers, and as such, their satisfaction and the outcomes of their experiences are seldom explored. For instance, while there are a large number of studies on students' homestay experiences (see discussion in Chapter 1), only a few studies have investigated the perspectives of host families and identified what they seek to gain from the hosting experience (Doerr, 2013a; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002; Parry, 2015; Shively, 2016). These studies have demonstrated mismatches in student and host family expectations that point to students' neoliberal understandings of the SA experience. For example, several of these studies observed that while host families expected students to behave as a member of the family and sometimes expected social relations to extend past the sojourn experience, students sometimes treated the homestay primarily as paid accommodation and did not invest emotionally in the ways that homestay families had hoped for (Doerr, 2013a; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2002; Parry, 2015). In this study, by focusing on the perspectives of both PWU and JC peers, I seek to recognize the impact that SA students can have on local interlocutors and to provide a more equitable vision of the value of peer interaction in this context.

2.2.4 Summary

Based on the assumed value of international sojourns as described in the sections above, SA has long enjoyed the unquestioning support of the general public and governments worldwide. Indeed, its benefits in many ways have been naturalized as common sense (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012). Through a discussion of three key SA assumptions, I have identified how taken-for-granted knowledge about SA has influenced the ways in which SA has been conceptualized as a context for learning, as well as how it has been researched. Examining these assumptions has also allowed me to uncover several key gaps in this SA literature, namely 1) a dearth of research on classroom learning in SA, 2) a lack of acknowledgement of hosts' multilingual repertoires, and 3) a scarcity of studies on host perspectives. This study primarily addresses the latter two gaps through its attention to peer perspectives and linguistic histories; however, throughout this study, I attend to the ways in which all three assumptions are produced and reproduced via my project design choices as well as through participants' descriptions of their experiences and goals.

In the following section, I describe the specificity of contexts in which English is the language of instruction and the importance of distinguishing students' experiences in these contexts from the experiences of students learning other TLs.

2.3 SA at internationalized universities

Glaser (2017) recently distinguished two different SA contexts for English learning. Firstly, she identified programs which offer courses in English, but which are located in countries or regions where the official language is not English. These contexts, many of which are in Europe, usually involve deliberately internationalized curriculums and are often referred to

as English as a lingua franca (ELF) or English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) contexts. Secondly, there are contexts like the one in this study in which the official language of the broader society is English, but where a high proportion of speakers are dominant in a language other than English (i.e., large urban universities in Canada, UK, US, and especially Australia). While Glaser referred to this second category as a “native-language setting,” I refer to this context type as an *internationalized setting* to more fully acknowledge the linguistic diversity that characterizes internationalized campuses and host communities and to move away from the problematic label of *native-speaker*.

Short-term programs hosted in internationalized universities are increasingly attracting attention from SA researchers, and with good reason. According to the Erasmus impact study (European Union, 2014), students reported that over 60% of all exchange programs in Europe are delivered in English and over half the world’s international students are hosted at institutions in English-speaking countries (Mitchell et al., 2017). While most statistics on international mobility report the number of students in degree-granting programs rather than in short-term programs like the JC program discussed in this study, there have also been reports of increases in the number of students enrolled in short-term programs hosted in English-speaking countries. For instance, the number of Japanese undergraduates participating in programs lasting one year or less grew from 26,451 in 2011, to 27,390 in 2013 (MEXT, 2015). The Japanese government also aimed to double that number by 2017 (see discussion of Go Global in Mock, Kawamura, & Naganuma, 2016). These trends have meant that there has been an increase in the amount of work examining SA experiences and perspectives for English learners in internationalized contexts (Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2013; Davis, 2007; Doerr, 2015; Ellwood, 2011; Glaser, 2017; Jackson, 2008, 2011; Taguchi, 2011; Tanaka & Ellis, 2003). In the sections

that follow, I identify two key aspects of language learning in internationalized universities and discuss their relevance for understanding the results of the research reported in this dissertation.

2.3.1 English as a global language

An especially important facet of language learning in internationalized SA contexts concerns the instrumental value that is often assigned to English vs. other languages. As the de facto language of globalization (and neoliberalism), English is not only viewed as a tool for connecting with specific cultural others (i.e., native speakers) but rather as a gateway to communication with an international community (Canagarajah, 2012; Pennycook, 2017). Pennycook (2017) contends that, rightly or wrongly, English is often positioned by people and policymakers alike as a neutral language that extends beyond culture to allow people all over the world to communicate with each other. As such, knowledge of English tends to be perceived through a neoliberal lens as a commodity to be acquired to ensure success in and today's international marketplace (Phillipson, 2008).

In discussing the role of English in SA, Mitchell, Tracy-Ventura and McManus (2017) explain that given its associated power and prestige, SA students have significantly more incentive to learn English than they do to learn other languages. This statement is particularly true for those students wishing to pursue graduate education. According to the Times Higher Education ranking, three quarters of the 100 most highly ranked universities give instruction in English (<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/>), making English not only the language of travel and of business, but also the language of the educated elite. As a key gatekeeper to university entrance, English also plays an important role in shaping who can and cannot have access to sought-after educational resources in countries where English is not the national language. For example, in Japan, English is a required examination subject for entrance into high

school and university (*Outline of the National Center for University Entrance Examinations*, 2017)¹² and large businesses often rely on English language tests for hiring and promotion (Kubota, 2011). Indeed, the students in this study were required by their home university to take a standardized English exam before, during, and after their sojourns. Such intensive testing schemes are rarely observed for programs involving languages other than English (Doerr, 2015).

An additional consequence of viewing English as a means for international (rather than national) communication is that the emphasis on cultural authenticity (and thus on the native speaker) is often somewhat mitigated in programs hosted at internationalized universities. Program advertising may instead emphasize SA as an opportunity to network with international students from all over the world. For example, the popular international education website www.hotcoursesabroad.com/usa/ indicates on its homepage “[t]he diversity of cultures and cities in the United States is an invitation to expand your academic horizons” (n.p.). The Government of Canada’s (2014) branding strategy for the Canadian higher education sector also emphasizes Canada’s reputation for multiculturalism, calling Canada “a welcoming, safe and multicultural country offering high-quality education at an attractive price” (p. 7). The program in which this study was conducted also specifically mentions local diversity and multiculturalism in its online advertising. Thus, the perceived role of English as a bridge for intercultural communication may partially disrupt the ideological connection between SA and the native speaker. Indeed, in this study, the connection between intercultural communication and international experience was reproduced in various ways in interviews with both PWU and JC peers, pointing to the

¹² According to the National Center for University Entrance Examinations, students can also take another foreign language to satisfy the requirement to enter university. However, English is the language selected by default. It is also the only language test which includes a listening component.

importance and power of discourses that construe English as a global or international language in internationalized SA contexts.

2.3.2 Campus diversity

Given the large number of international students who pursue education in English-speaking institutions, many internationalized universities in the UK, the US, Canada, and Australia have highly diverse student bodies. This is especially true in Canada, where universities have been particularly aggressive in their international recruitment policies. According to Anderson (2015), between 2000 and 2011, the number of international students in Canada grew over 99% (from 89,532 to 178,491), at which point 8.2% of all tertiary enrolments were international students (more than double the percentage of international enrolments in the US). Since 2011, the Canadian government's internationalization strategy has set a target to double international student numbers in Canada by 2022 (Trilokekar, 2015).

While discussions of international student recruitment frequently reference its economic benefits for host institutions, Haigh (2014) also points to a notable increase in idealistic institutional discourses that position international students as contributors to campus multiculturalism (see, for example, the 2017 special issue of the *Journal of International Education* on the topic of global citizenship). He points out that many institutional initiatives on internationalized campuses are meant to foster interaction and intercultural understanding through the promotion of collaboration between international and domestic groups (e.g., Reid & Garson, 2017). From these "intercultural" encounters, both international and domestic students theoretically have the opportunity to become global citizens, by "learning to live together sustainably [as] moral cosmopolitans" and extending the "notion of the 'we' to include those global others" (Haigh, 2014, p. 13). In this sense, inbound SA students are treated in institutional

discourses as contributors to (rather than consumers of) cultural diversity and, crucially, as resources for domestic students' learning (Trilokekar, 2016).

In reality, of course, international students are not integrated so seamlessly into these internationalized student communities. Schartner and Cho (2017) found evidence to suggest that domestic students perceive internationalization efforts as strategies for revenue generation rather than as opportunities for intercultural learning. In their study conducted in the UK, when asked about the cultural exchange aspect of internationalization, focus group participants expressed cynicism, highlighting the financial motives for international student recruitment and the lack of support for international students and for staff who work with them.

In the last decade, in Canada, debates around the merits and challenges of internationalization have also appeared in the mainstream media (e.g., Quinn, 2012). For instance, in 2010, *Mclean's* magazine, a prominent source for information about higher education in Canada, printed a story in which English-speaking students in Ontario claimed to avoid certain universities because of their reputations "for being too Asian" (Findlay & Köhler, 2010, n.p.). Research on international students' experiences in Canada has also identified implicit hierarchies in the ways in which different international groups are treated, and noted the ways in which certain less visible groups (i.e., Caucasian sojourners) tend to receive less support (Kenyon, Frohard-Dourlent, & Roth, 2012).

At PWU, where this study was conducted, international students accounted for approximately 20% of the student population and, at the time of the study, issues around student diversity and integration were being highlighted across campus in a variety of ways.¹³ For

¹³ In order to protect the identity of the university, I have not provided precise details or media links.

instance, there had been a recent protest jointly organized by domestic and international students when the government decided to raise tuition fees for international students (which were already much higher than those of domestic students). A new campus magazine featuring stories from students of diverse backgrounds was also published that year. Finally, there had been controversy in the media about a bridging program that accepted students who did not meet the mainstream English language proficiency requirements at PWU, yet which did not accept domestic students with similar levels of language proficiency.

What all these events and various media publications demonstrate is that internationalization, international students, and English proficiency/learning are sensitive issues frequently discussed on internationalized campuses like PWU. Indeed, this sensitivity was apparent in many of the PWU peer interviews, where explicit evaluations of JC peers' proficiency were often avoided, as were explicit mentions of terms like "native-speaker."

2.3.3 Summary

In the second half of the chapter, I have discussed two interrelated issues related to English learning on internationalized campuses. Section 2.3.1 highlighted the role of English as a means to becoming a member of the global, educated elite. Section 2.3.2 described how the global desire for English has produced university environments in English-speaking countries that are highly linguistically and ethnically diverse. For SA students on highly internationalized campuses (as in the case of the JC peers in this study), these phenomena mean that they are more likely to encounter a wide variety of English-speaking interlocutors during their sojourns. In addition, given the emphasis on cultural diversity and intercultural learning on these campuses and in light of discourses that view English as a global (rather than national) language, SA students are also more likely to value their encounters with those diverse fellow students (or

perhaps less likely to prefer interactions with native speakers of English). However, local debates around integration, diversity, and internationalization on these campuses may also lead to complicated tensions between members of various communities. As the findings of this dissertation will show, these discourses and tensions were all relevant to varying extents for understanding participants' descriptions of their motivations and experiences with peers at PWU.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the context of this study in terms of the assumptions and discourses that are commonly associated with both SA and English. Specifically, I have addressed the assumed benefits of SA for language learning and discussed the ways in which this study contributes to reifying or challenging those assumptions. I have also endeavoured to distinguish the specific features of SA sojourns that occur in English-speaking environments, and particularly at institutions with highly diverse student bodies. By providing a critical overview of trends and assumptions in the SA literature, I have laid the foundation for discussing my findings on peer interaction at PWU in a more reflexive and critical way. I will refer to these findings and assumptions throughout the results chapters of this dissertation in order to better interpret peers' discussions of their goals, expectations, and experiences during their sojourn. In Chapter 3, I turn to a discussion of the theoretical framework that guided this study.

Chapter 3: Theory and analytic focus

3.1 Introduction

In the introduction to this dissertation, I described this study as one that investigates how talk-about-language can be *accomplished* between peers in an internationalized SA context – the JC program at PWU. This characterization of my research focus reflects my understanding of language learning as a fundamentally social enterprise that is jointly constructed and mediated by local norms and ideologies. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the theory and research that I have used to think about and investigate English language learning and peer talk in this context. I first present the main tenets of language socialization (LS), the theoretical framework that guided this study. Second, in order to locate the contributions of this research, I review literature that has adopted an LS approach to understanding SA interaction. Finally, I discuss the aspects of the LS process that constitute the focal points of this research and define several key constructs, namely: language ideologies, *expert* and *novice* categories, and stancetaking practices.

3.2 Language socialization

Language socialization, broadly defined, is the process by which novice language users move toward expert status through participation in local communicative practices (Ochs, 1996). From an LS perspective, learning to perform valued linguistic practices involves interacting in various ways with experts to access opportunities for learning (for example, via explicit explanations, negotiation, observation, opportunities for language use and feedback, evaluation, and construction of new norms). Thus, LS perspectives place interaction at the heart of the

socialization process, considering it to be “a major, if not the major tool” (Ochs, 1986, p. 3) for the development of social and cultural knowledge and resources.

3.2.1 Language in LS

LS views language and culture as inseparable, mutually constitutive constructs and the use of language as *situated cultural practice* (Ochs, 1996; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). LS research identifies firstly, the cultural and linguistic practices that have come to be valued by members of a particular community (*socialized practices*) and secondly, how those practices are learned and negotiated, both implicitly and explicitly, by those seeking membership in that community (or *socializing practices*). From an LS perspective, cultural and linguistic practices not only accomplish communication aims but are also used to accomplish pro-social aims such as creating and maintaining relationships with others (Joaquin & Schumann, 2013). LS also acknowledges that the ways in which speakers configure interactional resources (e.g., grammatical markers, vocabulary, laughter, pitch, pronunciation, silence) in social activities are constrained by local values and norms while simultaneously reproducing, resisting, or sometimes transforming those same values and norms.

The notion that language practices produce and reproduce systems of cultural value is closely linked to the concept of indexicality (Ochs, 1996). According to the principle of indexicality, specific linguistic choices are linked to cultural systems of value and function as *indexes*, which can be defined as “interpretative leads between what is said and the social occasion in which it is being produced” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 11). According to Ochs (1986), “language socialization can be seen as unfolding understanding of the indexical potential of particular linguistic forms and the skill to apply that understanding to construct situations with other interlocutors” (p. 419). The range of social meanings that may be indexed is immeasurable,

including but not limited to “practices and theories for acting, feeling, and knowing, along with their material and institutional products” (Ochs, 1996, p. 409). When individuals use language, they draw on their awareness of previously established cultural meanings, a process known as *indexical presupposition* (see, for example, Silverstein, 2003), and simultaneously create a new context from which such presuppositions can be drawn in the future, termed *indexical entailment*. Thus, language use is understood to contribute to the reification, reproduction, and transformation of cultural systems of value (Fader, 2012; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Riley, 2007).

A central aim of LS research is to make explicit the tacit indexical links between a community’s linguistic forms and cultural meanings. Only then can scholars investigate the processes by which *novices* learn to navigate those layers of indexical meaning. Research in LS has focused on linguistic forms indexing affective and epistemic stance (e.g., Cook, 2012), moral stances (e.g., Fader, 2012), politeness (e.g., Burdelski, 2012), and language ideologies (Mori, 2014) to name only a few (these concepts will be expanded on later in the chapter). The practical implication of this language-culture connection is that they must always be investigated in tandem and with reference to their contexts of production.

3.2.2 Learning in LS

LS takes *engagement* as the primary means by which novices learn to perform language practices. This interaction-based notion of learning differs from input-based theories of language acquisition in that it privileges meaningful interaction in and exposure to situated activities over quantifiable exposure to linguistic forms (De Leon, 2012). In LS, engagement, or participation, is also an *indicator* of competence. Whereas cognitive models measure competence in terms of accurate reproduction of grammar and lexis, competence in LS, which draws on early work by

Gumperz and Hymes (1972), is viewed as the ability to participate in the practices of a given community “in recognizably social ways” (Howard, 2012, p. 343). However, as socialization is an ongoing and negotiated process, competence is not viewed as something that can be attained and stored: the rules for participation are constantly changing as individuals grow up, join new communities with ever-changing norms, and take on new roles. Thus, competence must constantly be re-established, novices must continually be re-socialized, and experts must adapt as circumstances and cultures change. Conceiving of competence in this way reflects LS’s focus on language as a tool in “the human quest for belonging, connectedness, and affirmation in family, community, and society” (Howard, 2012, p. 341).

While interaction with community members can often result in *novices*’ socialization into community practices, it is important to highlight that LS approaches acknowledge that uptake and participation are also mediated by social factors such as identities, expectations, and ideologies as well as level of exposure and engagement. Indeed, in contexts of second language education and migration, such as SA, *novices* may be unable to access opportunities for participation or are discouraged from participation, leading to a number of possible negative outcomes including “ambivalence, defiance, resistance to or rejection of the target language, culture, or community (or aspects thereof), or prematurely terminated or suspended L2 learning” (Duff, 2012, p. 6). For this reason, LS research on additional or second language learning in particular (Duff & Talmy, 2011) has highlighted how socialization into a given community’s practices is also not always “successful,” often despite opportunities and desire for interaction with local *experts*.

3.2.3 Multi-directionality in LS

For this study, a particularly important aspect of the LS framework is its emphasis on the collaborative and co-constructed nature of learning and participation (Duff & Talmy, 2011). All participants, novices included, shape the socialization process to differing degrees and *novice* and *expert* roles are viewed as fluid and co-constructed within and across interactions.¹⁴ In this sense, LS has integrated recent concerns in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics that prioritize multi-directionality, agency, and fluidity (Duff, 2015; Duff & Doherty, 2015). LS research in diverse multilingual contexts also acknowledges that norms for participation are not monocultural but rather are subject to ongoing joint negotiation, creation, and transformation (Duff, 2015). This is particularly true in contact zones like internationalized universities in which participants coming from different countries, communities, and linguistic backgrounds co-create norms to suit their communicative needs (Canagarajah, 2012; Kalocsai, 2009). To address the collaborative nature of socialization, I investigate the talk and perspectives of both JC and PWU peers, thereby providing a multifaceted picture of the norms and practices surrounding peer interaction in this context.

3.2.4 Methods in LS

Theorizing language use as a collaborative and socially mediated achievement has important epistemological implications. LS work studies language in its interactive, cultural, and socio-political context (Ochs, 1996; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). To generate the necessary data to gain productive insight into local meaning-making practices, most LS scholars agree that to

¹⁴ What constitutes agentic action within interaction is a contested issue in the field of LS, one which I do not have the space to review here (Duff & Doherty, 2015; Fogle, 2012; E. R. Miller, 2014)

investigate development or change over time, longitudinal, qualitative, and ethnographic approaches are appropriate for investigating socialization processes (Duff, 2008b; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). For Duff and Talmy (2011), LS research ideally ought to “document changes in language and other social practices, explain development in terms of socialization, and involve close analysis of a rich primary data record derived from participant observation, documents, and audio- and/or video-recordings, among other methods” (p. 105). LS researchers also approach data from a participant-relevant perspective to examine how participants themselves orient to and co-construct local meanings. In other words, *expert* and *novice* roles are not pre-assigned and fixed, rather the LS analyst examines how participants use language in ways that make local *expert* and *novice* identities relevant and seeks to provide a rich description of participants’ practices. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss how LS has been taken up in SA research, including key findings and methodological insights.

3.3 LS research in SA

In recent years, a number of scholars have highlighted the utility of the LS framework for investigating language learning in the SA context (Kinging, 2012, 2017; Shively, 2018; Wang, 2010). Kinginger (2017) in particular has advocated for an LS approach to address fundamental unanswered questions in SA: “why do some students prosper while others do not? What are the precise qualities of study abroad experiences as they relate to language learning?” (p. 1).

Wang (2010) has similarly emphasized the benefits of focusing on situated learning processes (i.e., moment-to-moment interaction), as LS approaches do. She contends that by focusing on the qualitative aspects of interactions over the sojourn, LS is poised to provide crucial insight into the variable outcomes that have often been reported for SA language learners as well as the

particular affordances of interaction with various cultural others (Kinging, 2009).

Shively (2018) also notes that LS's focus on participation is a useful frame for conceptualizing learning in SA, since sojourns are often designed to provide novel opportunities for participation in activities in TL communities (e.g., via homestays, clubs, service learning).

A relatively large number of studies in SA have adopted LS perspectives broadly-speaking. These usually have taken the form of single or multiple case studies that have examined SA students' language contact, social networks, or community participation and often highlight barriers to participation, individual learners' trajectories, and identity and academic development (e.g., Isabelli-Garcia, 2004; Jackson, 2008; McGregor, 2012; Pellegrino, 2005; Trentman, 2012; Zappa, 2007). In general, these studies have provided evidence of the challenges that SA students face forming relationships with local TL speakers and the complex ways in which encounters with the community prompt SA students to reflect on their national, gender, and learner identities (for an overview of these studies, see Kinginger, 2012). Taken together, they provide evidence that proximity to TL speakers does not always result in meaningful interactions with TL speakers and thus these studies serve to problematize the ideologies of immersion discussed in Chapter 2. Based on findings from the LS literature in SA, Shively (2018) notes that socialization opportunities rely on the dispositions, ideologies, identities, and relationships of all participants. While the studies cited above provide rich insights into SA students' perspectives and the barriers and opportunities they encounter, they do not include recorded naturalistic interactions and thus provide only limited insights into the specific affordances of host community interactions for language learning.

3.4 LS studies of interaction in SA

As indicated in Chapter 1, my aim in this dissertation is to investigate peer language socialization by analyzing one type of language event in particular: talk-about-language. Therefore, in the section that follows, I review studies that incorporated analyses of SA student interactions, highlighting key findings and methodological approaches. These studies, which are relatively few in number, bring various discourse analytic methods to bear on recordings and videos of interactions collected throughout the sojourn, most often by the participants themselves.¹⁵ These studies have investigated socialization into performances of gender and politeness indexed by specific language markers (e.g., sentence final particles), broader ideologies, (e.g., cultural notions of taste), and strategies for socializing *novices* (e.g., foreigner and teacher talk). Table 3.1 presents a list of SA studies in reverse chronological order that have investigated LS through the analysis of recorded interaction in SA.

Table 3.1 SA Studies with Recorded Interaction

Study	SA participants TL/context	Socializing practices	Socialized practices, ideologies, identities
Kinginger and Wu (2018)	2 US students, Chinese, China	Informal talk with roommates	Personal narratives Humour
Cardellio (2016)	3 US students, Italian, Italy	Encounters with service learning providers	Directives
*Kinginger, Lee, Wu, and Tan (2014)	3 US students, Mandarin, China	Meal-time conversation about food with host families	Linguistic and gestural resources for presenting food, ideologies related to food
*Diao (2013, 2016)	4 US students, Mandarin, China	Explicit discussion of particles with roommates	Affective sentence-final particles

¹⁵ Iino (2006) refers to this technique as “remote observation method” (p. 156).

Brown (2013)	3 UK/1 Australian, Korean, Korea	Interactions with various local Korean speakers	Korean honorifics (<i>contaymal</i> and <i>panmal</i>)
*Shively (2013)	1 US student, Spanish, Spain	Interactions with host parents and a local peer	Interactional resources for engaging in humour (e.g., humorous revoicing)
*Cook (2012)	9 US students, Japanese, Japan	Participation in talk using epistemic stance marking	Epistemic stance marking (<i>deshoo</i>) during meal-time talk with host family
*Shively (2011)	7 US students, Spanish, Spain	Service encounters, reflective journals, and in-class discussions about language use	Pragmatic moves and modals in service encounters
*Ishida (2010)	4 US students, Japanese, Japan	Informal peer conversation	Japanese modal expressions (<i>ne/kamo</i>) during peer talk
*Cook (2006)	8 US students, Japanese, Japan	Negotiating folk beliefs in homestay meal-time interaction	<i>Nihonjinron</i> ideologies
*DuFon (2006)	5 US students, Indonesian, Indonesia	Talking about food in meal-time interaction with host families	Beliefs and ways of talking about taste post SA
*Iino (2006)	30 US students, Japanese, Japan	Interaction with host family	<i>Nihonjinron</i> ideologies
*Dufon (1999)	6 US students, Indonesian, Indonesia	Interaction with native speakers and correction practices	Experience questions, greetings, terms of address
Stewart & Talburt (1999)	6 US students, Spanish, Spain	In-class discussions of racialized and gendered experiences	Gendered identities
Wilkinson (1998; 2002)	4 US students, French, France	Initiation-response-evaluation sequences in homestay interactions	Learner identities
Siegal (1996)	4 US students, Japanese, Japan	Participation in institutional talk	Politeness and gendered speech

Note. *Studies which explicitly cite LS as a framework

The common thread across these studies is a focus on how participants are socialized *into* context-specific linguistic practices, *through* context-specific linguistic practices.¹⁶ Typically, they also account for local systems of value by studying participants' beliefs and expectations, and how they relate to broader societal discourses. By connecting transcripts of naturalistic data with broader cultural and sociopolitical ideologies, these studies make more concrete the link between the language SA sojourners encounter and the wider systems of sociocultural value to which they belong. They also document how the sojourners themselves come to a deeper understanding of the layers of indexical meaning attached to different forms in different contexts. For instance, DuFon (2006) examined how she and four other learners of Indonesian came to a new appreciation of food through practices in which food was discussed as a source of pleasure and in terms of its health-related qualities. Over time, SA students in Dufon's study came to understand how to participate in meal-time talk appropriately (e.g., to be critical when food was not to their liking) and in some cases, promoted or maintained these practices upon returning from their sojourns.

3.4.1 Methodological insights

The studies listed in Table 3.1 all used multiple data sources in conjunction with recorded interactions. Their use of multiple data sources allowed the researchers to make connections between interactionally accomplished events and students' narratives in interviews and journals. For instance, Shively's (2011) pragmatics-focused study of service encounters in Spain demonstrates the insights to be gained from multiple data sources. Shively presented data in

¹⁶ Increasingly researchers are examining other forms of semiotic practice, particularly gesture. However, in this dissertation most interactions were not video-taped and thus an analysis of gesture was not possible.

which one student, Jared, inappropriately uses the expression *que tal* (i.e., how are you) with a Spanish shopkeeper. She was then able to connect this incident to Jared's later metapragmatic reflections in his journal in which he recognized the shopkeeper's unease and declared his intention to act differently in subsequent encounters. In this way, Shively captures how Jared learned the rules of appropriate participation in ways that would not have been observable through recordings or journals alone. She was also able to track Jared's subsequent use of *que tal* in interactions following his revelation.

An additional advantage of this discourse-focused LS approach is the ability to track changes in the frequencies with which specific linguistic choices are made by different interlocutors (e.g., SA students vs. native-speaking hosts or peers). This also contributes to understanding the extent to which the linguistic practices of local speakers are being taken up by SA students. Diao's (2013) study of gendered sentence-final particles in Mandarin is an exceptional example of this. Using weekly recordings of SA students' interactions with their Mandarin-speaking roommates, she was able to observe the relative frequencies of different particles, finding that two US participants in particular showed evidence of moving toward patterns that more closely resembled those of their Chinese roommates. In addition, she was able to capture several instances in which the student and roommate explicitly negotiated when such particles should be used and observed how the information was taken up by the SA students both within the interaction and in the recordings that followed. In this way, Diao was able to observe the non-linear trajectories of the socialization process as it unfolded.

Finally, by drawing on transcripts of interaction rather than student reports alone, these studies provide more space for examining the actual linguistic contributions of the hosts, locals, peers and *experts* with whom SA students interact. It also allows the researcher to analyze how

SA students impact the practices of the *experts* with whom they interact. Cook (2006), for example, analyzed dinnertime conversations between SA students from the US and their Japanese hosts and found it was not only the students who negotiated their own cultural assumptions but also members from the host families who through the dynamic process of co-telling transformed aspects of their beliefs. The author notes that discussions of folk beliefs related to *nihonjinron* (theories of Japaneseness) in particular were an “opportunity space for [all] the participants to co-construct shared perspectives and emotions” (p. 147). Thus, LS research of this kind better accounts for the dynamic co-construction that occurs when relationships are built and helps to avoid the pitfalls of presenting interaction partners as language dispensers or the static characters in student narratives.

3.4.2 Key findings

In general, these studies have shown that through participation in interactions with local speakers, SA students learn to engage with local speakers and negotiate new forms, often in agentive ways. The changes that occur in SA students’ language use are often subtle (e.g., use of gendered particles or affective stances) and would have likely been difficult to capture via traditional assessment methods, making this research especially valuable for understanding the affordances of interaction for language development in these contexts. These studies also have the benefit of providing rich descriptions of the learning contexts, relationships, and experiences of students. Not only do the researchers examine how interactions are accomplished, they attend to the ways in which locally circulating ideologies around issues of language, gender, and taste etc. serve to mediate what is and is not treated as appropriate or desirable. In so doing, they illuminate what is learned by students at the micro level as well as identifying the community factors and discourses that allow for that learning to take place at the macro level.

An important contribution of these studies is that they provide concrete evidence to problematize the use of native standards as the yardstick by which to measure language learning outcomes in SA. Diao (2013), for example, found that no student, regardless of their level of engagement with the community, was observed to use gendered particles consistently in “native-like” ways. While this result may be due to students’ emerging competence or lack of emphasis on such particles in textbooks, evidence from other studies also suggests that students resist native norms, particularly if they conflict with students’ values or identities. Siegal (1996) recounts the case of Mary, a graduate SA student in Japan, who used less humble language in her L2 Japanese than would normally be appropriate with a professor in order to preserve her self-image as a scholar. Siegal explains that “when learners study abroad it is necessary to consider the conscious and unconscious desires of the learner to maintain her image and the resulting language use which might deviate from native speaker norms” (p. 240). This view is also supported by findings in Kinginger (2008) of a student who was extremely successful in engaging with the French community but purposefully chose not to use the formal address pronoun *vous* (i.e., you), explaining that it did not fit his personality.

Findings from this literature also point to the fact that hosts often interact differently with SA students than they do with other members of the host community. Much of the SA literature assumes that students will experience interactions similar to those engaged in by groups of native speakers. However, the studies discussed here find that locals modify their practices to communicate in ways they perceive are more appropriate for SA students’ status as foreigners and learners (Kinger, 2015). Iino (2006), for example, found that Japanese host families switched from their home Kyoto dialect to Tokyo dialect when speaking with students in order to provide a more standardized model. In addition, he found that hosts treated mistakes as “cute,”

while “very good Japanese was an object of wonderment and laughter” (p. 166) and was perceived by hosts as forced and inauthentic. Modified foreigner talk was also discussed in Wilkinson’s (1998, 2002) study of French homestay encounters. Using conversation analysis to investigate short encounters between host-family members and SA students, Wilkinson found evidence of initiation-response-evaluation sequences (Mehan, 1979) common to Western classroom routines. Although she had only recorded a small number of interactions, the prevalence of these routines in what were meant to be “natural” conversations was striking, leading her to conclude that the talk SA students experienced more closely resembled teacher-student discourse than informal discussions with friendly locals. This provides further evidence that interactions in SA cannot be conceptualized as opportunities for exposure to TL input but are in fact negotiated encounters in which both the *experts* and *novices* co-construct opportunities for learning based on the expectations, identities, and knowledge they bring to the interaction.

3.4.3 Gaps in the literature

While these studies bring much needed attention to various forms of interaction in SA there is more work to be done in expanding the range of contexts, types of interaction, and interlocutors that are investigated from an LS perspective. For instance, all the studies cited involved US (or English-speaking) students learning languages other than English. As discussed in Chapter 2, English is often treated as having a different status and function than other languages and the ideologies that mediate interaction in English are likely to differ from those that mediate interactions in languages such as French, Spanish, Mandarin, or Japanese. To date, the SA studies that incorporate LS and analyses of recorded interaction have focused primarily on homestay interaction. Only a few studies have investigated peer interaction (Brown, 2013;

Diao, 2013; Ishida, 2010; Kinginger & Wu, 2018; Shively, 2013). In addition, the host members with whom SA students interact in these studies are all native speakers and little to no attention has been paid to the ways in which multilingual or more proficient TL-speaking others mediate students' language development in these contexts. Finally, all these studies have emphasized interview and self-report data from SA students only. That is to say that the perspectives of host members are rarely attended to systematically, and if they are, they are interpreted through the reports of SA students. As discussed in Chapter 1, Kinginger (2009, 2012, 2017) has repeatedly called for more attention to the ways in which host member perspectives shape the affordances and interactions in which SA students engage.

This study contributes to addressing these gaps in a number of ways. By investigating SA interaction in an English-speaking context with Japanese L1 students, this research provides a much-needed non-US perspective on LS in SA and contributes to the growing body of literature on SA in English-speaking contexts (e.g., Jackson, 2008). Secondly, by investigating JC peers' interactions with a range of multilingual peers, it contributes to expanding the notion of "host community" beyond conceptions of the native speaker and seeks to complicate the notion of hosts as a monolingual homogenous group. Finally, by systematically attending to the perspectives of PWU peers through analyses of interview data as well as primary interaction data, this study seeks to more clearly highlight that LS in SA is a multi-directional, collaborative, and negotiated process.

3.5 Focal aspects of peer language socialization in this study

In this dissertation, I am interested in peer language socialization at PWU and specifically the norms that are indexed, reproduced, and resisted by JC and PWU peers in talk-about-

language. In her seminal paper on LS, Ochs (1996) explains “in all societies, members have tacit understandings of norms, preferences, and expectations concerning how situational dimensions such as time, space, affective stance, epistemic stance, social identity, social acts, and social activities cluster together” (p. 417). According to Ochs, to gain insight into how particular instances of interaction, such as talk-about-language sequences, unfold, LS researchers should take into account these multiple dimensions in order to shed light on the socio-cultural meanings that are indexed in talk and the value those meanings carry within the community. Duff (2007) also highlights the importance of triangulating perspectives and insights obtained through a variety of data sources at both the macro-level and the micro-level, which she maintains are crucial if scholars are to move beyond simple description toward explanation.

In this study, in order to more clearly conceptualize the relationships between macro-level social processes and micro-level practices in peer language socialization, I turn to the recent transdisciplinary framework developed by Douglas Fir Group (2016). In their framework, they identified three interconnected levels of social processes that shape additional language learning: the micro level, which refers to specific instances of social activity and the cognitive and semiotic resources mobilized to participate in that activity; the meso level, which refers to the institutions, communities, organizations, and their associated identities which can “provide or restrict access to particular types of social experiences” (p. 24); and finally, the macro level, which refers to “large-scale society-wide ideological structures with particular orientations toward language use and language learning” (p. 24). The framework, which was intended as a broad and transdisciplinary representation of second language acquisition, fits nicely with the assumptions and findings of LS research, which emphasize mutually constitutive relationships between language use (i.e., social practice at the micro level), communities (the meso level) and

culture more broadly speaking (the macro level). I have reproduced a simplified version of these mutually informing and embedded aspects of language learning in Figure 3.1.

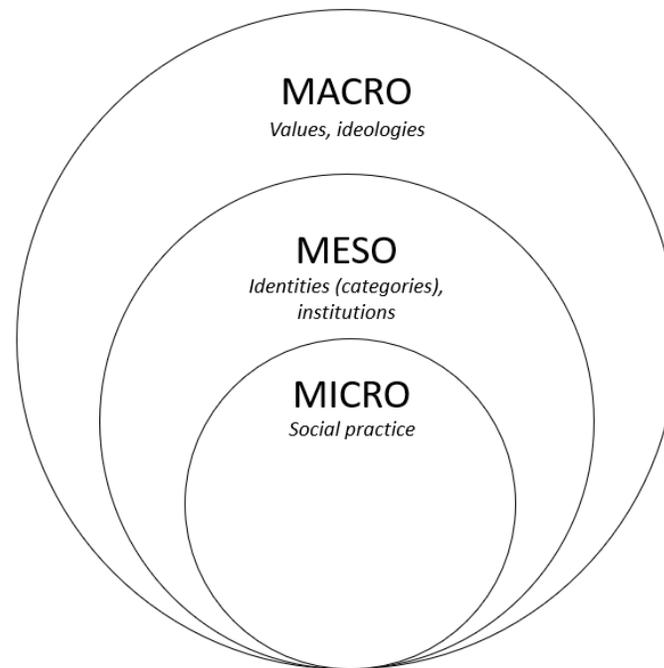


Figure 3.1 Multifaceted nature of language learning and teaching. Adapted from Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 25)

To gain insight into how talk-about-language was initiated and managed in interaction between peers, I have chosen to focus on one dimension at each of the three levels. At the macro level, I attend to how language ideologies mediated the ways in which JC and PWU peers assigned value to different peers, to peer interaction, and to English language learning; at the meso level, I analyze the *expert* and *novice* identity categories that were made relevant when the participants and I discussed language learning through peer interaction; and at the micro level, I investigate how participants engaged in stancetaking (particularly epistemic and deontic stances) that made those *expert* and *novice* categories relevant in talk. I discuss and define each of these dimensions in the following sections. As the descriptions will show, across all three dimensions,

I use theory and approaches that represent a discursive constructionist epistemology, which views interaction (interview and naturalistic) as a privileged location for observing the ways in which semiotic resources operate to make stances, categories, and ideologies relevant in talk. In this sense, I have deliberately selected compatible and mutually informing approaches that represent my understanding of interaction as situated and co-constructed social practice.

3.5.1 Language ideologies

The term *language ideologies* has been defined as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). Ideologies *mediate* the process of meaning-making by serving as recognizable rationales, or interpretative frameworks, for the valuation of others’ or one’s own actions (Gal, 1998; Silverstein, 1992). In other words, language ideologies are circulating systems of value related to language and language use that are used by individuals or groups to frame their understanding of social action and have long been a focus of LS research (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

While language ideologies are used by individuals in situated ways in talk, they are not the property of individuals in the same way that “beliefs” for example are usually theorized. Verschueren (2012) aptly describes this distinction in his volume on investigating ideologies in research:

Ideas, beliefs and opinions in as such do not make ideology. Simplifying a bit, they are merely 'contents of thinking,' whereas ideology is associated with underlying patterns of meaning, frames of interpretation, world views, or forms of everyday thinking and explanation. Thus the ways in which beliefs, ideas or opinions are discursively used, i.e., their forms of expression as well as the rhetorical purposes they serve, are just as

important for ideology as the contents of thinking for which these three terms serve as labels. (p. 7)

Mertz (1998) explains that language ideologies “may be very explicit as when speakers overtly discuss aspects of language use” (p.151), as my participants did in this study.

Alternatively, they “may appear more subtly, for example as a set of meta-level structural linguistic features indicating what kind of speech is occurring (or ought to occur)” (p.151).

Given that language ideologies serve as sense-making resources in interaction, it stands to reason that they play an important role in LS. Mori (2014) explains that in interaction, “language ideologies can serve to undermine, challenge, or support particular political alignments and social identities” (p. 154). In their review of LS research on language ideologies, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) have also observed that language ideologies “intersect in complex and interesting ways with local notions of cultural and group identity, nationhood, personhood, childhood, and language acquisition as a developmental process” (p. 354). Of particular interest for this study, they note that language ideologies are especially salient in multilingual contexts, where differing notions of what language is, as well as the relationship between individuals, culture, and language may come to the fore. These authors explain that in these contexts and others, ideologies are *multiple, dynamic, and partial* in nature and can thus be drawn upon and locally produced in contradictory ways. According to Miller (2009), it is by investigating how individuals position themselves and others “unproblematically with respect to language identities, without needing to provide accounts, explanations, or justifications (signs of interactional trouble) in ongoing talk” (p. 324) that we can investigate how dominant language ideologies are perpetuated and transformed as natural shared beliefs.

There are two categories of language ideologies that are of most relevance for this study. The first category is related to ideologies around the value assigned to specific languages, and in the case of this study, English. There is a small but growing body of SA research that focuses on ideologies related to language codes. For instance, several researchers have investigated ideologies of Japanese uniqueness, or *nihonjinron*, and the ways in which those ideologies mediated SA students' experiences (e.g., Iino, 1996, 2006; Siegal, 1996). These studies found that in host family talk, ideologies of *nihonjinron* served as resources for evaluating SA students' efforts to learn English. Specifically, hosts and community members espoused beliefs that non-Japanese people were unlikely to master the complexities of the Japanese language, expressed low expectations of SA students' levels, and avoided providing feedback on features such as the use of honorifics, which they viewed as particularly difficult to master. De Costa's (2011) and Park and Bae's (2009) work with SA students at high schools and elementary schools in Singapore also examined ideologies related to specific linguistic codes. De Costa's (2011) work in particular highlighted ideologies around the global value of English and the ways in which the concept of English as a tool for international communication and mobility mediated students' descriptions of their future careers and contributed to the development of students' cosmopolitan identities. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, in this study the value of English as a language associated with mobility and multiculturalism served as a key discursive resource in participants' descriptions of their peer relationships.

The second category of ideologies relevant to this study is shared understandings about *who* language learners are, the kind of people that interact with them, and *how* language learning can best occur through those interactions. To my knowledge there is no specific term to refer to this type of ideology, although Riley (2012) coined the term *language acquisition ideologies* in

reference to work on beliefs around first language acquisition. The last fifteen years especially have seen an increase in work exploring how language ideologies shape the interactions of additional-language learners and teachers, particularly in English language classrooms (Mökkönen, 2012; Mori, 2014; Olivo, 2003; Razfar, 2005; Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012). These studies often examine teachers' and students' beliefs and attitudes toward the use of multiple languages in English language classrooms and how classroom practices (e.g., gossiping, disciplining, etc.) as well as classroom policy (e.g., English-only in the class) reproduce, resist, or transform those beliefs. Doerr's work (2012, 2013b, 2015) on discourses that value experiential learning and immersion in SA is another example of this type of language ideology. As discussed in Chapter 2, Doerr addresses the ways in which ideologies of immersion were produced in guidebooks and interviews and the consequences of those productions for stakeholders' understandings of host, home, and other in SA. For this dissertation, I explore the ways in which participants produced explicitly ideological descriptions of the value of English when describing their language learning goals in interviews. I then examine how those language ideologies were reproduced in locally situated and contingent ways as they described their expectations about how language learning can or should happen between peers.

3.5.2 Expert and novice identity categories

Studies of social identities have long been a cornerstone in LS research given that “participation in socializing interactions fundamentally implicates identity, as individuals accommodate, resist, subvert, and or transform the acts, stances, and activities that constitute particular social identities” (Duff & Talmy, p.108). In recent years, the amount of SA research focusing on identity has grown exponentially based on the notion that identity development is a key outcome for all SA (i.e., not just sojourns involving language learning, for a review, see

Kinginger, 2013). In general, this research has privileged narrative (e.g., Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott, & Brown, 2013), sociocultural (e.g., Jackson, 2008) and poststructuralist (e.g., Anya, 2017) approaches to identity. These studies often yield insights into the personal development of a small number of SA students during their sojourns or seek to explain the power of institutions in shaping the range of identities available to sojourners (Block, 2007). In this study, the focus is less on JC peers' identity development over the course of the sojourn (although it is discussed briefly), rather the main focus is on understanding the types of identities, or social categories, JC and PWU peers were able to legitimately take up in their moment-to-moment interactions.

For this reason, I view identity through the lens of membership categorization analysis (MCA) – a relatively novel approach to identity in SA.¹⁷ Unlike structural or psychosocial approaches to identity, the MCA notion of identity, which has been described as identities in practice or identity in interaction, views it as something one does rather than as something one is (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Identity categories are understood as both locally occasioned and consequential in talk. As an ethnomethodological approach, MCA also takes a profoundly emic approach to identity: identity categories are not determined a priori but are considered first and foremost as locally-relevant members' matters (i.e., matters that are negotiated and established in interaction by those participating in the conversation, or *members*). Identity in MCA is a form of social action in which categories and their attendant features are used to make meaning in situ. As such it is grounded in interaction data and provides insight into how participants use categories to engage in local sense-making practices.

¹⁷ I know of only a few studies that have drawn on MCA to examine identity in SA. Wernicke-Heinrichs (2013) used it to gain insights into discursive resources for constructing teacher identity for a group of French language teachers sojourning in France. Another study used MCA to examine intercultural identities in talk between Japanese SA students and their host families (Greer et al., 2013).

Using MCA provides insight into the activities, characteristics, and attributes that participants treat to as usual or normative for certain identity categories, and how intersubjective understandings of those identity category constructions can produce complex meaning in talk. For example, Goodwin and Kyratzis (2012) reviewed studies that examined categorization practices in the talk of young peers. They contend that by examining practices such as gossiping, storytelling, and assessments, it is possible to shed light on how peers use evaluative stances to “locate and reference the peer group’s notion of culturally appropriate moral behaviour” and “negotiate their alignments to one another and position one another in the local social group” (p. 367). They explain that research on interaction which combines ethnographic insights with micro-analytic approaches such as MCA:

permits investigation not only of how the local situated activity is organized but also how actions and stances (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009) taken across a range of interactions are consequential for participants’ lives and help to construct more enduring forms of social organization. (p. 372)

Given my interest specifically in ideologies around how to “do” *expert* and *novice* in language learning between peers, it seemed appropriate to draw on insights from MCA to attend to the situated production of *expert* and *novice* identity categories (more details about doing MCA are provided in Chapter 4).

3.5.3 Stancetaking

An additional aspect of peer language socialization of interest in this study is related to stance. According to Kockelman (2004), stance is “a new name for what is often called the speaker’s *attitude*, *view*, or *evaluation*” (original emphasis, p. 130). Examples of stancetaking might include when a JC peer indicates that a particular English word is unknown to them (i.e.,

an unknowing stance), or a PWU peer evaluates a JC peer's English use as "cute" (i.e., a positive, or perhaps condescending, affective stance). According to Ochs (1996), linguistic resources that index stances are fundamental resources for accomplishing social activities (such as talk-about-language) and for indexing membership in identity categories (such as *expert* or *novice*). Ochs argues that investigations of stancetaking should be central to LS research because of the privileged role of stance in constructing social life. She explains that learning to perform stancetaking and interpreting the stancetaking of others is a socialized (or learned) practice – it involves making connections between linguistic and embodied stancetaking resources (e.g., lexis, grammatical markers, intonation) and their subtle social meanings.

The term *stance* itself seems to have gained popularity after its use in Biber and Finegan's (1988, 1989) publications comparing various grammatical and lexical stance markers across genres of written and spoken English. However, *evaluation* (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), *positioning* (Harre & VanLangenhoeve, 1991), *evidentiality* (Chafe & Nichols, 1986), *appraisal* (Martin, 2000), *assessment* (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), and *epistemic* and *affective stance* (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Ochs, 1996) are all terms that have been used to describe interactional resources that are used to evaluate objects in talk. In this work, I draw on Du Bois's (2007) understanding of stance as a discursive construction occasioned by previous talk and that has consequences for intersubjective alignment and affiliation. Du Bois defines stancetaking as:

a public act by a social actor; achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and other), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (p. 163).

What sets Du Bois' discursive approach to stance apart from most of the other conceptions of evaluation cited above is his attention to the situated co-production of stances. By theorizing stance as a discursive construct, researchers more fully acknowledge the collaborative nature of interaction, which fits nicely with the assumptions of LS. This approach to stance is also compatible with the notion that stances can become associated with particular identity categories or ideologies. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) maintain that over time, more durable macro-identities may emerge through repeated patterns in stancetaking which connect particular types of evaluations (e.g., correcting the English of others) to a particular identity category (e.g., *expert English speaker*).¹⁸ They assert that “the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories” (p. 591).

For this dissertation, I explore the range of resources used by peers and SA students to accomplish stancetaking in a specific discursive context: instances in which peers or SA students evaluate an “object” related to language (e.g., lexis, pronunciation, form, rules of use). Given that I am interested in how peers “do” *novice* and *expert*, two categories of stancetaking are most relevant to my study. The first, epistemic stance, refers to stancetaking which makes relevant more- or less-knowing subject positions and has been researched and discussed extensively (see the recent 2018 special issue of *Discourse Studies* edited by Heritage). The second, deontic stance, refers to stancetaking which indexes rights or authority to control the flow of talk and is

¹⁸According to Bucholtz and Hall, Du Bois has also spoken of accumulated associations between stances and positions under the term “stance accretion”. However, it appears that this was only ever discussed in a particular conference presentation delivered in 2002 and I was unfortunately unable to locate it.

relatively new to work in second language interaction. I provide a brief description of each below (these are discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8).

3.5.3.1 Epistemic stance

Epistemic stance concerns the ways in which members orient to and evaluate knowledge claims and it is thus directly implicated in the ways in which *expert* and *novice* roles are negotiated in interaction. Ochs (1996) has defined epistemic stance as stancetaking which displays “knowledge or belief vis-a-vis some focus of concern, including degrees of certainty of knowledge, degrees of commitment to truth of propositions, and sources of knowledge, among other epistemic qualities” (p. 410). Investigations of the interactional consequences of epistemic stance examine how interactants use linguistic and other embodied resources to claim or reject authority over knowledge (such as knowledge of the English language) and in turn, how these stances serve to establish their epistemic status relative to those of other interactants (Heritage, 2011, 2013; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011).

Researchers investigating epistemic stance in educational contexts are interested in the ways interaction constructs students as “unknowing” and teachers or more advanced peers as “knowing” (Jakonen & Morton, 2015; Kirkham, 2011; Koole, 2012; Koshik, 2003; Melander, 2012; Sert, 2013; Sert & Walsh, 2013). Jakonen and Morton (2013) investigated peer group work in a primary school in Sweden, showing how epistemic search sequences (i.e., questions) were resolved through sequences of stancetaking by peers, focusing on the ways in which such interactional work could be affiliative or disaffiliative. Findings were then contextualized with reference to Swedish school practices in which group work was highly valued. For the present study, I am interested in if and how peers claim epistemic authority over English knowledge and the kinds of stancetaking that would be associated with those claims.

3.5.3.2 Deontic stance

Deontic stance is a relatively new concept in discursive approaches to stance. The deontic aspects of interaction refer to members' "entitlements to impose actions on their co-participants" (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). Deontic stancetaking often occurs in tandem with stances in which participants display knowledge (i.e., knowing epistemic stances). For example, in a prototypical hierarchical institutional relationship between members of the *language teacher* and *student* categories, the teacher asserts power by exercising his or her deontic rights to initiate corrections in interactions (e.g., Kurhila, 2005). The teacher therefore expresses both a knowing epistemic stance as well as a deontic stance: the teacher has the language knowledge as well as the right to impose the action of correction. However, it is not always the case that category members have both epistemic and deontic authority.

While it is relatively commonsense to assume an asymmetrical distribution of deontic rights between *teachers* and *students*, it is much less evident how deontic rights and responsibilities might be distributed between members of more symmetrical categories, such as *peers* or *friends*. Indeed, research has shown that peers often engage in complex stancetaking practices in order to mitigate face threats and avoid overt displays of authority (Jenks, 2013; Kurhila, 2005; Tsai & Kinginger, 2014). For instance, Kurhila (2005) found that NS peers often pass on opportunities to correct the language of less proficient users. In online interactions between more and less proficient TL speaking peers, Jenks (2013) and Tsai and Kinginger (2014) found that peers often produced compliments to minimize asymmetries and attend to the face needs of peers. In addition, as I reviewed the data for this study, I noticed that PWU peers often produced lengthy rationales and explanations when describing instances in which they engaged in talk-about-language and that they often explicitly referred to deontic rights around

who should or should not initiate talk-about-language. For this reason, both epistemic and deontic rights became focal aspects of this study.

3.5.4 Summary

In sum, the three focal dimensions of LS investigated in this study are language ideologies, *expert* and *novice* identity categories, and epistemic and deontic stancetaking in talk-about-language. As the Douglas Fir Group (2016) model discussed at the beginning of this section shows, these dimensions are not separate but are interconnected and produced, reproduced, resisted, and transformed for local purposes in specific instances of interaction. For each of these dimensions, I have described my specific understanding of the construct, in each case adopting an emic discursive approach which views these dimensions as dynamic, contingent, and locally occasioned.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of LS as this study's lens for understanding language, learning, and development. It has pointed out that, from an LS perspective, learning is a multidirectional and collaborative process in which all participants play an active role. I have also provided an overview of the ways in which LS has been integrated into research in SA, the insights that have been gleaned from that research, and the gaps that remain. In particular, I pointed to the need for LS research in the SA context to include a broader range of interactions and contexts and located the contribution of this study within that gap. Finally, I described my discursive constructionist approach to the dimensions of LS that form the focus of this study and highlighted how attention to each provides insights into peer language socialization in this context. In the next chapter, I introduce the study design and data generation procedures.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction

Case study allows researchers to reveal new perspectives on processes, entities, phenomena, or experiences. Dyson and Genishi (2005) explain that “[i]t is the messy complexity of human experiences that leads researchers to case studies in the qualitative and interpretive tradition” (p. 3). In Chapter 3, I showed through a review of the literature that peer relationships and their role in TL development are the types of messy, unpredictable phenomena to which these authors refer. I also pointed out that SA researchers have advocated greater attention to the processes that mediate SA students’ engagement with peers. Therefore, for this research, I have opted for a multiple case study design in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of how talk-about-language can be accomplished between JC and PWU peers.

4.2 Case study

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), a case is “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (p. 25) – it is both the method of research as well as the final product. Case studies are characterized by “boundedness or singularity, in-depth study, multiple perspectives or triangulation, particularity, contextualization, and interpretation” (Duff, 2008a, p. 23). The qualitative multiple case study reported here is what has been called an instrumental case (Stake, 2000). Its objective is to explore, describe and/or explain a *phenomenon* rather than focus on the biographical particularities of any one participant. In this case study report, the phenomenon of interest is peer language socialization in SA, and more specifically, peer LS related to talk-about-language. A key aspect of case study is its typical use of different forms of data and perspectives to generate and discuss findings. For this study, I examine peer LS via 1)

JC peers' reports of their experiences with PWU peers over the course of a semester, 2) an investigation of the discourses surrounding how JC and PWU peers should (and should not) contribute to language learning, as reported in interviews, and 3) a close analysis of recorded conversations which include talk-about-language.

4.3 Research context

This study was undertaken at a highly internationalized Canadian university I have called Pacific Western University (PWU). The research focuses on the out-of-class experiences and interactions of three Japanese undergraduate students participating in the Japan-Canada (JC) program – an SA program. In what follows, I describe PWU as well as the objectives and features of the JC program.

4.3.1 PWU

PWU is a large western Canadian university with over 50,000 undergraduate and graduate students, about one fifth of whom are classified as international students.¹⁹ As such, PWU has been ranked as one of the most international institutions in North America (according to the Times Higher Education Rankings). In addition to students registered as “international students,” a large number of students that attend PWU are *generation 1.5* (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988), meaning they immigrated to Canada at a young age and completed their secondary school education in Canada. The university prides itself on being a diverse and inclusive institution and has a well-funded diversity initiative program. In addition, nearly 25% of the student-led clubs have a specific ethnic, linguistic, racial, or cultural affiliation (e.g., *Russian Club*). Courses at

¹⁹ I have avoided providing a source or exact statistic to maintain anonymity. The information about PWU was gathered through publicly available sources such as the university website.

PWU are generally delivered in English, which is an official language of Canada and the dominant language of the province in which the university is located. The campus is outside of the downtown area and exists as its own university town with grocery stores, restaurants, recreation facilities, and leisure activities all accessible directly on-site. There are over half a dozen large student residences where housing is guaranteed for most exchange students as well as first-year students.

4.3.2 JC program

Each year, between 70 and 100 undergraduate students journey from Japan to PWU as a cohort to attend the full-time program for two semesters (September to December, and January to April). To enter the program, which is designed especially for JC students and delivered in English, students must obtain a minimum score of 450 on the TOEFL ITP (Test of English as a Foreign language, Institutional Testing Program version). This score is substantially lower than the score required to attend courses for mainstream PWU students (around 570).²⁰ Participants in this study reported that the lower English requirement was one reason that JC students chose this program over the many other programs offered by other partner universities, which required higher scores.

At the time of the study, JC program operations were centralized in one location on the PWU campus, JC House (pseudonym), which contained the administrative offices, computer lab, dormitories, and classrooms. Within that building, JC students had access to a staff person dedicated exclusively to the JC program as well as a Japanese-speaking program assistant to help

²⁰ The TOEFL ITP is not accepted by PWU because it includes only reading and listening components. Therefore, the number provided here is a rough conversion based on the score that PWU accepts for the internet-based version of the TOEFL. PWU accepts students scoring 90 on the TOEFL iBT. Comparatively, JC participants recruited for this study who had taken the TOEFL iBT reported scoring between 65 and 80.

them with questions about courses, housing, health care, and any other concerns they might have. Before the start of the study, I had been involved in the JC program in various capacities for three years.

4.3.3 JC courses

The English-medium courses in the JC program are loosely based on social, critical, and functional approaches to language education, including attention to genre and discipline-specific language. During the year in which this research was conducted, classes were held in several buildings that were also used by mainstream PWU students. JC students attended classes for approximately 18 hours per week on topics related to sociolinguistics, culture, geography, and academic writing. Most courses contained 20 students or fewer. JC students who obtained excellent grades in JC courses as well as high TOEFL scores in the first semester of their sojourn were permitted to take one or two mainstream PWU courses (e.g., psychology, sociology, linguistics) in the second semester of their sojourn (about 30% of the cohort).

The JC courses were designed to foster critical thinking about cultural and linguistic difference and touch on topics such as World Englishes, immigration, and the intersection of language and race/gender. As such, JC students discussed issues such native speaker norms, multiculturalism, and stereotypes. Courses did not include explicit grammar teaching or target TOEFL preparation. The JC program structure, therefore, differs from SA programs offered by private language schools or university language centres, which typically provide intensive language courses with an emphasis on native-like use. It also differs from Erasmus or bilateral exchanges in which individual students take courses with domestic students. Finally, it is in stark contrast with the faculty-led short-term summer programs that are increasingly popular in the United States and which are often developed in tandem with a private study tour provider.

4.3.4 JC students

The students enrolled in the JC program were Japanese undergraduates with various majors in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., sociology, law, international relations) who ranged in age from 19 to 21 and in most cases, had just completed their second year of study in Japan. Almost all had Japanese as their L1 and some had taken a few courses in a language other than English (e.g., Spanish, Mandarin, German). Students' average English proficiency could be characterized as intermediate, with the bulk of students obtaining scores between 460-510 on the TOEFL IPT.

Among their reasons for choosing this program, JC peer participants in this study cited the length of stay (two semesters instead of one), the slightly lower English proficiency requirements, and their impressions of Canada as a peaceful and multicultural country. They also reported that many JC students had contacted program alumni about their experiences and so they had a reasonably clear idea of what the program would involve when they arrived. For the JC peer participants, the JC program (one academic year) was the longest time they had spent away from home, although they also reported that many of the other JC students had undertaken shorter sojourns in English-speaking contexts with their high schools or summer programs. JC peer participants also explained that some students received supplementary funding from their universities in the form of a bursary to cover travel and living costs, but that most would have to reimburse the funding following graduation.

4.3.5 On-campus residences

In 2015, JC students lived in several different on-campus residences where the kitchen, bathroom(s), and living room were shared with three to five other housemates in apartment-style units. JC students were assigned to units with students from other programs (domestic,

international, and other exchange students) and were not allowed to share a unit with another JC student. As is the case for most roommates who are randomly assigned at universities, JC peer participants reported that the amount of interaction JC students had with their roommates varied widely – some formed close relationships with their roommates while others did not.

It is important to note that the three residences in which JC students were placed tend to house a high proportion of international and exchange students, often resulting in very culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse units. Many JC students also had to welcome new roommates part way through their sojourns. For example, Lisa, one of the JC peer participants in this study, lived in the first semester with four roommates: a Korean exchange student, a Canadian senior undergraduate, an international roommate from Jordan, and a Chinese-speaking generation 1.5 roommate. In the second semester, Lisa's Korean and Canadian roommates left the flat (one graduated and one completed her exchange) and two first-year students, an international student from Singapore and a Malayalam-speaking generation 1.5 student, arrived to take their places. From discussions with JC students, I learned that Lisa's situation was relatively typical.

4.3.6 Language exchanges and other clubs

The JC program encouraged students to participate in PWU student-run clubs, which centred around interests such as dance, tea, or food tours. However, JC peer participants generally reported that the clubs were not very active. Instead, JC students turned primarily to free language exchange programs to meet PWU peers: in 2015-2016, over two thirds of the JC cohort participated in some form of language exchange (i.e., trading Japanese language practice

for English practice).²¹ The largest language exchange program, which I will call *Pair Talk*, was a campus-wide program in which students were paired randomly based on the languages they wished to exchange. Pairs could schedule a time to meet independently for an hour each week or meet at an appointed time in a common lounge, where they would receive guidance on topics from facilitators. Pairs were to spend 30 minutes speaking each of the languages that the participants wished to exchange (i.e., 60 minutes total). In this study, all JC peer participants had a *Pair Talk* partner.

Another language exchange, which I will call *Japanese-English Exchange Group*, was targeted specifically to students wishing to exchange English and Japanese and was advertised in the JC program and the Japanese language programs at PWU. As the name implies, the *Japanese-English Exchange Group* was an informal small group conversation held at an appointed time once or twice a week. Like *Pair Talk*, 30-45 minutes of the chat were held in English and the other 30-45 minutes took place in Japanese. All JC peer participants attended the *Japanese-English Exchange Group* at least a few times during the sojourn. JC peers reported that for both language exchanges, participants did not always have the necessary language levels to conduct entire conversations in the TL (e.g., PWU students' level of Japanese was sometimes too low). In these cases, the participants explained that JC students would teach Japanese words through the medium of English.

Finally, in the second semester, the JC program began offering an informal English class specifically for JC students, which I will call *English Conversation Club*. The class, which offered cookies and coffee, was facilitated by TESOL professionals in training. Between 15-20

²¹ This estimate was provided by JC staff.

JC students attended regularly, including all the JC peer participants in this study. Members of the English Conversation Club discussed questions related to topics such as happiness and intercultural marriage and received targeted feedback from their teachers-in-training. This English-only group was not open to mainstream PWU students.

4.4 Participants

For this multiple case study, I recruited four JC peers who were willing to participate in interviews about their language learning experiences and record casual conversations with consenting PWU peers (usually their roommates or language exchange partners). Ultimately, I selected three focal JC peers upon which to base this dissertation (selection rationale is provided in section 4.6).

4.4.1 Recruitment

Prior to recruitment, I discussed my intention to investigate out-of-class interactions with the program director, who gave me permission to do so and greatly facilitated the recruitment process.²² I also opted out of teaching during the semester while I conducted the study to reduce any real or perceived conflict of interest (i.e., with students possibly feeling that they needed to participate because I was their teacher). By not teaching, I also hoped to be able to nurture friendly relationships with my JC participants, who ultimately shared many private moments and experiences with me. After obtaining ethics approval from the university review board, I recruited JC peers primarily with a flyer that was distributed at the welcome back orientation as well as through the program listserv and by some instructors in the first week of class (see

²² While the director and instructors were aware that I was conducting research with students from the program, the identities of the individual students have been kept confidential and during the year the students were in the program, no data or findings were shared.

Appendix A). The flyer indicated that I was interested in learning more about JC students' interactions in English outside of the classroom. Once the JC participants had consented, they recruited PWU peers with whom they had regular contact in English. The choice of who to recruit was left up to the JC participants in order to investigate features of relationships that had formed naturally rather than those that had been designed for the purposes of research. As I describe below, however, sometimes the best laid plans do not always turn out as expected. Given the qualitative nature of this study, I do not view these unforeseen turns as hindrances, rather they show that there was something unexpected to be discovered in this context.

4.4.2 JC peers

Recruitment for the study began in January 2016, at the start of the second semester of the program. The second semester was selected in the hope that students would have developed relationships with English-speaking PWU peers by the time recruitment began. Throughout January, eight students emailed or approached me, and I explained the study to them in detail either in person or via email and shared the consent form. Ultimately four JC peers, Ami, Lisa, Blue, and Samantha (pseudonyms chosen by the participants), consented to participate in exchange for two \$15 gift cards of their choice, given after the first and last interview respectively, and for opportunities to meet with me and practice English.²³

In many ways, Ami, Lisa, Samantha, and Blue (three females and one male) were typical JC students: they were all 20 years old, they were all ethnically Japanese and spoke Japanese as their L1, and they all had previously had one or more shorter SA experiences.²⁴ When they

²³ I met with each JC participant several times for informal chats, and once took them to a local tourist attraction.

²⁴ When I began working in this program in 2011, it was not the case that most students had previous SA experience. The proportion of students with prior experience seemingly has increased each year to the point where now it is

contacted me about the study, they explained that they were interested in the project because it was just one more way in which they felt they could accomplish their twin goals of making friends and improving their English. Unfortunately, none of the four had developed a strong friendship with any English speaker in the first semester, despite desiring and actively trying to do so. As is relatively common in SA contexts (Pyper & Slagter, 2015), they expressed dissatisfaction with their opportunities for English interaction. They told me they felt this project would encourage them to speak English more regularly. All the JC peer participants knew each other and were aware of each other's participation in the study. Table 4.1 summarizes each of the JC participants' characteristics.

Table 4.1 Summary of JC Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	TOEFL iTP	Major in Japan	Previous SA experience
Ami	Female	517	Political science	High school trip to Philippines
Lisa	Female	463	Sociology	High school trip to Canada
Samantha	Female	540	International relations	Homestay in the US
Blue	Male	510	Business	Summer school in the US, language school in Germany

commonplace. This is likely a product of Japan's aggressive internationalization strategy and its intensification of English training at the elementary and high school levels (Mock et al., 2016).

4.4.3 PWU peers

Once I had recruited the JC peers, I asked each of them to recruit one or more PWU peers who would be willing to come in for interviews and allow the JC peer to record their informal conversations (see follow-up emails in Appendix A). At the outset of the study, I defined *PWU peers* loosely as people of similar age to *JC peers* and with whom JC peers interacted regularly in English in informal contexts (i.e., outside the classroom). Based on these broad criteria, JC peers were free to recruit whichever PWU peers they chose. PWU peer recruitment was ongoing through the data generation period, with the last peer being recruited in March. In all cases but one, the PWU peers were more proficient in English than the JC peers and had met the language requirements for attending mainstream courses at PWU.²⁵ The exception, Emma, was a fellow JC student recruited by Ami. Ami argued that she and Emma had been using English to complete group work in a JC course in the first semester and that they wanted to continue using English informally in the second semester. She felt the study would be a good reason for them to keep in regular contact. As the analyses in Chapter 8 will show, Emma's data reveal different patterns related to talk-about-language and thus provides a useful means of contextualizing findings. Table 4.2 provides the pseudonyms for each of the PWU peers, how they met the JC peer, their country of origin, and the languages they spoke.

²⁵ I did not test PWU peers' English proficiency. However, from interviews, in my opinion as both a proficient speaker and seasoned English teacher, most PWU peers spoke English expertly, often in native-like ways.

Table 4.2 Summary of JC Peer Participants

Focal JC Peer	PWU Peer	Relationship	Country of origin	Languages
Ami	So-Yi	Roommate	Korea	Korean (L1) English (L2)
	Paulisper	Friend	Ontario, Canada	English (L1) Singhalese (L1) Tamil (L1) French (L2)
	Emma ²⁶	Cohort-mate	Japan	Japanese (L1) English (L2) French (L2)
Lisa	Serena	Roommmate	Dubai, immigrated to Canada age 10	Malayalam (L1) English (L1)
	Ed	Roommate	Bangladesh/ Philippines/ Singapore	English (L1) Tagalog (L1) Bengali (L1) Spanish (L2) Hindi (L2)
	Kyla	Roommate	China, immigrated to Canada age 8	English (L1) Mandarin (L1)
Samantha	Elizabeth	Roommate	United Kingdom	English (L1) Arabic (L2)
	John	Paired language exchange partner	China	Mandarin (L1) English (L2) Japanese (L2)
Blue	Bob	Group language exchange	Hong Kong, immigrated to Canada age 5	English (L1) Cantonese (L1) Japanese (L2)

²⁶ As indicated in the paragraph above, as Ami’s cohort-mate and a fellow Japanese speaker, Emma was different in many ways from the other PWU peers.

Once they had selected a peer, the JC peers provided PWU peers with basic information about the study and my contact details. I then shared further details and the consent form only if the PWU peer contacted me or consented to be contacted. PWU peers also received two \$15 gifts cards – one after the first interview, and one following the second interview. This strategy led to the recruitment of peers who were relatively easy to talk to, willing to help when asked, and, as Table 4.2 indicates, to some extent multilingual. However, different peers had different levels of ability in different languages. Paulisper and Elizabeth, for instance, reported having only basic knowledge of languages other than English, while Kyla, Ed, Serena, and Bob reported being proficient speakers in all their languages.

4.5 Data generation

In this study, I opt to use *data generation* (rather than *data collection*) to refer to the processes by which I co-created conversation and interview data with my participants. In selecting this term, I follow other qualitative researchers (e.g., Roulston, 2010; Talmy & Richards, 2011) who seek to make evident their role in shaping their research data. Accordingly, as I describe each type of data and the circumstances of its generation, I will also refer to my own role in its genesis. Despite my use of methods traditionally associated with ethnography such as interviews and naturalistic recordings, this study is not an ethnography. Rather it is a multiple case study that adopts some ethnographic methods and makes use of additional ethnographic details where appropriate. The main data for this study consist of audio recordings made by JC peers, which I refer to as *remote observation data*, and formal research interviews with both JC and PWU peers. In total, the study comprises approximately 48 hours of recorded

data. Additional data include field notes from informal discussions throughout the generation period, as well as focus group data generated in April 2016.

4.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are an ideal context for gathering information on how participants experience and perceive their social worlds and report on it to others (Roulston, 2010). I conducted and audio-recorded semi-structured interviews with JC peers three times, at the beginning, middle, and end of the 14 weeks, and with PWU peers twice, once when they were recruited and again at the end of the 14 weeks (exceptions are So-Yi, John, and Elizabeth, who completed only one interview; see participants' descriptions in Table 4.2). While I often took up the role of *researcher* with the participants, at various junctures other identity categories, such as *native English speaker*, *local* (I am from the area around PWU), and, in the case of the JC peers, as (former) *instructor*, were also oriented to by the participants in our conversations.

To account for the complex ways that I participated in explicitly and implicitly guiding data generation for this study, I adopt a constructionist approach to analyzing interview data (Talmy & Richards, 2011). This approach treats interview accounts not as objective truth, but rather as rationalizations and retellings negotiated jointly by the interviewer and interviewee. According to Roulston (2010), in the constructionist approach, "interview data provides situated accountings on research topics – that is, particular versions of affairs produced by particular interlocutors on specific occasions" (p. 17).²⁷ Thus, I do not treat interviewees' rationales and

²⁷ From an MCA or CA perspective, *accounts* or *accounting practices* are stretches of talk in which members describe or explain the properties of a given situation. For example, if a participant is asked to choose a restaurant, the participant is likely to name the restaurant and then also describe it or explain its appeal. The additional explanations are *accounts*. According to Sacks (1992), analyses of participants' accounts provide insight into the organization of members' practical reasoning and into the foundations of local social organization.

explanations as reflective of their interior selves, but as drawing on shared resources to craft social, rational, and moral messages (Rapley, 2012; Talmy, 2010). Thus, for this study, the interview was used as a tool for gaining insight into how JC peers, PWU peers, and I (the researcher) co-constructed their language learning histories and goals, and crucially, peer relationships and interactions.

I conducted all interviews one-on-one, on campus and in person, usually in a quiet public space in the morning with a cup of coffee (see interview protocol in Appendix B). The interviews took place in English both out of necessity (I do not speak Japanese) and by choice: using English ensured all the data for the study were in the same language, which facilitated comparisons between instances in which JC and PWU peers spoke about their interactions, relationships, and goals, and how they co-constructed those ideas *in* interaction with each other (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012). JC peers also viewed these interviews as an additional opportunity to practice English (a major reason for them undertaking the project in the first place). The longest interview took about an hour and a half, and the shortest took just twenty-five minutes.

During second interviews, again individually with JC and PWU peers, I also conducted a playback session in which participants listened to two or three talk-about-language clips from their recorded conversations and reported their impressions (e.g., what they remembered about the incident, how they felt at the time, impressions of JC peers' English use).²⁸ Playback served two purposes. Firstly, it allowed me in some cases to clarify aspects of the recordings (e.g., who was speaking, if they were referring to a previous event) and thus served as a form of member-

²⁸ This technique is similar to what applied linguistics often refer to as stimulated recall (Gass & Mackey, 2000); however, the notion of "recall" does not fit with my discursive approach to interviews, so I have chosen the more neutral term "playback."

checking. Secondly, in some cases, participants’ explanations were rich in rationalizing talk in which they described why they felt they (as JC peers) had or had not improved their English or justified their interactive choices (e.g., to ask for help or not during communication struggles). A summary of the interview data that were generated is presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Summary of Interview Data

Participants	Total minutes	Total interviews
Ami	193	3
• So-Yi	22	1
• Paulisper	105	2
• Emma	116	2
Samantha	155	3
• Elizabeth	27	1
• John	71	1
Lisa	176	3
• Ed	76	2
• Serena	72	2
• Kyla	84	2
Blue	170	3
• Bob	101	2
Total interview data:	1097 (18h17)	27

4.5.2 Remote observation

Remote observation (Iino, 2006) relies on participants to select and record interactions in informal settings. While this approach is not traditionally used in LS research, which usually privileges direct participant observation, it has been popular in the SA context (Cook, 2006; Diao, 2016; Dings, 2014; Ishida, 2010; Kinginger et al., 2014; Levine, 2009; Shively, 2011; Wilkinson, 1998). For this study, each JC peer used their own recording device (phones or laptops) to video- or audio-record discussions. Participants chose times and locations convenient to them, usually on campus in social spaces or their dormitories. Most interactions were dyadic –

they took place between one JC peer and one PWU peer. However, Lisa often interacted with all her roommates at the same time (up to four speakers), which could sometimes prove difficult to transcribe. The JC peers were instructed to complete weekly recordings of a minimum of 15 minutes with each PWU peer they recruited and to meet with me weekly or every two weeks to submit the recordings. In practice, participants recorded much less often for many reasons: school work, vacations, mid-term breaks, and changes in the relationship. While I reminded students regularly to complete recordings, I did not insist too strongly – after all, both peer relationships and study participation were voluntary commitments that relied strongly on the goodwill of others. I did not wish to damage the emerging relationships.

There are several advantages to having participants, rather than the researcher, generate audio or video data. Firstly, it allows data to be generated in spaces where the researcher's presence might be perceived as intrusive. By asking JC peers to complete the recordings themselves, I ensured that I did not invade their private lives unduly and that they could control which aspects of their lives to share. In addition, while the researcher can only be in one place at one time, the remote method allowed me to obtain data from multiple contexts and networks simultaneously. Finally, with the proliferation of mobile devices, filming and recording with small devices is not only a fairly simple process but it is also an everyday one (Bachmair & Pachler, 2015). Young adults in most cases have already developed the habit of carrying and consulting electronic devices (Surtees, 2013). My participants frequently used the video and audio recording software built into their phones and laptops for purposes not related to my study.

Although I was not physically present when participants recorded their conversations, I was symbolically present via the electronic recording device. Participants often greeted me or said goodbye when turning the recorder on and off and they sometimes spoke about me with full

knowledge that I would hear their comments. In addition, as mentioned previously, many of the conversations would not have taken place if the JC peers had not asked their PWU peers to meet up for a recorded chat. Thus, the electronic device (as a proxy for me and my project) mediated the participants' opportunities and interactions in important ways. Rather than perceiving these data as somehow "less natural," Gordon (2013) and Speer and Hutchby (2003) both explain that researchers can gain significant analytical insights by acknowledging and attending to the ways in which participants treat the recorder. Given the ways in which the recording devices (as proxies for me) shaped the data, I conceptualize my participation in these recordings as that of an unseen over-hearer (Goffman, 1981) and in some cases (particularly for video recordings) as an audience member witnessing a performance. I also prefer the term *remote observation* to non-participant observation, or participant recordings as a way to acknowledge my role as a distant observer in this context.²⁹

Figure 4.1 provides a summary of recordings for each JC peer over a 14-week period. As the figure shows, recording times varied from the minimum of 15 minutes to 86 minutes. In total, participants generated 30 recordings (approximately 13 hours). For Lisa and Blue, these recordings represent a fraction of the time spent interacting with these PWU peers. In other cases (e.g., Paulisper and Ami), the recordings represent all but three of their face-to-face interactions. In some cases, the JC peers recorded parts of what appeared to be longer conversations. In other cases, the interaction occurred explicitly for the recording (Blue and Bob, Emma and Ami).

²⁹ Originally, I had also intended to have JC peers complete logs about their interactions (the locations, people involved, etc.); however, it quickly became clear that the participants would not complete the logs consistently or with enough detail for them to be of use. The logs were therefore abandoned. I compensated for this by discussing the recordings with them during informal meetings when I retrieved their recordings and during interviews.

Ami	So-Yi (20:39)	So-Yi (15:16)	So-Yi (17:38)	Paulisper (38:28)		Emma (15:01)	Emma (15:35)						Emma (18:30)	
Total: 10 Duration: 206 min.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Emma (22:04)	Paulisper (18:27)	Emma (24:19)										
Lisa		Kyla (20:00)	Ed (32:36)			All (49:31)	Kyla & Ed (36:20)	All (11:09)	All (18:14)					
Total: 8 Duration: 234 min.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Kyla & Ed (30:37)				All (35:29)								
Blue		Bob (33:30)	Bob (30:20)			Bob (33:20)								
Total: 4 Duration: 129 min.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Bob (30:33)												
Samantha	Elizabeth (13:40)		Elizabeth (16:57)	Elizabeth (16:22)		Elizabeth (18:27)	Elizabeth (15:05)	Elizabeth (20:36)	John (86:25)					
Total: 8 Duration: 231 min	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
								John (43:45)						

Figure 4.1 Remote observation timeline. The dotted lines represent time, the bolded numbers correspond to the week during which the recording was made.

4.5.3 Other data

In addition to the interview data, several other types of data were used for contextualization purposes. I gathered public documents concerning the JC program both on the PWU and the Japanese university websites. Internationalization policy documents and local news articles related to internationalization at PWU and in Canada more broadly were also gathered. I took field notes on the dates and topics addressed in informal meetings with participants, my impressions of their language development, and the circumstances of our interviews. Finally, in the 14th week, I conducted a 90-minute focus group with two PWU peers (Bob and John) and all four JC peers about what constitutes a successful SA sojourn, SA goals, SA strategies, and SA challenges. These data served to contextualize my findings.

4.6 Focal cases

Based on the data generated, I selected three focal cases for the purposes of this dissertation: Ami and her peers, Samantha and her peers, and Lisa and her peers. Although Blue and his peer interlocutor Bob present an interesting case, it will not be discussed in this report for several reasons. Firstly, Blue made fewer recordings of talk than the others. Secondly, Blue's recorded conversations tended to be principally pedagogical in nature and I came to understand that they were not particularly representative of most of his conversations with Bob. Finally, although Bob described their interactions at length, Blue tended to be less open about his relationships and the nature of his interactions with Bob.

Below I describe the defining features of each of the focal cases that were ultimately selected (also refer to Table 4.2).

1. *Ami and her peers*

The first case concerns Ami and her peers, each of whom had very different levels of English proficiency, including: a Canadian native English speaker (Paulisper), a Korean exchange student who was more adept in English than Ami (So-Yi), and an L1 Japanese speaker with English abilities similar to Ami's (Emma).

2. *Samantha and her peers*

The second case concerns Samantha, who interacted in different contexts: in her residence with her British international student roommate (Elizabeth), and in her *Pair Talk* language exchange with John, a first-year Chinese international student.

3. *Lisa and her peers*

The third case involves Lisa, who most often had multiparty conversations with her roommates, all of whom were multilingual (Ed, Serena, and Kyla). This case therefore features collaborative stancetaking practices that occurred in group situations.

While I refer to these as separate cases for simplicity, these cases could also be understood as nested within the larger case of the JC program at PWU. Indeed, all the JC peers knew each other and had similar opportunities for peer interaction afforded through the programs and clubs offered at PWU. PWU peers, on the other hand, did not know each other and were all enrolled in different PWU programs. The following case map demonstrates the ways in which the JC peers' experiences overlapped in the JC program. Circles have been drawn with dashes to indicate that these people and spaces are not autonomous entities; rather they interacted with each other. The three colours represent the three cases – blue is Samantha's case, purple is Lisa's case, and green is Ami's case.

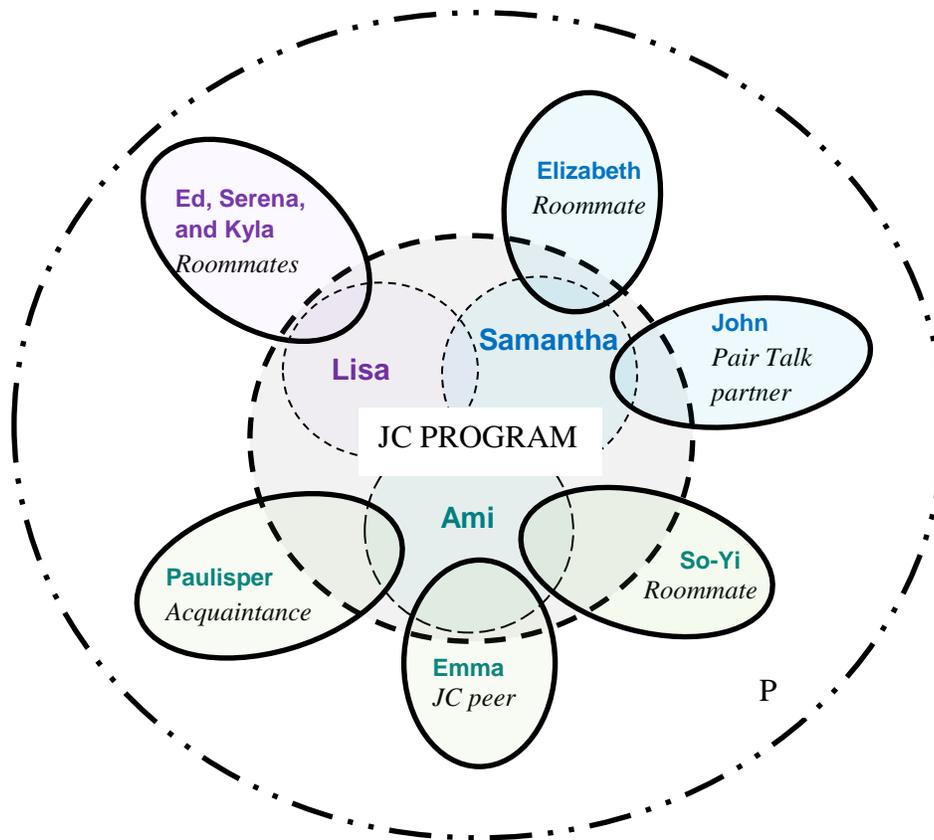


Figure 4.2 Focal case map

4.6.1 Case stories

To get a sense of the JC peers’ relationships over their sojourn abroad, I began the analysis phase by composing what Kinginger (2008) referred to in her work as brief case histories of each JC peer’s interaction experiences and their SA goals. For this dissertation, I have chosen to present these histories as stories, rather than case reports, in order to emphasize that the details presented are not objective “facts” obtained in interviews, but rather are situated retellings of my and the participants’ interaction during those interviews. The term “story” is meant to highlight my epistemological commitment to viewing data as co-produced and to formally acknowledge my role in its production. As the ultimate storyteller, I am present in these

stories via the selection of interview excerpts and the reports of my own impressions of our initial meetings. In writing these stories, I have also deliberately entextualized (Briggs, 2011) participants' experiences in ways that highlight key themes of interest to this study.

There are several additional advantages to presenting the data in a narrative form. Firstly, it enhances readability and allows for ample coverage of each JC peer's experiences. Secondly, the narratives are understandable for the participants themselves. As such, Ami, Samantha, and Lisa were each given an opportunity to read and contribute to these stories after they were written. The stories presented in Chapter 5 are thus mutually agreed upon texts about JC peers' experiences during their sojourns. By writing these stories, I sought to make sense of the general goals JC peers had for their sojourns, to what extent those goals included peer relationships, and their experiences in relation to those goals.

4.7 Analysis

The tools I use for analysis are what have been termed "eclectic" (Miller, 2014); however, the common thread that unites them is close attention to "participants' ongoing process of interpretation in conversation" and "what it is that enables them to perceive and interpret particular constellations of cues in reacting to others and pursuing their communicative ends" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 5). For this work, I found it especially helpful to draw on a set of questions used by Hinnenkamp (1991) to guide analysis in his discursive case study of intercultural communication. In his work, he uses the following questions to approach talk: "How and why is it possible that the said is sayable, that it can be said that way, that it is permissible to be said that way, and that it can be understood that way?" (p. 93). As an analyst, referring to these questions while I engaged with the data was a helpful reminder that analyses must always be grounded first

in what can be observed in the data themselves. The questions highlight the importance of making the familiar strange to explore how mundane conversation is accomplished. These key principles guided the selection, analysis, and transcription phases.

4.7.1 Data management and transcription

Qualitative data analysis is by nature an ongoing and iterative process that involves not only the analysis of discourse but also data logging, management, and grouping. For this study, these processes began during data generation. I listened to recordings as they were submitted and flagged particularly salient talk-about-language moments, noted questions and avenues for exploration, and possible foci for analysis. Following JC peers' return to Japan, I transcribed the interviews and remote observation data using a plain verbatim approach.³⁰ I replaced participants' names with the pseudonyms they chose. To facilitate the simultaneous visualization of multiple data points, I loaded all transcripts and recordings into the qualitative data analysis software, ATLAS.ti. In ATLAS.ti, I read and re-read the transcripts, anchored them to the audio files, and linked them to field notes around the circumstances of their production. This enabled me to read and listen to the data simultaneously and to easily read the associated notes and contextual details. I also consulted a Japanese speaker to translate the occasional Japanese words that surfaced in the interaction data (notably between Emma and Ami).

Once I had identified the segments of talk that were most relevant for answering the research questions, I re-transcribed them in more detail adding markers for features such as overlap, intonation, and pauses (conventions are listed in Table 4.4).

³⁰ All words and any major noises were transcribed with conventional English punctuation.

Table 4.4 Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning
.	falling intonation
!	Exclamation
?	rising intonation (not necessarily a question)
[]	overlapped speech
=	latching
charact-	a restart of sharp cut-off
(0.5)	pauses measured in tenths of second
(.)	unmeasured pause less than 0.3 seconds
oh:	sound stretch
<u>Underline</u>	emphasis signaled by pitch or volume
WOW	yelling or highly exclamatory speech
° °	portions that are delivered in a quieter voice
> <	noticeably faster speech
§ §	smile voice
“ ”	reported speech
((laugh))	laughter, translations, and transcriber comments
<i>Shinkasen</i>	words spoken in a language other than English
((.pt))	Lipsmack

Note. All transcripts are presented in courier new font, conventions adapted from Prior (2016)

As Prior (2016) has noted, transcription is a process of observation, noticing, and representation. The transcription process is, therefore, a form of analysis in its own right and an important component of my analytic approach. Re-transcribing data according to these new conventions helped me to include important analytic details in the transcripts themselves and provided me with the opportunity to listen to the audio data multiple times, to notice patterns and actions (e.g., accounting practices and repair work). These re-listenings also allowed me to catch nuances that were overlooked in the first transcription.

In the sections that follow, I describe how I approached analysis of the interview and remote observation data.

4.7.2 Interview interaction

The analyses conducted on the interview data were principally designed to answer the first set of research questions: How do JC peers describe the contribution of peer interaction and/or relationships to their English learning? How do PWU peers describe their contributions to JC peers' English learning? These questions were designed to focus on the discursive construction of PWU and JC peer roles and to shed light on the ideological resources used to accomplish those constructions. Silverstein (1979) has advanced the view that ideologies are most visible in metalinguistic discourse (i.e., discussions about language and language learning), or secondary rationalizations related to language practices (often obtained via interviews). In the interviews for this study, I elicited metapragmatic/metalinguistic commentary by asking PWU peers to share their impressions of JC peers' progress as well as the ways in which they supported JC peers' English learning. I also asked JC peers about their impressions of their learning experiences and what they learned from interacting with PWU peers.

4.7.2.1 Excerpt selection

To analyze the ways in which participants used ideological resources to construct narratives and accounts of their roles in JC peers' language learning, I first selected excerpts in which participants talked about language and language learning.³¹ This process involved a first pass through the data in which I tagged segments where participants (including me) oriented to topics around language learning. I tagged sections in which PWU peers were asked to evaluate JC peers' English or JC peers were asked to evaluate their own English abilities. I also tagged

³¹ I purposely have used the term data selection rather than reduction to foreground my role in producing the analysis.

sections in which participants described their learning or helping strategies, or stories in which language was a focal aspect. For example, in the following excerpt, So-Yi, Ami's roommate, describes how Ami asks for language help.

Excerpt 4.1 "She's not ashamed"

01 Victoria: so (.)what do you like best ab-about speaking with Ami.
02 So-Yi: mm: (0.9) she is tr- she is trying to (0.5)
03 I guess she is trying to speak more fluently?
04 and (0.6) and she asks sometimes sometimes asks me
05 how to do this or do that
06 Victoria: °mhm°
07 So-Yi: and I really like that part? of her? so yeah.
08 Victoria: mhm. so you like- why do you like it.
09 (0.9)
10 So-Yi: because like (0.3) she asks wha- asks to me?
11 because she knows I guess she knows me
12 Victoria: °mhm°=
13 So-Yi: =and she's not ashamed about that?
14 and I really like that part. like yeah.
15 Victoria: ah. that's great.
(So-Yi, Interview 2, 15/01/2016, 15:45-16:44)

4.7.2.2 Focus on categorization

Once the segments had been selected, I analyzed each instance individually. The analysis was guided by a general orientation to members' methods – in other words, I was interested in examining the discursive resources that participants used to co-construct *expert* and *novice* identity categories and responsibilities in talk with me. Given that interviews are often rich in explicit categorial references (e.g., *friend*, *exchange student*) as well as detailed descriptions of activities associated with such categories (Baker, 2004; Potter & Hepburn, 2012; Prior, 2011), MCA's insights into the ways in which categorization operates in talk provided a useful starting place for an analysis of *expert* and *novice* categories in this context.

MCA was first elaborated by Harvey Sacks in the 1960s in tandem with conversation analysis (for a complete collection of his lectures on this subject, see Sacks, 1992). According to

Housley and Fitzgerald (2015), “MCA is not so much a method of analysis but rather a collection of observations and an analytic mentality towards observing the ways and methods people orient, invoke and negotiate social category-based knowledge when engaged in social action” (p. 6). MCA examines how categories, category resonant descriptions (Stokoe, 2012) as well as their locally associated predicates (Watson, 1978), such as activities (e.g., *teach, listen*) and attributes (e.g., *knowledgeable, kind*), are occasioned and used to perform social action in talk and text. Categorization analysis attends to “how categories are stipulated, how membership in a category is accountable and, particularly, how speakers proffer their category work *as* common, cultural knowledge” (Baker, 2004, p. 283). While the analyses in this dissertation do not rely solely on MCA, they use the analytic insights described here to make sense of participants’ interview talk. During this phase of analysis, I wrote up and compared analytic memos to look for patterns within and across interviews. Below is an example of an early memo I wrote for the data presented in Excerpt 4.1.

Victoria asks So-Yi what she likes most about talking to Ami. This question doesn't ask “if” but assumes that she likes talking to Ami. So-Yi provides a response to the question unproblematically with very little pause. After explaining that she likes that Ami asks how to do this or that, she provides a further evaluation to close her turn saying “I really like that part of her?” Victoria asks for further specification, of why she likes that part in particular, and So-Yi explains that it's because it means that Ami knows her and she is not ashamed, so it is not just because Ami is an “asker” but because So-Yi falls into the category of someone that can be asked. Thus, there appear to be two categories made relevant here: Ami as the confident novice “who asks” and So-Yi, the type of friend that can be asked. Both the asking and being asked are positively evaluated and provided as evidence for Ami being a likable speaking partner. As the interviewer, I also provide a very positive evaluation of this answer, further recognizing and ratifying her evaluations.

(So-Yi, Interview 1, 15/01/2016, 15:45-16:23)

Figure 4.3 "She's not ashamed" memo. Draft analysis after initial reading of the data.

Over time, memos like these were refined, added to, and compared. Once a pattern was identified, for example the connection between *asking* and *doing good exchange student*, I searched for similar examples and counter-examples in an iterative analytic process of confirmation and retesting. To keep track of different category resources that appeared across the dataset, I created a table in which I recorded the explicit category mentions related to *expert* and *novice* identities as well as an associated list of predicates. Finally, the most prevalent categories and predicates were selected for discussion and the segments associated with them re-transcribed in more detail to facilitate in-depth analysis. The results of these analyses are reported in Chapters 6 and 7.

4.7.3 Interaction between PWU and JC peers

The analysis of the remote observation data was principally designed to answer the second research question: *What role (if any) does talk-about-language play in interaction, how is it initiated, and how is it discursively managed?* To identify instances in which participants actively oriented to language-related issues, I proceeded on a case by case basis. I began by selecting segments for one focal participant and searching for patterns across those interactions. I then repeated the same process for the data of the other two cases.

4.7.3.1 Excerpt selection

As described in Chapter 1, to identify segments related to explicit language-focused talk, I borrowed the label *talk-about-language* from Levine (2009). For this study, I operationalized talk-about-language to include multi-turn segments of talk in which participants oriented to a language-related stance object – in other words, segments in which at least two speakers engaged in stancetaking that evaluated language form, meaning, or use; or language learning activities in talk (see Table 4.5 for examples). For this dataset, that included instances of repair focused on

linguistic items; spontaneous language-focused explanations; questions on topics related to English; observations about the ways others used English; and accounts/narratives in which language learner identities were used as resources to justify an action or behaviour (examples and details are provided in the method section). A new tag was applied for each new language-related stance object. In the first round of tagging, I used the following criteria:

- 1) Two or more speakers orient to a language-related stance object.
- 2) At least one speaker's orientation to that object lasts two or more turns.³²

As I examined the excerpts, it became apparent that talk-about-language took several forms. There were short asides in which a misunderstanding was resolved as well as instances in which a friend explained words to a JC peer, for example. Based on what I observed in the data, I created four further subcategories that reflected the circumstances that occasioned the relevance of talk-about-language sequences: repairs, explanations, reports, and accounts. These categories, while they have some basis in the literature, were principally inferred from a close reading of the data. The first category, repairs, refers to instances in which communicative trouble occasioned the relevance of a side-sequence designed to resolve the language-related problem. The second category, explanation, refers to instances in which PWU peers or JC peers pre-emptively described a language item in the absence of repair. The third category, reports, includes instances in which participants discussed language practices they had observed (e.g., saying “thank you” when getting off the bus). Finally, the account category includes instances in which participants' membership in the *language expert* or *language novice* category served as a resource for warranting actions. Table 4.5 presents an example for each of these categories (see next page).

³² These criteria were selected in part to exclude instances of self-repair.

Table 4.5 Examples of Talk-About-Language Sub-Categories

Repair	Explanation	Report	Account
<p>Eating dinner in the dorm 15/01/2016, 4:34-5:10 Ami (A), Friend (F), So-Yi (S)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>A: did you know that in Foodway we can buy ro:ll salmon. F: oh really? S: for sashimi? A: yeah. (0.4) sashimi. F: oh really?= A: =mm F: I wanna buy! A: mm but it is ((mouth full)) F: big? A: mm (2.5) ((Ami is chewing)) A: freezing= F: =o[h:] S: [frozen] A: frozen! yeah frozen one= F: =frozen mm S: ((laugh)) A: freezing mean feel S: yup A: just feel [((laugh))] S: [yeah just feel] A: salmon feel freezing like= F: =ah: okay.((laugh)) frozen okay.</p>	<p>Chatting in the dorm 02/29/2016, 9:32-9:58 Samantha (S) Elizabeth (E)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>S: um yeah but (0.7) and I went to ramen restaurant? (1.4) do you know ramen (0.6) S: ramen (1.5) S: Chinese noodle. ((laugh))= E: =yea:h yea:h S: yeah I went (.) ramen restaurant (0.7) on Saturday? E: was that good? S: yeah it was good but it's more expensive than Japan E: oh!</p>	<p>Having brunch downtown 30/01/2016, 2:16-2:54 Ami (A) So-Yi (S)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>A: I also surprised whē:n people get off the bus they a-every people say thank you:= S: =yeah (2.5) S: I do that in Korea? but I guess I'm the only one doing that. A: only one? S: only one saying thank you when you get off [in Korea] A: [oh::] yes yes yes no- not everyone= S: =n:o= A: =and especially like when people get off (.) like the just behind the driver side (0.4) people say thank you or arigatoo in Japan but even here even the backside? people still say thank you. (.) it's really good</p>	<p>Chatting in the dorm */03/2013, 1:35-2:05 Samantha (S) Elizabeth (E)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>E: I woke up but my class started= S: =mhm E: and I'm like "oh my goodness" S: ((laugh)) E: like- S: -it's okay that has happened to me too ((laugh)) yea:h I went there I went class today and (1.2) there so so many discussions? E: mhm= S: =and so it's a little bit hard for me but (0.7) I think it's good for me to speak English so ((laugh))= E: =yea:h S: it's nice opportunity</p> <p><i>*Exact date unknown, during the third week of March</i></p>

*Note. Language-related stance object is presented in bold.

Across the recordings for all three JC peers (26 recordings, 11 hours 11 minutes), I identified a total of 149 occurrences of talk-about language. On average, a talk-about-language sequence occurred roughly every five minutes across all three JC peers' data. In some cases, these sequences lasted as few as two turns. In other cases, the language item to which participants' oriented was taken up and discussed across as many as 50 turns. This would seem to indicate that JC and PWU peers did in fact orient to language and language use relatively frequently in their conversations (or at least those that were recorded for this study). Tables 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 show the distribution of talk-about-language sequences in interactions for each JC peer.

Table 4.6 Frequencies for Talk-About-Language in Ami's Remote Observation Data

PWU Peers (recording time)	Repair	Explanation	Report	Account
Emma (95 minutes)	22	6	1	0
Paulisper (57 minutes)	14	6	1	0
So-Yi (53 minutes)	10	2	2	1
Totals	46	14	4	1

Table 4.7 Frequencies for Talk-About-Language in Samantha's Remote Observation Data

PWU Peers (recording time)	Repair	Explanation	Report	Account
Elizabeth (101 minutes)	16	3	0	3
John (130 minutes)	17	8	1	0
Totals	33	11	1	3

Table 4.8 Frequencies for Talk-About-Language in Lisa's Remote Observation Data

PWU Peers (recording time)	Repair	Explanation	Reports	Accounts
Serena, Ed, Kyla (234 minutes)	25	4	4	3

As the tables show, while explanations, reports and accounts constituted 45 of the total sequences, as may be expected, the majority of talk-about-language occurred in repair sequences. Repair accounted for 104 of the 149 talk-about-language sequences identified. It became

apparent that the majority of talk-about-language sequences arose in situations of conversational repair, as Levine (2009) alluded to in his definition; therefore, the analyses of talk-about-language focus generally on this type of sequence. The concept of *repair* is further elaborated on in Chapter 8.

4.7.3.2 Discourse analytic approaches to stance

As the second research question indicates, I was primarily interested in how participants initiated and managed talk-about-language moments. To ensure a thorough accounting of that management, I approached the data systematically with the following set of questions:

1. What language-related object was being oriented to?
2. What occasioned the relevance of a language-related topic in talk? (e.g., communicative trouble, an observation of language use by others, an experience)
3. Who initiated talk about that item and what resources did they use to accomplish the shift in talk? (i.e., who displays deontic authority and how?)
4. To what extent did the initiation produce a relevant and affiliative response from the other speaker(s)?
5. Who took up the knowing and unknowing positions related to the stance object (i.e., epistemic stance)? What resources did they use to take up those positions?

I produced a set of analytic memos for each tagged sequence and the memos were refined over time. The memos included a summary and identification of the language-related stance object, a sequential analysis of the talk leading up to the initiation of repair, a summary of the stances taken up by all speakers, and finally a reflection on the extent to which the repair was successfully accomplished and if affiliation was maintained (i.e., interlocutors displays of empathy and endorsement of other speakers' evaluative stances, Stivers, 2011). Below I present

a repair sequence between Samantha, a JC peer, and Elizabeth, a PWU peer, and an early version of its associated analytic memo. For each case, I focused on features and patterns in the way the repair sequences were managed. I present the results of this analysis in Chapter 8.

Excerpt 4.2 “Midterm”

01 Samantha: \$we- but we will have midte:rm\$= ((laugh))
02 Elizabeth: =what's that?
03 Samantha: midterm? (.)
04 Elizabeth: oh [me?]
05 Samantha: [the exam]
06 Elizabeth: oh you?
07 Samantha: yeah you have. do you have midterm exam.
08 Elizabeth: um next week (0.5)
09 [I d-]
10 Samantha: [um no] no not next [but-]
11 Elizabeth: [oh oh! just] in general.=
12 Samantha: =°yeah°=
13 Elizabeth: =um: (.) I have like papers?
14 Samantha ah okay okay.=
15 Elizabeth: =like a lot of papers=
16 Samantha: =°mhm°
17 (1.3.)
18 Elizabeth: and then like a midterm after reading week?
19 [but yeah.]
20 Samantha: [mm::! after]
(Samantha, Remote Observation, 01/31/2016, 10:37-10:55)

In this excerpt, the stance object is the word midterm. It appears here that Samantha has understood Elizabeth's question in line 02, “what's that” as requesting clarification of the word midterm (i.e., what does midterm mean). This is clear from the way she reacts in line 03 by repeating the word with rising intonation and in line 05, when she glosses it as “exam”. Samantha is thus in some ways taking up the expert role here by advancing an explanation. However, I suspect that Elizabeth is using the phrase “what's that” as a repair initiator (typical of British English) to request simply that Samantha repeat her initial statement. Elizabeth never does orient to Samantha's specification or explanation, instead she pursues her own competing line by continuing to clarify different elements (i.e., me or you). It takes them several turns to finally get this misunderstanding sorted out. The end result is successful resolution; however, this repair necessitates a number of potentially face-threatening moves, including interruptions and requests for clarification. While it is clear that the misunderstanding is related to language, Samantha does not appear to overtly take up a learner (or unknowing) stance.

(Samantha, Remote Observation, 01/31/2016, 10:37-10:55)

Figure 4.4 Analytic memo for repair sequence “midterm.” Draft analysis after initial reading of the data.

4.8 Interpretation

As Duff (2008) notes in her description of case study methods, an important facet of case reports involves interpretation of the findings, in this case through the lens of LS. While the findings of each chapter individually provide insights into peer LS in this context, the four chapters are better understood as a mutually informing set of findings that illuminate different situational dimensions of peer language socialization. Therefore, to visually represent the relationship between the different facets described in each chapter, I will use the transdisciplinary framework of second language acquisition developed by the Douglas Fir Group (2016) described in Chapter 3 to summarize findings and, crucially, to make connections across chapters. The framework appears at the end of each results chapter (Chapters 5-8).

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of this study's method, including research context, recruitment, data generation, and data analysis procedures. Throughout, I have emphasized my epistemological commitment to viewing interaction data (both interviews and peer conversation) as situated co-productions that draw on particular ideological and semiotic resources. In the chapters that follow, I examine those resources more closely via the methods described here. Specifically, after providing an overview of each case in Chapter 5, I examine the co-construction of *expert* and *novice* identity categories in interviews (Chapter 6), the negotiation of roles and responsibilities related to talk-about-language learning in interviews (Chapter 7), and finally the collaborative management of talk-about-language in peer conversation (Chapter 8).

Chapter 5: Stories of peer socialization

5.1 Introduction

Most results chapters in this dissertation foreground detailed analyses of talk rather than general facets of JC peers' experiences. However, an important feature of LS research is the contextualization of the findings within the broader ideological, institutional, and social context, or the *macro level* as identified by the Douglas Fir Group (2016). Thus, before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the interview and remote observation talk in subsequent chapters, in this chapter, I present a more global portrait of Ami's, Samantha's, and Lisa's SA sojourns. I then situate these accounts in relation to the context of the JC program, the institutional constraints that shaped these experiences, and finally, other SA case studies. In presenting JC peers' experiences in this way, this chapter begins to answer the first research question about how JC and PWU peers describe their respective contributions to JC peers' English learning. It does so by shedding light on the extent to which JC peers described interaction with PWU peers as a relevant site for English learning, the role of peer relationships in their SA goals, and the ways in which PWU peers' contributions were shaped by institutional factors. The following stories of the participants' experiences are based on their self-reports to me which I could not independently verify, but which I solicited and therefore co-narrate below. These stories should therefore be considered accounts produced for the purpose of this study. In the interpretation section of this chapter, I also discuss the ways in which these stories draw on and reproduce language ideologies related to assumptions about language learning in SA and English learning more broadly (see Chapter 2). To enhance readability, transcript excerpts are presented in verbatim transcription.

5.2 The story of Ami

Ami was the first to volunteer for the project. From the beginning, according to Ami, English learning, making friends, and experiencing a broad range of cultural differences were key intertwined objectives. In her first interview, her professed goals for her SA sojourn were “to speak English fluently and make a lot of friends” (Ami, int.1). She also wanted to improve her TOEFL ITP score from 517 to over 550. When asked why she chose to study in Canada, she replied that in Canada, “there is so many people who is not, who are from Asia, like other country and multicultural” (Ami, int. 1) and explained that she chose it over the US for that reason. Ami noted that in the second semester, although two of her roommates were originally from Hong Kong and India, they had come to Canada as children and so were “like Canadians” (Ami, int. 1). Ami explained that their “Asian” ethnicities were:

not expected before I came here but now it's okay because they speak English so fluently, and they are so kind and it's really easy to take conversation. I don't know why but it's really com-, feel comfortable to speak [to] Asian, like there is so many common things like traditional things or food or- it's really similar and we can find topic easily. (Ami, int. 1)

Ami presented herself as a highly motivated individual. She was actively involved in almost every peer interaction opportunity offered by the institution: she tried to make connections with her assigned roommates, took part in the English Conversation Club organized by the JC program, applied for a Pair Talk partner, and participated in the Japanese-English Exchange Group. She also went regularly to the student recreation centre and explored other PWU clubs related to food. Despite all these efforts, Ami admitted that the first semester had been difficult. She had often felt helpless to understand her classes and roommates and spent a lot of time crying in frustration. She was surprised by how difficult it was to make friends whereas when she was in Japan, she had never had any problems.

She explained:

I expected it's not so difficult things to make friend but for me, it is difficult because I can take a conversation with someone new people but after that, I don't know how to keep contact with them, I can't find good topic or good time, good opportunity to meet them, so I'm not so good for to make friend I guess [...] so sometimes, I really feel depressed. Yes, I think it is one point I disappointed, not in Canada but for to myself. I didn't know that I'm not good at to make friends because in Japan it's really easy to make friend for me. (Ami, int.1)

With her roommates, things were apparently not always easy either. She explained that interacting with her British roommate was especially difficult. She attributed the difficulties mostly to her own lack of familiarity with accents, saying:

She speaks British English so, so fast and I couldn't understand at all the first day. It was my first day to come here and I lose my confident, I thought I can understand English a little bit but I came here and I couldn't understand what she is saying to me and I feel really like negative? So, from first day, I lose hope. (Ami, int. 1)

Ami explained that even after she asked her roommate to slow down or explain words, her roommate sometimes refused to take the time to explain. According to Ami, her Japanese friends and especially the support from regular Skyping with her family and boyfriend in Japan had really helped her get through the first semester.

At the start of the second semester, she was more confident and willing to redouble her efforts to engage with English speakers. She joined the study for that very reason. She said her new confidence for the second semester came from a homestay experience she arranged for herself over winter break in another part of Canada. There, she had reconnected with a Taiwanese friend she had met on a school trip and her friend helped her develop new strategies for speaking English with her host family. When I asked Ami what she did when she felt like she was not confident, she explained the role her friend played in supporting her English development:

She's from Taiwan and she helps me a lot, so I talked a lot to her and yeah, she helps me, support me about English or how to contact with communicate with the homestay family

[...] Cause she have experience to homestay for half a year so she's kind of expert, so especially I asked her a lot about English and she helps me to speak English fluently. (Ami int. 1).

Ami was excited to take control of her situation and speak more English. She had been allowed to take an elective course and looked forward to meeting English speakers there.

Ultimately, she reported that her most successful peer relationship was with her second semester Pair Talk partner, whom she met at the end of January, just 10 weeks before her departure. Her partner was a half-Japanese student who also had a long-distance boyfriend in Japan and shared similar tastes in food and music. She explained that they often switched back and forth from Japanese to English and helped each other learn new words and expressions. For Ami, this relationship was a significant milestone in her English journey. Since her return to Japan, her partner has visited her several times and they remain fast friends.

By the end of her sojourn, Ami explained that even though it was harder than she thought to improve her English, she was satisfied because she did the best she could. She also noted that this research project had helped her achieve her goals:

Because of this project I have to speak English with someone, to do the recording, so it was really good, good time to speak English and this interview, so three times is really good time to improve my English because I have to, I can make sure this is the correct way to use or wrong, and then you also teach me the new words or expression. (Ami, int. 3).

5.2.1 Ami's peers

The peers that Ami recruited for this study did not become her close friends. Even though Ami often tried to meet with them, she noted that each of them interacted with her less or not at all by the end of the study. Ami could not identify a specific falling out that led to this result – in most cases, her PWU peers simply became busy or involved in different relationships or activities.

Cohort-mate Emma. Ami decided to recruit Emma to participate in the study because they had completed a group project together in the first semester and had been committed to speaking English together in the class and for the project. Like Ami, Emma was ethnically Japanese and spoke Japanese as her first language. She had lived in Chicago for a few years as a girl. She and Ami also liked to swim together so they decided to get together to speak English before swimming. Like Ami, Emma's goal for her SA sojourn revolved around interacting in English outside the classroom but she had found it to be more difficult than expected:

The biggest purpose was to improve my English skills by interacting with many people in here but I think my opportunity to interact with local people is less than I had expected because um I'm really working on my assignment. So, I think I'm not good at making time to interact with local people. (Emma, int. 1).

They both expressed that the research project was fun but they could not really be themselves when they spoke English together. When asked about the biggest challenge of practicing English with Ami, Emma said that because neither of them were native speakers, perhaps they were less able to "assume" (or infer) each other's meanings:

When I talk to native speaker I think sometimes they are assuming from the content like how can I say, if I were not making a sense of the sentences probably they will assume because they are native speaker, but we not both native speakers, so sometimes misunderstanding will happen maybe. (Emma, int. 1)

Ami and Emma usually spoke Japanese together, often in group settings with other friends, and only used English for the study recordings. Although they met less often in March and April, the two managed to continue the project to the end.

Roommate So-Yi. A third-year exchange student from Korea, So-Yi arrived at PWU at the same time as Ami. While in some ways So-Yi's exchange status made her like Ami, So-Yi had met the TOEFL requirements to take courses with mainstream students and was noticeably more proficient in English. So-Yi saw her time in Canada as a break from the stressful academic workload of university in Korea:

It's really good to be here because like when I was in Korea, I was really stressed out for my jobs after graduation but here, I cannot do anything here, so like I can have my time, my spare time and like I can really spend my time thinking of what I really want to do in the future. (So-Yi, int.1)

She also viewed her sojourn as an opportunity to be “comfortable with speaking” English (So-Yi, int.1). She explained that social life and making friends were her main goals and that most of her friends at PWU were Korean. In her first semester, she found Canada fun but by the second semester she had grown homesick and sought the comfort of Korean friends. She described Ami as her “first Japanese friend” (So-Yi, int. 1) and admired the way Ami confidently tried to use English even though she made mistakes. At the beginning of the first semester, they were on good terms and So-Yi was planning to visit Ami in Japan. However, at our second interview in March, Ami explained that So-Yi had been spending time exclusively with her Korean friends and Ami felt she could not participate. Soon after, Ami stopped recording conversations with So-Yi and asked that I not invite her for a final interview.

Friend Paulisper. A first-year student from central Canada, Paulisper met Ami while they were completing an assignment for Ami’s elective course. The two struck up a conversation and agreed to go to a Korean restaurant where Ami asked her to participate in the project. Paulisper was a Canadian student who had immigrated from Sri Lanka when she was a child. She only spoke English fluently and had not travelled much outside of Canada. She had been trying to learn Korean because of her affinity with Korean pop culture and had tried with limited success to make friends with a Korean exchange student during the first semester. When Ami asked her to participate, she viewed it as a good opportunity to try again to befriend an exchange student – she explained that most of her friends were from Canada and America. However, as the semester progressed, and assignments came due, the two found it harder and harder to make time to meet. Although Paulisper came in for a final interview in April, the two had not met since mid-March

and communicated only infrequently via social media. Ami still continued to message Paulisper with language questions until the end of the semester:

Sometimes she will ask me questions like about, because I told her if she had like grammar questions she could ask me, and she asked me once and I'm trying to remember how to explain it, hopefully it came across because I'm just kind of guessing, I'm not like an English expert (Paulisper, int. 2).

Paulisper regretted not staying in touch and admitted she probably did not message Ami as often as she should have.

5.2.2 Summary of Ami's experiences

Ami's experiences with peer relationships were characterized by repeated attempts at making deep and sustainable connections with English speakers, most of which were apparently short-lived or unsuccessful. Despite taking full advantage of the considerable opportunities for peer contact that were offered by the institution, it was not until she reconnected with her Taiwanese friend in Ontario, who was an experienced homestay student, that she felt she gained the confidence to ask for help and communicate with English speakers. She thus redoubled her efforts and, by chance, was paired with a Pair Talk partner who shared her desire to improve her language skills as well as her other interests (e.g., boyfriends, food, and shopping). She viewed "making friends" as an important goal of her sojourn and felt she had gained confidence through her interactions with her Pair Talk partner (who did not participate in the study). Thus, the story of Ami's peer socialization could be characterized as a challenging but ultimately successful one.

5.3 The story of Samantha

Samantha approached me about the project because Ami, her good friend and fellow JC student, suggested it. Samantha had the highest TOEFL score (550) of the three focal participants. When asked what she thought of English, Samantha said she associated English

with the word “world” and described the value of English in terms of its value on the job market (Samantha, int. 1):

Victoria: so if you had to describe English what would you say about the language what do you think about English in general.

Samantha: English one word?

Victoria: sure! let's start with one word

Samantha: I think it's mmmm world. I think cause most of people speaking English, and in Japan we have to, without English skill it's so hard to get job, we can get job but it's not so good pay, so I think it it's so important to speak English also in Japan.

Her desire to learn English therefore appeared to be connected to her view of English as a desirable skill in the job market.

Samantha's main goal for her SA sojourn was to improve her English-speaking skills and TOEFL score. However, by the end of the sojourn, she said she had shifted her objective towards prioritizing English friendships, saying: “I just try to hang out with friend and speak English more and more here because when I go back to Japan I will miss a lot of time to speak English” (Samantha, int. 3). She also hoped to study immigration and viewed Canada's “multiculturalism” (Samantha, int. 1) as an excellent experience for achieving her goal. When I asked Samantha if it was multicultural in the way she expected, she replied:

After I came here, I was so surprised because there are so many race and so many language, I thought it's multiculturalism country but more like English dominant but it, many people speak French or Chinese or other languages and English, Japanese and yes, it's so nice. (Samantha, int. 1)

However, like Ami, in the first semester, she had a disappointing experience with peer relationships and PWU clubs.

When I was in Japan I didn't think I struggling in my study abroad because I'm not person who always struggling? [...] but in the first time, I was, I think it was so hard to find opportunity to speak English. (Samantha, int. 1)

She explained that her roommates were “independent” (Samantha, int. 1) and that they did not often speak or eat together in her unit. In the first semester, she reported being friendly with a Korean roommate, who was kind and helped her settle in. However, her Korean roommate was only at PWU for one semester and she moved out of the unit in December. This is how Samantha described her first term experience:

I was more together with Japanese my friends, but I know, I know it's not good but I need, so but when we speak Japanese with my friend, we can talk more like serious and worries about study abroad or something. Speaking Japanese is not bad I think but I need to speak more English. (Samantha, int. 2)

Also, like Ami, she reported mixed experiences with native speakers of English:

English native speakers talk so fast and I'm so not comfortable because I cannot. That's my fault I think because I have to speak more English and I have to improve my English more but I think it's a little bit hard for me [...] I feel like they doesn't get used to hear non-native speaker English, it's my thought, but I think so. (Samantha, int. 1)

For winter break, Samantha arranged a homestay in the United States with some family friends and said she felt her English improved more there than at PWU. She explained that her improvement stemmed from her total immersion: there were no other Japanese speakers there, so she spoke English exclusively for almost an entire month. At the start of the second semester, she was determined to maintain the gains she had made during the break and felt more confident about seeking peer contact. She was also excited to be taking a mainstream elective course, and ultimately made what she considered to be a good English-speaking friend through a group project in that course.

A month into the second semester was a turning point for Samantha: firstly, she and John, her Pair Talk partner, began meeting and secondly, she was accepted into a hip hop dance group. Samantha found interactions with the members of the dance group the most satisfying since, she explained, they were mostly “internationals” who understood the challenges she faced (Samantha, int. 2). She interacted with them multiple times a week, both on and off the dance

floor, and they often spoke about topics that she did not regularly discuss with Japanese friends, such as religion. In this context, she felt comfortable asking questions and was also supported by a fellow JC student who attended and was also interested in speaking English with the hip hop club members.

By the end of her sojourn, Samantha said she had gone from speaking English only about 30% of the time to speaking English 80% of the time. She described her experiences in terms of a major shift in attitude:

Of course English skill is so changed, but I think the attitude, my attitude to speak English is so changed. So, I feel like more open for speaking English, so as I said I try to go outside to speak English. (Samantha, int. 2)

She was ultimately pleased with her progress but felt that it was not enough and that she would have to work hard in Japan to maintain her gains.

5.3.1 Samantha's peers

The two peers that Samantha recruited for the study did not become close friends with her; however, they remained friendly throughout the semester. The most interesting facet of these relationships was how Samantha viewed their utility for language learning. Although her roommate was a native English speaker, Samantha felt that conversations with her were not always very helpful. In contrast, she described the conversations with her Pair Talk partner John, an international student from China, as being of greater pedagogical value.

Roommate Elizabeth. Samantha initially tried to recruit all her roommates via their unit Facebook chat but Elizabeth was the only one who responded. Elizabeth, a British international student, arrived in the unit in January, having just returned from an exchange in northern Africa. She was quiet and friendly and liked the idea of helping Samantha out even though she admitted that in January, she did not know Samantha well. She said she thought that Samantha was “pretty good at English” (Elizabeth, int. 1) and was happy to help her.

Throughout the semester they made grand plans to see some local tourist sites, to join a club, and to go to the gym together, but as the semester wore on, the timing never seemed to line up and they mostly just chatted in their unit. At the beginning of the semester, the two met often but by the end of the semester, Samantha had become close friends with the members of her dance group and spent less and less time with Elizabeth. When asked about the usefulness of talking with Elizabeth, Samantha had trouble identifying anything useful and explained:

I don't know but I think Elizabeth's little bit shy? And so, I sometimes I have, I think it's a little bit difficult to find some topics [...] our faculty's different and we, I don't know, life is so different from Elizabeth and me. (Samantha, int. 2)

Despite numerous attempts to contact her, Elizabeth declined to come in for a final interview.

Pair Talk partner John. John was paired randomly with Samantha at the end of January through the Pair Talk program. He was a first-year international student from Shanghai enrolled in the science program and was therefore younger than Samantha. He had originally wanted to teach Mandarin but was paired with Samantha to teach English and decided to make the best of it. Much to Samantha's surprise, at the beginning, John treated Pair Talk as a relatively formal teaching opportunity and asked her to speak on specific subjects and offered careful correction. While she was shocked at first, Samantha admitted that she found the feedback very helpful and she was careful to focus on specific aspects of her pronunciation and grammar. John had a strong interest in education and strong feelings about the importance of making special efforts to integrate international students. He felt he shared a common culture and sense of humour with Samantha since they were both from Asian countries. In describing Samantha, John explained:

She's pretty [...] like shy. Okay, so the conversation between us is normally initiated by me, she doesn't really find topics unless she unless I ask her. (John, Int. 1)

I was surprised to hear this assessment of Samantha, since she was one of the more outgoing JC students I had met. Although they had been interacting since January, Samantha did not recruit John until March, by which point they had become friends and more often discussed music, movies and Pokémon rather than engaging in the explicit types of language teaching Samantha described in the interviews. Because of his late recruitment, John only came in for one interview.

5.3.2 Summary of Samantha's experiences

Overall, Samantha's peer interaction experiences mirror Ami's in many ways. She experienced initial difficulties but was helped by her Korean roommate. After a positive homestay experience, she gained confidence and began initiating contact more often.³³ Finally, through her dancing abilities, she gained access to a community of English-speakers that she could meet with regularly and ultimately felt that relationship was of great benefit to her English development. Like Ami, she pointed to a change in attitude in which she began to expressly seek out and create opportunities for connecting with English speakers outside the classroom. Also, like Ami, her closest connections were with multilingual students. Ultimately, Samantha's goal shifted toward prioritizing out-of-class interaction over gains in TOEFL scores and this shift was also accompanied by a change in attitude about seeking English contacts.

5.4 The story of Lisa

Overall, Lisa faced different challenges than Ami and Samantha. Lisa, by her own admission, was less academically inclined than the other two JC students. She received the lowest TOEFL score (463) and was not allowed to take electives. She told me she did not enjoy

³³ Both Ami and Samantha organized their homestays independently through providers or through family friends. No homestay options were provided through the JC program.

reading and was embarrassed by her TOEFL result. However, her oral English was relatively fluent and she said she loved speaking English from a young age – ever since she won a prestigious English competition in elementary school. She hoped one day to be able to translate for her parents when they took trips together. Lisa described English as a “tool” for communicating with the world:

I think it is really really good tool, ah because, ah we have all own native language like Spanish or French or Japanese or something but if we um- English is common language I think so um we can share my opinion or feeling by using English, even [with] another country's people, so I think it is really great thing. (Lisa, int. 1)

She chose Canada because she had already come to Canada for a trip in high school and felt that it was a “peaceful country” (Lisa, int. 1), in comparison to the US. Her choice had also been limited given her low TOEFL score. Her goals were to “speak English more smoothly” and “to make a lot of friends” (Lisa, int. 1).

Like Ami, Lisa engaged in every opportunity offered to her for peer interaction: Pair Talk, the Japanese-English Language Exchange, English Conversation Club, and even an English meet-up group hosted downtown off campus. She had a very difficult time for the first month of her sojourn, but her Japanese friends and a Korean roommate helped her through the most difficult period. She found that discussing her feelings of homesickness with her Japanese friends helped her feel less alone. She also explained how her Korean roommate helped her gain access to important information for managing her daily life at PWU.

At the first time I came here, I couldn't speak English at all and I couldn't understand English at all so I was so depressed because I wanted to speak. I really like talking with another people but [...] I couldn't conversation with my roommates. [...] we need to decide the chores role or something but I couldn't understand so, their English speaking was so fast for me [...] but it is really really important thing to share like kitchen or bathroom or something, so I asked to my Korean roommate [...] and she's also exchange student but she can speak English then, so but she understood me, my feeling. (Lisa, int. 1)

At the beginning of the new semester though, that roommate moved out and two new roommates, both of whom were new to PWU, moved into her unit. Lisa explained that they got along well and she was happy to develop such a close relationship with them so quickly. So, unlike Ami and Samantha, Lisa faced few difficulties cultivating an English-speaking social life after the first month. She often went to house parties, interacted with other JC students' roommates, and met up with exchange partners outside of the appointed times. She had a reputation amongst the JC participants and her roommates for being loud, cheerful, and goofy. She explained that her bigger difficulty was managing her time between being with her English and her Japanese friends. She explained they were both very important to her and she wanted to "cherish the balance" (Lisa, int. 2). Despite the many English relationships that she built, for Lisa, her relationship with her roommates was the most fulfilling and comfortable.

By the end of March, she felt she was speaking less English than she had been at the beginning of the semester. With the end of term coming up, her Japanese friends wanted to travel and celebrate, and she also had many exams, so she spent less time with her roommates. However, she ultimately felt very satisfied with her experiences and her progress, and felt that in the second semester especially, she had improved. She attributed her success to attending conversation groups where she could get some structured instruction and to her informal chats with her roommates.

5.4.1 Lisa's peers

Lisa recruited three of her four roommates, who despite having just met Lisa, eagerly volunteered. As a group, they would often tease each other and gossip about boys, food, classes, and dieting. The conversations recorded amongst the roommates were more casual and personal than other recordings submitted by the other focal participants. All three friends noted that Lisa

often asked for help with her English, whether it was for assignments or Instagram posts, and that they admired her hard work and dedication to English learning.

Roommate Ed. Before attending PWU, Ed had been living in Singapore where she had attended an international high school. Her mother was Filipina and her father Bengali, so she spoke both their native languages and had an expert command of English. Ed arrived at PWU at the beginning of the second semester and described herself as a bubbly person who loved to tease and make trouble. Lisa was the first roommate that Ed met when she moved into the flat and Lisa helped her through her homesickness:

The first week I was really homesick, I always went to her, I was like “I really want to go back” and then she’s like, “me too.” But yeah, that’s sort of how we bonded because we were both like quite homesick. (Ed. Int. 1)

She explained that in the flat, there was a running joke that she and Lisa were “party girls” (Ed int. 1) since they were the only two that drank alcohol in the flat. She explained that her time at the school in Singapore had allowed her to meet people from all over and from different cultures. That had allowed her to learn a lot and get used to speaking to English learners, like Lisa.

Roommate Serena. Born in Dubai, Serena grew up living less than an hour’s drive from PWU. She would often go home on weekends and worked with local charity organizations. She was extremely health conscious and tried a number of diets throughout the semester, which ended up being a focus of numerous recorded conversations. Like Ed, it was Serena’s first semester at PWU and Lisa was her first PWU contact. Serena described Lisa as “sweet” and explained that “she just gets everyone together” and “is ready to go out and try something new” (Serena, int. 2). Having attended some years of elementary school and all of high school in Canada, she also had a native-like level of English; however, she sympathized with those who

had difficulties speaking it. She said she admired Lisa for working so hard to improve because she knew how difficult it could be:

For me personally, because I moved here when I was 10 and I was teased a lot for my accent and stuff, so I think what I do learn from her is just to not be embarrassed, you know, just go with the flow, it's a process to learn and just have fun with it I guess.
(Serena, int. 2)

For Serena, the lesson she would take away from being friends with Lisa was “don’t be afraid to just ask or get help” (Serena, int. 2).

Roommate Kyla. A third-year student and residence advisor for the floor, Kyla arrived in the unit at the same time as Lisa, in September. Kyla was born in China but immigrated to the region around PWU at a young age and thus spoke English with native-like proficiency. She also frequently spoke Mandarin with her friends and family. Like Serena, she often went home on weekends and volunteered for local charity organizations. Kyla was focused on academics: she did not drink or swear and routinely chastised Lisa and her roommates for doing so. She said her first impression of Lisa was that she was someone who “tried hard” (Kyla, int. 1) and that Kyla liked that about her. She felt that Lisa could be quiet sometimes, but that Lisa had improved and spoke much more when just the two of them interacted.

5.4.2 Summary of Lisa’s experiences

Lisa’s case shares commonalities and differences with the previous two. Like Samantha and Ami, she actively took advantage of the peer interaction opportunities organized by the institution and was guided in her initial few months by a Korean roommate who helped her settle into life at PWU. However, Lisa had relatively less difficulty making connections with other students and formed a close relationship almost immediately with her roommates. She also prioritized speaking English and making friends as the goal of her SA sojourn from the first interview, rather than other more academically focused goals such as increasing her TOEFL

score. In the end, Lisa viewed her sojourn as a success and felt especially proud of the relationships she had formed with her roommates.

In addition, Lisa's reports of her experiences place more emphasis on the need to balance Japanese and English relationships and on the benefits of both kinds of interaction and relationships. Finally, the story of Lisa most clearly emphasizes how empathy was an important component of the relationships she formed. Peers who became close to Lisa expressed empathy for the challenges of being a language learner and were all previously English language learners themselves.

5.5 Characterizing cases

These descriptive stories allow a clearer picture of the nature of these cases of peer socialization. Via institutionally provided opportunities such as on-campus housing, clubs, and language exchanges, Ami, Samantha, and Lisa described situations in which they established regular contact with English-speaking peers and formed at least one satisfying relationship. For Lisa, her university residence provided the necessary environment for making social connections; for Samantha, it was a PWU club involving hip hop dance; and for Ami, it was by participating in a PWU language exchange. At each of these sites, JC and PWU peers engaged in joint activities, such as cooking, dancing, and language learning. By the end of their sojourns, all three students felt they had achieved their twin goals of improving their English and making friends. Given the overall positive outcomes described by the students, these students' experiences appear to represent successful peer language socialization in an SA context.

5.6 Situating JC student cases

A key feature of case studies involves their contextualization (Duff, 2008). In what follows, I contextualize these three cases by considering first the extent to which the cases

presented are similar, how these cases might compare to other cases within the JC program and PWU, and how these cases compare to others cited in the SA literature. In the final section, I situate these accounts in relation to the common assumptions of SA (see Chapter 2) and highlight the ways in which JC peers' accounts draw on and reproduce language ideologies.

5.6.1 Comparison across cases

While there are of course important individual differences across these three cases, the accounts of JC peers' experiences across the sojourn were relatively similar. Despite having clear goals that prioritized peer contact from the outset of their sojourn (i.e., the goal to make friends), all three students represented their initial few months as a challenge. For Ami and Samantha, their perceptions of themselves as outgoing and socially adept people were threatened by their lack of success in forming close relationships. They explained that they had not previously felt like the type of people that normally "struggle" (Samantha interview 1). Ami especially was frustrated by her inability to make friends, when in Japan it had been so simple. Their stories highlight a mismatch between their expectations of interaction and real access to interaction in English once they arrived. The stories also all highlight the finding that the contributions of peer interaction are not homogenous or stable. These three JC peers had both positive and negative experiences with different PWU peers. They all felt that certain peers, namely international or multilingual peers, were especially supportive and empathetic. While all three students reported enrolling in multiple programs that would theoretically offer opportunities for peer interaction and relationships, they were only able to form meaningful connections via a select few of these opportunities. Additionally, the meaningful relationships that each JC peer did form all emerged via different institutionally managed programs (i.e., language exchange, dance club, university

residence). Thus, there did not appear to be one program or opportunity that served these three students globally better than other opportunities.

The striking similarities between the goals and ultimate successes of these three JC peers is likely not a product of happenstance but rather a product of research design. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this project assumed that JC peers would seek out interactions in English beyond the classroom and that such interactions would be valuable learning resources. The recruitment materials explicitly targeted JC students who were motivated to improve their English skills and expand their opportunities for peer contact. Therefore, the goals that students identified were in some ways a prerequisite to participation in this study.

However, not all aspects of JC peers' experiences were anticipated by the original design. The recruitment strategy for this study originally assumed that given the focus on peer interaction, the JC peers who volunteered in the second semester would already have formed connections with English speakers in the first semester. However, as the JC peers' stories highlight, that was usually not the case. Rather, even these three highly motivated students had difficulties accessing and maintaining English-speaking relationships in the first four months. This is an important finding since it challenges the common assumption that the reason SA students have difficulty interacting in the host community is because they are lazy, unmotivated, or shy (Pellegrino, 2005). Instead, it suggests that making such connections is difficult even for resourceful and motivated students.

5.6.2 Cases within the context of the JC program and PWU

While these three students cultivated satisfying peer relationships in English, not all JC students formed friendships with English speakers – or even desired to do so. Samantha explained that about one in four students in the program cared more about partying with

Japanese friends than learning or practicing English with peers outside the classroom. In other words, according to Samantha, forming relationships in English was not a priority for those students. In other cases, such as the case of Ami's JC colleague Emma, academic obligations were prioritized over informal interaction outside the classroom. Emma explained that she felt she had little time to attend the various conversation groups because of her heavy workload and only managed to connect with her Greek roommate near the end of the second semester.

For other students attending PWU on exchange, English learning might also be deprioritized for other reasons. For example, So-Yi, who was on exchange from Korea for the same period as Ami, explained that her TOEFL score was already high and that while she wanted to be more comfortable using English, that was not the main objective of her sojourn. Instead, she sought to have fun, make friends, and temporarily escape the intense academic pressures of the Korean university system. According to Ami, by the second semester, So-Yi had only Korean friends and spoke Korean predominantly in their shared apartment.

Given these diverse stories, it is important to highlight that the cases reported in this dissertation pertain to three highly motivated and resourceful students who often prioritized English learning over other competing goals (e.g., academics, relationships with co-nationals, and travel) and viewed interaction outside the classroom as a privileged site for achieving their aims.

5.6.3 Connections to the SA literature

As noted in Chapter 2, high expectations for social contact, and the ensuing disappointment when those expectations are not met, are both common findings across the SA literature (e.g., Jackson, 2008; Kalocsai, 2009; Meier & Daniels, 2013; Mitchell, 2015; Yang & Kim, 2011). For the close friendships they did create, Ami, Samantha, and Lisa as well as their

peers highlighted the JC peers' non-language-related contributions to the relationship. Previous work in SA (Goldoni, 2013; McGregor, 2012; Trentman, 2013b) has also examined how possessing social capital that is valued in the local community can allow students to gain access to TL relationships. Trentman (2013), for example, explored the Arabic language use of two US students studying in Egypt who gained access to a community of Arabic speakers by joining a local rugby team. Trentman noted that both students were valuable team members since they had played college rugby prior to their sojourns. For those students, that community therefore became a significant site of peer socialization while the remaining 29 students participating in the study had relatively little access to local communities. Trentman also highlights the fact that for these students, just signing up for extracurricular activities was not enough to promote sustained engagement since many other students on the exchange had not experienced the same level of success. Goldoni (2013) also reported the cases of five (out of 44) US exchange students who, by pursuing interests or passions, were able to meet Spanish speakers with similar interests in Spain. She mentioned, for example, Leslie, Emma, and Scott, who drew on their background in the Christian church to scaffold their participation in a Bible study group that met weekly. However, the number of students who were able to mobilize exceptional talents or interests to gain access to relationships was manifestly quite low.

Ami's, Lisa's, and Samantha's experiences appear to mirror those of the successful students in Trentman's and Goldoni's work insofar as the relationships formed around a mutual interest in a particular activity and the JC peers could contribute meaningfully to that community with non-linguistic knowledge. Samantha, for example, possessed the necessary dancing skills to contribute to group performances – she was an experienced dancer who was able to pass try outs, show up regularly for practices, and participate in the group's public performances. Lisa

contributed to her roommate community in several ways. Her roommates, Ed and Serena, described how she served as a guide to the residence by showing them laundry facilities, for example. She also served as a focal point for gossip in the house since she was willing to openly share embarrassing stories about her love life. In Ami's case, she had a long-distance Japanese boyfriend and so did her Pair Talk partner. In other words, sustainable relationships in these narratives were described as those to which all members contributed in a variety of ways. The students' stories also reinforce the findings of previous literature (Diao et al., 2011; Kinginger, 2008; Knight & Schmidt-Rinehart, 2010) that access to opportunities for meaningful interaction and relationships are not automatically generated as a result of proximity to TL speakers through shared accommodation. Given the parallels across cases and with the SA literature, it is probably fair to say that these case studies represent typical experiences of SA students who prioritize language learning through peer contact and feel their sojourns have been worthwhile.

Finally, these accounts present distributed and dynamic portraits of each JC peer's individual social networks. As Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) point out, relationships both within the local context (i.e., roommates, exchange partners, homestay friends) as well as transnationally (e.g., family and boyfriends) can serve to support or undermine students' language learning experiences and goals at various junctures. In each story, there is one peer who emerges as a *broker* in moments of linguistic difficulty. In the sociology literature, brokerage is defined as "the process of connecting actors in systems of social, economic, or political relations in order to facilitate access to valued resources" (Stovel & Shaw, 2012, p. 141). Lillis and Curry (2006), who examine brokering in academic literacy, conceptualize brokering as *mediation* where brokers "are involved in helping people interact with written texts" (p. 12). Lillis and Curry identify several categories of broker, including *nonprofessional* brokers whose

involvement “can be characterized by their personal relationship to the author and their serendipitous knowledge of English” (p. 14) and *language professionals*, who include English-language specialists. In each story, the JC peers named at least one nonprofessional broker who, while not necessarily an English expert in the conventional sense, was able and willing to facilitate interaction between JC peers and other English speakers. In both Samantha’s and Lisa’s cases, it was a roommate (a Korean exchange student). In Ami’s case, it was a Taiwanese acquaintance, who was an experienced homestay student. All three JC peers described their brokers as kind people who offered useful interpretations of the practices of more expert members following a challenging encounter. In Ami’s case, her Taiwanese friend explained the behaviour Ami was experiencing in her homestay. For Lisa, her Korean roommate took the time to explain chore rotations. In each case, these peers spoke English more expertly than the JC peer but were not native speakers and had not grown up in Canada. In this sense, they were not only relative experts in English but also had more expertise in navigating the SA experience. The JC peers also identified interactions with me, a language professional, as helpful for their language development. For example, in Ami’s interviews, she pointed out that I sometimes taught her new words in our conversations. In this sense, I was also an important broker for these participants.

Wenger (1998) identifies brokers as those who have “multimembership” (p. 109) and who can, by virtue of their knowledge of more than one community, bridge gaps for peripheral participants. These international peers appeared to have developed such multimembership and were thus able to recognize the language struggles of the JC peers and offer useful advice to scaffold their participation. The language brokerage literature has tended to focus on generation 1.5 students and the ways in which they broker interactions between their parents and institutions (Morales & Hanson, 2005). However, several studies have also examined brokerage between

peers (Bolden, 2012; Talmy, 2005). Duff (2007), for example, has observed that Korean international students at a Canadian university also found Korean generation 1.5 students to be the most effective linguistic and academic socializers. According to JC peers' accounts, these peer socializers' empathy for their challenges as well as their ability to accommodate to JC peers' English levels (e.g., by speaking more slowly) at moments of significant difficulties made them key resources for ongoing participation in peer interaction. All three JC peers explicitly recognized the importance of these students in their experiences and the special accommodations these peers offered.

5.7 Interpretation

Language ideologies serve as powerful interpretative resources that mediate the ways in which we evaluate the language use and behaviour of ourselves and others. According to Jaffe (2009), “[l]anguage ideologies are reflected in explicit statements about language (in metalinguistic discourse); they are refracted in practices that orient towards or draw upon ideologies as resources, and are also embedded as presuppositions of discourses” (p. 391). In response to interview questions about the value of English and their reasons for learning it, all three students produced a rich array of explicit metalinguistic discourses. Two key ideologies emerged as resources for the JC peers when constructing the stories of their sojourn experiences: neoliberal ideologies related to English as a global language and ideologies of immersion.

5.7.1 English as a global language

As discussed in Chapter 2, neoliberal ideologies related to language learning extend market-based principles to the acquisition of languages, and particularly to the acquisition of English, framing language learning as a means for upward social and economic mobility (Kubota, 2016b; Shin, 2016). JC peers' descriptions of their reasons for learning English aligned

with this understanding of English in several ways. Firstly, JC peers produced accounts that framed English as tool for “global economic competitiveness” (Wee, 2006). Samantha, for example, discursively linked upward career mobility and the ability to speak English, explaining that “without English skill it’s so hard to get job” (Samantha int. 1). JC peers also used the words “tool” and “world” to describe English. Secondly, JC peers’ accounts constructed the role of English primarily as an inter-ethnic *lingua franca*. Lisa, for instance, explained that her skills in English would open up opportunities for world travel and the experience of different cultures saying, “English is common language [...] we can share my opinion or feeling by using English, even [with] another country’s people” (Lisa, int. 1). Together, these explicit statements about English reproduce neoliberal notions of English as a tool for gaining access to an international world elite (Kubota, 2016a) and equate English language learning with self-improvement (Warriner, 2016).³⁴

Ideologies of English as a global language also served as resources for valuing particular aspects of their SA experiences. One area in which this phenomenon can be observed is in JC peers’ stances on multiculturalism. Both Ami and Samantha specifically use the term “multicultural” to justify their choice to come to Canada. In valuing this multiculturalism as a site for English learning, these students implicitly reify the notion that English serves as a tool for accessing multicultural communities rather than a tool for communicating solely with native speakers. These discourses were again reproduced in the ways each student described the value

³⁴ Ideologies which connect language with culture (and particularly nationality) were still strongly present in JC peers interview accounts. However, these ideologies were usually reproduced in relation to languages other than English (e.g., in relation to their “Japaneseness”). This is similar to the way Wee (2006) describes the differences in the ways that Singaporeans value English versus “mother tongues” such as Chinese and Malay. According to Wee, mother tongues in Singapore are viewed as “repositories of cultural value” (p. 350) while children “must learn English so that they will have a window to the knowledge, technology, and expertise of the modern world” (p. 349).

of using English with international and multilingual friends. Samantha, for example, explicitly commented on the international composition of her dance club friends, and explained that she felt comfortable asking questions because of their empathy and history as English learners. Ami noted that using English with her Asian roommates was easier since they had more in common and could find topics to talk about more easily. Lisa emphasized how she could learn about the cultures of other people who spoke Spanish or French through the use of English.

While native-speaking peers were mentioned, they were often not described as positive contributors to language learning. In fact, the JC peers' narratives often highlighted specific encounters with native speakers as unpleasant or unproductive, often because the native speaker failed to accommodate to the JC peers' level or recognize their communication difficulties. Ami's reports about her British roommate point to how that roommate seemed to be unwilling or unable to take on a mediating role by providing explanations or slowing down her speech. Similarly, Samantha's reports about native speakers not "being used to" non-native speech imply that it is the native speakers that are unwilling to do the work to listen and understand. Multilingual and international peers, on the other hand, were described as understanding and supportive. Although Ami and Samantha both recognized in their accounts that their own lower proficiencies were barriers for their comprehension of fast native speech, their stories also attribute some responsibility to the native speaker, who must accommodate to their level. It appears, then, in this context that neoliberal ideologies that constitute English as a tool for connecting with a range of cultural others (and not just native speakers) operated as a resource for producing positive evaluations of interaction with international and multilingual peers.³⁵

³⁵ In most cases, the peers with whom JC peers connected were of Asian ethnicity, pointing to the potential relevance of a "pan-Asian, transnational, multilingual" community (Duff, 2010, p. 182). Indeed, Samantha

While it is common for SA students across contexts to spend the bulk of their time with international students (cf. Coleman, 2015) and to describe interactions with international students as easier and less threatening to their sense of self-efficacy in English (cf. Kaypak & Ortaçtepe, 2014), it is less usual for them to describe interactions with international students as better for their language development than interaction with native speakers. However, some research conducted in English-speaking contexts has noted that students may come to value more international encounters (cf. Kalocsai, 2009). In their work on the individual networks of practice of undergraduate Mexican SA students sojourning for up to one year in Canada, Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) report on one student, Isabel, who initially was disappointed with her lack of contact with Canadian students but eventually came to view international students from countries other than Mexico as just as good if not better friends than Canadians might be. She explained that being around international students made her more open-minded, whereas the younger Anglophone Canadian students in her classes were inexperienced and wasted a lot of time when completing group assignments.

JC peers' positive attitudes toward diverse international others were likely shaped to some extent by discourses encountered in program advertising as well as the course content of the JC program. While this study was not designed to examine the impact of classroom learning on peer interactions, it is also important to acknowledge the potential role of curriculum in shaping JC peers' attitudes and experiences. For instance, JC classes encouraged JC peers to explicitly question the *native speaker* standard through reference to topics such as World Englishes and English as a lingua franca. In their classes, JC peers often discussed

specifically referenced the Asian ethnicities of her dance club members and how that shared background contributed to their ability to communicate easily with each other.

multilingualism and were asked to describe their multilingual repertoires. Research by Morita (2013) demonstrated that addressing topics such as World Englishes in the classroom can have an impact on the ways that students describe the value of English. Her study showed that Japanese students studying World Englishes in Japan tended to view English as a tool of intercultural communication with speakers of a range of first languages and resisted the association of English with native speakers exclusively.

The JC peers' emphasis on multiculturalism and lack of emphasis on native speakers also appears to reproduce discourses present in the Japanese language policies of interculturalism and internationalization. A language-education policy analysis conducted by Liddicoat (2007b) found that English was viewed in Japan as the "unquestioned international language" (p. 36). Liddicoat explains that in Japanese, the very nature of the word internationalization, *kokusaika*, implies the meeting of different countries and frames the use of English in international contexts as an intercultural affair. This emphasis on internationalization and English in Japanese higher education has only intensified in recent years. Canada has also adopted a nation-wide marketing strategy for higher education which promotes both peace and multiculturalism as benefits of studying in Canada (Government of Canada, 2014) and this policy discourse has trickled down to strategies for program advertising which often include words like "global" and "multicultural." In addition, JC courses included critical multicultural perspectives. Thus, a number of policies and contextual factors appear to have converged to produce a context in which these JC peers, drawing on circulating norms that connected English with intercultural communication, produced stances in which multilingual peers were evaluated as especially positive contributors to their language development.

5.7.2 Immersion

Ideologies of immersion construe language learning as occurring through intensive exposure to (and interaction in) the TL and culture. As described in Chapter 2, in SA, this ideology is most often manifest through a prioritization of “learning by doing” (Doerr, 2015). In other words, SA students are expected to acquire the TL through participation in mundane experiences without clearly set goals or supervision. In many ways, ideologies of immersion were embedded in the design of this study. The study sought to investigate the role of out-of-class interaction with peers and specifically frames that interaction as an opportunity for language learning broadly conceived. By asking JC peers about their contact with English-speaking others and the value of that contact for learning, I reinforced and reproduced the link between mundane experience with others and language acquisition.

However, as I have mentioned previously, discourses and ideologies are co-constructed resources for achieving talk: in interviews, JC peers often oriented to and reproduced ideologies of immersion when describing their sojourn goals and experiences. For instance, JC peers’ goals for improving their English tended to be non-specific (although in Interview 2, Samantha explained that she wanted to improve her ability to say numbers quickly) and they construed contact with English-speaking peers (and not classroom learning) as the principal means by which they could improve their English in a general sense. This was clear from the way in which all three JC peers identified *improving (spoken) English* and *making friends* as intertwined objectives for their stays. In addition, JC peers linked the opportunity for informal interaction in English to their limited time in Canada, excluding the possibility that such opportunities could also be readily available in Japan. Samantha explained that her priorities had shifted at the end of sojourn toward using English with friends because she would not be able to use English that way

upon her return. Doerr (2016) explains that immersion ideologies portray difference (linguistic and cultural) as inherently tied to the host community. She goes on to note that this valorization of difference exoticizes SA destinations and leads to homogenized understandings of both the home and host countries. For this reason, SA students often fail to perceive or acknowledge their home communities as multicultural and multilingual spaces that, in many cases, can provide ample opportunities for contact in the desired TL, in this case, English.

While ideologies of linguistic immersion were certainly reified through the research design and the JC peers' accounts, ideologies of cultural immersion in the traditional sense were less evident than is often the case in SA research. As Kubota (2016b) has pointed out, research in SA has usually found that students expect to be surrounded by "locals" in the form of idealized native speakers whose ethnicities, characteristics and experiences match circulating stereotypes about what "authentic" speakers should look, sound, and act like. This SA expectation is underpinned by language ideologies that connect place, language, and cultural, national, or ethnic identities (Iino, 1996; Jaffe, 2009; Wee, 2006). However, as the discussion above highlights, JC peers were not overly concerned with these traditional notions of authenticity. Instead, by the beginning of their second semester, they reported placing high value on relationships with members of international and multilingual communities. I would argue that in some senses, encounters with multicultural others was indeed a kind of authentic cultural immersion from the JC peer perspective. Given the program advertising and their contact with students from previous years, JC peers reported that they expected an "authentic" Canadian experience to consist of immersion in multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multicultural communities. In other words, JC peers equated Canadian culture with multiculturalism. The JC peers also contrasted Canada as a "multicultural place" with Japan as a relatively culturally homogenous

space. In this sense, JC peers reproduced the host/home dichotomy that Doerr (2013, 2016) describes as being at the heart of ideologies of immersion.

5.7.3 Summary

Ideologies of English as a global language and immersion that were produced in the JC peers' narratives correspond to what the Douglas Fir Group (2016) identified as macro level ideologies. I have thus mapped them onto the diagram that was introduced in Chapter 4.

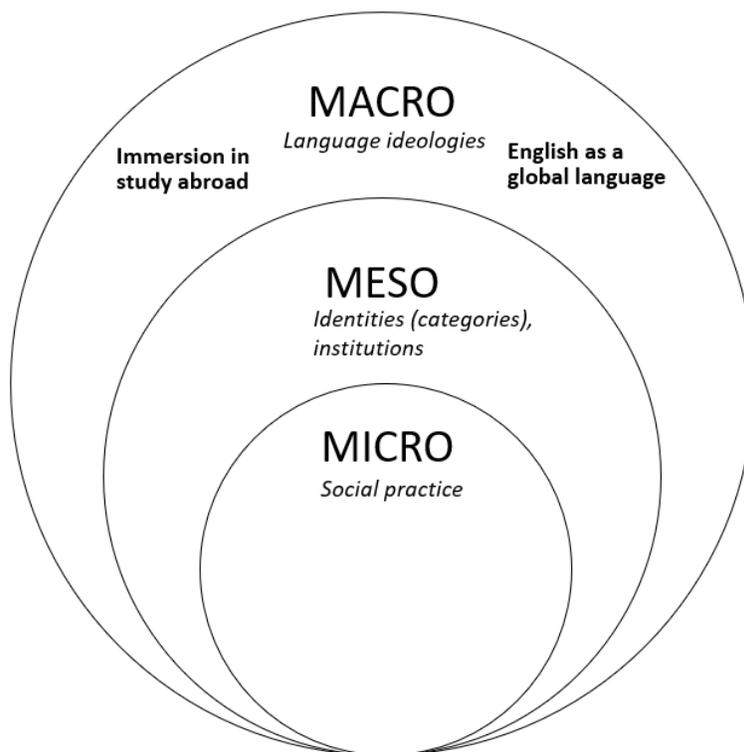


Figure 5.1 Language ideologies in JC peer stories. Model adapted from the Douglas Fir Group (2016)

These ideologies are widely circulating resources that JC peers and I drew on when describing, interpreting, and storying their sojourns and their experiences of peer interaction. As the coming chapters will demonstrate, they are also important macro-frames for making sense of how JC and PWU peers describe their roles in JC peers' language learning and engage in talk-about-language. As described in Chapter 2, these ideologies are neither novel nor uncommon in SA – they appear in various forms across the SA literature. However, by identifying how such

ideologies operate, as researchers, we open them up to critical scrutiny and are better able to examine how they are reproduced at various levels of discourse and interaction.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of Ami's, Samantha's and Lisa's experiences of peer socialization and argued that these three students represent somewhat successful cases within the JC program. I have also highlighted how each student experienced difficulties in accessing and maintaining stable peer relationships, despite taking advantage of the many institutionally organized programs available. In presenting these students' stories, I have provided context for the analyses in chapters that follow and situated these cases alongside other possible cases within the program, PWU, and the broader SA literature. In the final section of this chapter, I also argued that the JC peers' views of English as tool of intercultural communication and their understanding of Canada as a multicultural country might have enabled students to place additional value on the contributions of a range of cultural others, and to deprioritize the role of native speakers in this context. In Chapter 6, I explore the identity categories used to describe JC and PWU peers when they are oriented to as *language experts* or *novices* and the ways in which these categories reproduce ideologies of English as a global language and immersion in situated ways.

Chapter 6: Expert and novice peer identity categories

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted how JC peers emphasized the role of supportive peers with greater TL expertise who accommodated their linguistic needs and provided understanding at crucial moments during JC peers' sojourns. It also pointed out that JC peers appeared to be highly motivated language learners who explicitly sought out and created opportunities for interaction with PWU peers. In this chapter, I more closely investigate the discursive construction of the identity categories associated with these *supportive experts* and *motivated language learners*. Thus, this chapter contributes to answering the first research question about how JC and PWU peers described their respective contributions to JC peers' English learning.

The analyses presented showcase how JC peers, PWU peers, and I, as the interviewer/researcher, oriented to particular actions or attributes (or *predicates*, in MCA parlance) as normal or desirable for *expert* and *novice peers* in this SA context. I present data that show similarities in how participants (PWU peers, JC peers, and I) across the three cases oriented to the possible identity categories available to JC and PWU peers when language learning was made relevant in our talk. Through this analysis, I aim to gain insight into "local ethnographic categories" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 587) related to English expertise in peer relationships. I argue that the ways in which participants constructed and oriented to *expert* and *novice peer* categories drew on and reproduced ideologies related to English as a global language as well as lay assumptions about processes of language socialization in SA. The findings in this chapter also demonstrate how, by categorizing themselves and each other in specific ways, JC and PWU peers were able to accomplish social actions, and particularly, produce positive evaluations of each other, within the contexts of the research interviews.

6.2 Focus on categorization

As described in Chapter 3, identity categories and their attendant features are used to make meaning in situ. In other words, identity categories are discursive resources that allow people to accomplish social actions in talk. For example, imagine the following hypothetical interaction:

A: *I need to get my essay proofread, do you know anyone good?*

B: *Yes, my friend Anne can help you, she's a native speaker.*

In this context, B's use of the category *native speaker* to describe Anne as a candidate “good” proofreader relies on shared cultural knowledge: in this case, a particular language ideology in which members of the *native speaker* category are endowed with the attribute of expert knowledge of English, and thus, can engage in competent proofreading. Via explicit mentions of categories, or by alluding to activities or characteristics (i.e., predicates) that strongly suggest those categories, speakers are able to produce inferences in talk that allow them to accomplish acts such as identifying, blaming, or explaining (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1992) – or in the case of the example above, providing a rationale, or warrant, for an assessment (i.e., of Anne as a *good proofreader*).³⁶

What allows categories to be deployed as resources for meaning making is speakers' shared cultural knowledge of what those categories represent. Jayyusi (1984) refers to explicit category mentions as category-concepts, or “individual descriptor designators” (p. 23) and maintains that they are usually “already culturally available” (p. 20). Pomerantz and Mandlebaum (2005) further explain that “participants incorporate explicit relationship categories

³⁶ All categories are indicated in italics in order to highlight that these are labels, or discursive resources, used to talk about participants in situ. They do not necessarily reflect the ways in which participants were categorized in this research (i.e., JC peers/PWU peers) or the ways participants choose to identify themselves more generally.

anticipating that recipients will draw on their understanding of the activities, motives, rights, responsibilities, and/or competences associated with incumbents of the category” (p. 152-153).³⁷

However, there is much more to examining categorization practices than simply identifying explicit category labels such as *native speaker*. Pomerantz and Mandelbaum (2005) explain that analyzing explicit category mentions is insufficient for identifying commonalities in how they can be used interactionally. Rather, the scope of inquiry must include *categorization practices* more broadly. That is to say that the analyst must examine how speakers engage in sense-making through discursively configuring, or ordering, social categories as well as how speakers claim, attribute, and resist inclusion (or *incumbency*) in those categories (Day, 1998). Thus, studying categorization includes taking into account how features (Jayyusi, 1984), or predicates (Watson, 1978) – attributes, characteristics, knowledge, or actions – become discursively tied or bound to categories and the social actions that speakers accomplish by doing so. It also includes examining how such predicates can be used to categorize speakers as *incumbents* in an identity category and the interactional consequences and inferences that are made publicly available via those categorization practices. Finally, it includes analyzing instances in which speakers are held accountable for performing (or not performing) actions in ways that are consistent with category expectations. In this chapter, I analyze categorization practices in order to shed light on the ways in which *expert* and *novice peer* categories were reproduced, resisted, and transformed in our interview talk.

³⁷ Here the technical meaning of *incumbent* coincides with the lay meaning of the word as “one that occupies a particular position or place” (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/incumbent>). The use of this term (as opposed to *member*) highlights the temporary and contingent nature of a given participant’s status (e.g., incumbents in political positions are usually appointed for a limited term).

6.3 Research categories

As Potter and Hepburn (2012) note, it is during research processes such as recruitment that “particular category memberships can be made central to the research” (p. 7). Thus, to present a more reflexive account of my research findings (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014), in this section, I briefly present the ways in which the study materials, and particularly the recruitment documents, deployed specific categories as well as the attributes and characteristics that were associated with those categories.

Two categories of particular note that were used to recruit participants for this study were *study abroad students* and *peers* or *friends*. For instance, the excerpt below comes from a study invitation sent to PWU peers. In it, the e-mail explicitly describes activities in which members of the *study abroad student* and *peer* categories are expected to engage:

My main focus is on how the interactions study abroad students have outside the classroom contribute to their English learning. So I'm interested in how your English conversations with study abroad students help them to reach their language learning goals. I also want to know what you learn from the conversations and the strategies you have when you communicate with study abroad students. (Original emphasis, Excerpt from study invitation sent to peers, see Appendix A)

A quick reading of this passage readily reveals that members of the *study abroad* category are attributed specific goals and motivations, including being involved in “English learning” and having “language learning goals.” This implies that the business of being a *study abroad student* is principally concerned with language learning and that their English language skills are in need of improvement. Conversely, *peers* (the category of participant to whom the letter is addressed) are assumed to have “strategies” and to be involved in “contributing” to SA students’ language development. Similarly, as the following excerpt shows, recruitment letters for JC peers construed interactions outside the classroom as primarily involving English learning and framed *peers* as potential “helpers.”

my main focus is on how the interactions you have outside the classroom contribute to your English learning. So I'm interested in how your English conversations with your friends, roommates, clubmates and other peers helps (or does not help) you reach your language learning goals. (Excerpt from follow-up e-mail sent to JC students, see Appendix A)

In this sense, the categories of *expert* and *novice* were pre-assigned to participants at the outset of the research process, with *novices* (i.e., study abroad students) being construed as *active English language learners* and *peers* being constructed as *supportive helper-experts*.

This is not inconsequential. Likely because of the ways in which the recruitment materials and interview questions were designed, participants often oriented to understandings of *study abroad students* as principally engaged in language learning. However, as I highlighted in Chapter 5, JC peers indicated that many JC students did not prioritize goals related to learning English and also did not seek to improve their English through out-of-class interactions. Likewise, So-Yi, a PWU peer who would likely be categorized as a *study abroad student* from an institutional perspective, did not describe her interactions as opportunities for her to improve her English. Thus, the relevance of this pre-existing implicit *expert-novice* framework likely constrained the categories that were oriented to in talk. In the sections that follow, I analyze interview excerpts that reveal the ways in which *novice* and *expert* peer categories were co-constructed in situated ways in relation to English language expertise and other kinds of knowledge, and how these categorization practices served to accomplish specific actions in talk.

6.4 Novice peer identity categories in interviews

As discussed above, during the data generation phase of this study, I most often categorized JC peers in the *novice/language learner* category by referring to them as *study abroad students* and by treating their ambitions to learn English as commonsense. However, in interviews, neither PWU peers nor JC peers used the term SA student. Rather, they tended to use alternative institutional categories such as *exchange students* or *internationals* as resources for

categorizing JC peers as *language novices*.³⁸ In particular, in PWU interviews, these category-concepts and the characteristics discursively associated with them, served as resources for providing positive evaluations of the JC peers as exceptional members of these categories. Their accounts also demonstrate how the participants and I oriented to a number of commonsense assumptions about who *exchange students* are (e.g., from countries where a foreign language is spoken, language learners), the characteristics they should have, and the behaviours they are expected to display. These behaviours and characteristics are discussed in the sections that follow.

6.4.1 Lower English proficiency

One key consequence of PWU peers' mentions of *novice* categories such as *international* or *exchange student* is that such mentions generally made available an inference that category members had recognizably lower levels of English proficiency. In other words, as the two excerpts that follow will demonstrate, mentions of these categories served to indirectly topicalize JC peers' (and others') English abilities.

In Excerpt 6.1, Ed's categorization of Lisa as *exchange student* is a resource used to indirectly index language proficiency. In this interview excerpt, I am asking Ed about how she met Lisa. Ed, an international and multilingual student from Singapore, moved into Lisa's residence at the beginning of the second semester. Ed explains that she met Lisa for the first time

³⁸ It is important to note that participants did not refer to each other solely using the categories described in this chapter. In fact, participants most often described their relationships in terms of being simply "friends" or "roommates" (see discussion in Chapter 1). Participants also used labels such as "Japanese" or "Asian" in interviews to categorize JC peers; however, they overwhelmingly did so to highlight cultural or national rather than linguistic attributes. For example, So-Yi, Ami's Korean roommate who was also at PWU on exchange, referred to Ami specifically as her "Japanese friend" (So-Yi, Peer Interview 1, 01/15/2016), pointing out that she had not had the opportunity to meet Japanese people in Korea. These alternate categorizations demonstrate the importance of studying how categories are used in situ to accomplish specific actions.

when Ed lost her key and Lisa opened the door for her. Note the explicit mention of the *exchange student* category in line 08.³⁹

Excerpt 6.1 “I didn't realize she was an exchange student”

01 Victoria: and how did you: how did that first meeting go:
02 how was your first week.
(22 seconds omitted, Ed explains she lost her key and
Lisa let her into the room))
03 Ed: so when I went i:n she was like really friendly:
04 Victoria: °mhm°
05 Ed: and she's o:h like (0.3) “hi:” and everything
06 and then I sort of (0.4) cause sh- (.) um (0.3)
07 she didn- she was really good? I didn't realize
08 she was an exchange student [sort of?]
09 Victoria: [mm:]
10 Ed: so (0.5) yeah and she was really friendly
11 and I was like “oh what program” and then (0.3)
12 she said she was studying English (.)
13 for her like exchange
14 Victoria: °mhm°
15 Ed: and yeah.
(Ed, Peer Interview 1, 1/21/2016, 6:37-7:29)

Following a 22 second stretch of talk in which Ed tells the story of why she was knocking on her own residence door, Ed describes her first impressions when Lisa opened the door. She explains that Lisa was “like really friendly:” and said ““hi:’ and everything,” at which point Ed self-repairs twice (sh- (.) um (0.3) she didn-) before finally arriving at the description that Lisa “was really good?.” Given the two self-repairs and the high rising terminal intonation, which can convey a sense of novelty and contrastive emphasis (e.g., Levon, 2016), this utterance can be heard as Ed’s initial and somewhat surprised evaluation of Lisa’s L2 proficiency. Ed then elaborates on her initial assessment explaining that at first she “didn’t realize” that Lisa “was an exchange student, sort of?.”

³⁹ Transcription conventions are listed in Chapter 4, Table 4.4.

Jayyusi (1984) explains that “[m]any requests for explanation are answered (and answerable) by the provision, invocation or attribution of a category incumbency to the person for whose action or behaviour an explanation was being sought” (p. 27). In this case, Ed’s provision of a category (i.e., *exchange student*) makes available an inference that normally *exchange students* would not be “really good” like Lisa is (line 07), their greetings would be less proficient, and this lack of proficiency would therefore make them recognizable as *exchange students*. By reporting Lisa’s explanation of “studying English for her exchange” in subsequent (lines 12-13), Ed’s account thus binds language proficiency as a predicate to the *exchange student* category and treats her initial evaluation (i.e., “really good”) as referring to language proficiency specifically. In addition, by mentioning that the purpose of the exchange is language study, Ed’s story also binds *English learning* as a predicate to the *exchange student* category.⁴⁰

A notable aspect of Ed’s story is the difficulty she displays in producing her evaluation of Lisa’s English (lines 06-08). For most of the narrative (i.e., the omitted lines), Ed maintains the flow of talk (i.e., few hesitations); however, in line 06 when she begins to produce her assessment of Lisa she self-repairs twice, saying “cause sh- (.) um (0.3) she didn-.” Her hesitations combined with her use of the indirect reference to English abilities through the mention of the *exchange student* category may point to the sensitive nature of publicly evaluating a peer’s language skills. It may also indicate that performing an evaluation of a learner’s language ability in front of her (Lisa’s) English teacher (myself as the interviewer), is not a simple matter. The fact that Lisa’s proficiency is discussed indirectly in the excerpt may also

⁴⁰ In topicalizing language proficiency in this way, Ed seems to be orienting to the overall topic of the interview (i.e., Lisa’s language learning). Indeed, the availability of the inference related to Lisa’s English ability may simply come from the omnirelevance of language ability and language learning as the main topics of the interview.

point to the sensitivity around discussing international students and English language norms at PWU more generally (see discussion in Chapter 2).

In Excerpt 6.2, it is the mention of the *international student* category (rather than the *exchange student category*) that serves to topicalize English language ability.⁴¹ In this excerpt, Paulisper, one of Ami's PWU peers who was from central Canada, mentions the category *international students* when discussing the topic of "language barriers." The excerpt begins as I ask Paulisper if there is anything she learned from Ami.

Excerpt 6.2 "Mostly my friends are from America" Part 1

01 Victoria: and is there anything that you feel like
02 you're really learning from (.) Ami.
03 (0.9)
04 Paulisper: u:m (.)culture. (0.5) m yeah.
05 (1.0)
06 >I think it's just like< (.)
07 mostly with the: the who:le like I'm-
08 cause I also have like my roommate is also from u:m
09 (0.4) well she's from China
10 Victoria: mhm
11 Paulisper: but >well I mean she went to< an international
12 school so he- her English is already pretty good but
13 Victoria: mhm

(Paulisper, Peer Interview 1, 24:04-25:43)

After a relatively long pause, Paulisper's initial response in line 04 identifies "culture" as what she has learned from Ami. While this response may not be surprising since Paulisper had few Japanese friends in her circle, given that both peers took the same psychology class and loved Korean food, she could have just as easily identified knowledge of psychology or Korean

⁴¹ The *international student* category was used explicitly to refer to JC peers by a several other PWU peers including Elizabeth (Samantha's roommate) and John (Samantha's language exchange partner) While, So-Yi and I also mentioned the term international student, we did so in reference to the membership device "institutional student status" (e.g., juxtaposed with domestic, and exchange), usually at the beginning of the interview, rather than in accounts concerning language use or learning. This points to Pomerantz and Mandlebaum's (2005) argument that the social significance of categories and collections is not static but can be configured in different ways in different instances of talk. The label is also common one at PWU, where a large proportion of the student body is officially categorized as "international."

restaurants as something she has learned from Ami. However, as the review in Chapter 2 noted, the notion of culture learning is intimately tied to encounters between SA students and host nationals and thus cultural difference is a predicate that is associated in this excerpt with members of the *exchange student* category.

Following another long pause, Paulisper begins to expand on her response saying “it’s just like” and “mostly with the whole like” but does so with significant difficulty and several false starts (lines 06-07) and it is unclear what “the whole” might refer to. At line 08, she says that her roommate is also from China. Her use of “also” seems to indicate that Paulisper initially treats her roommate from China and Ami as members of the same category. However, Paulisper quickly treats that categorization as problematic by identifying what distinguishes Ami from her roommate – her roommate’s English is already pretty good because she went to an international school (lines 11-12). Thus, Paulisper’s response treats Ami as having been potentially categorizable in the same category as her roommate, a non-native English speaker from China (i.e., an *international student*), but rejects this categorization on the grounds that her roommate’s English is pretty good, implying of course that Ami’s is not. In this way, Paulisper construes language proficiency as a defining predicate tied to particular kinds of *international students*, like Ami.

In line 13 and onwards (Excerpt 6.3 below), Paulisper’s account pursues this category contrast, categorizing members differently based on whether or not there is a “language barrier.” In the first few lines, Paulisper continues to elaborate on her account of her and Ami’s friendship.

Excerpt 6.3 “Mostly of my friends are from America” Part 2

14 Paulisper: I think it's like (0.8) I think that like (.)
15 the thing is I feel like- actually about the friends
16 thing? now that (.) I think about it (.)
17 u:m I think it's it's (0.3) it's somehow like a
18 little harder to make friends with u:m people who
19 come from abroad like international students (.)
20 like maybe not all of them but I still feel like
21 sometimes maybe (.) it can be a little harder
22 because (.) I think that the:y (.) like maybe they
21 feel that there is a language barrier?
22 and like it's so much easier to like it's s- like
23 it's so easy to just talk to people (.)
24 c- when it's like easy right?=
25 Victoria: =mhm=
26 Paulisper: =like and you just fall back on speaking English o:r
28 (.) your native language right
29 Victoria: =mhm=
30 Paulisper: =so you're more like likely to make friends with
31 people who can speak your native language so then
32 like (.) the full meaning of what you're saying can
33 like come across right? so: maybe like (0.6) I feel
34 like ma:ybe some- cause I actually don't have that
35 many international like
36 (1.2)
37 when I say international mostly my friends are like
38 from America?=
39 Victoria: =mhm.
40 Paulisper: =so:
41 (0.8)
42 so like \$I mean technically that's international?\$
43 but the:y they still speak like English and there's
44 no like language barrier there?=
45 Victoria: =mhm
46 Paulisper: =so I think that sometimes like (0.5)
47 I feel like (0.6) maybe it's (0.6)
48 it's a little more difficult to like reach out to
49 like people who are (0.5) who don't like necessarily
50 speak English as a native language maybe?
51 Victoria: mhm
52 Paulisper: so I feel like maybe that like
53 (1.2)
54 maybe this will (.) will help (.)
55 °me have more friends° (.) mm.
56 (0.4)
57 Victoria: oh.=
58 Paulisper: =in general.

(Paulisper, Peer Interview 1, 24:04-25:43)

The explicit mention of *international students* at line 09 binds the characteristics that came before (i.e., being from abroad and being hard to make friends with) to *international student* category. Although Paulisper's utterances are hedged (see line 17, "somehow," line 18 "a little harder," and line 20, "not all," line 21 "sometimes maybe"), Paulisper ultimately pursues her original categorization, saying that in most cases, it still is harder because "they feel that there is a language barrier," thereby binding "language barriers" as a predicate of the *international student category*, as well. The remainder of this excerpt continues to reproduce the notion of communication difficulties as a predicate bound to *international students* and the notion of "easy" (lines 23-24) communication as a predicate bound to speakers of "your native language" (lines 28 and 31) (i.e., members of the *native speaker* category). The relevance of lower language proficiency as an accountable characteristic of the *international student* category is also evident in the way Paulisper takes special care to explain that *Americans* are only "technically" international (line 42), since there "is no language barrier there" (line 44) and "they still speak English" (lines 42-43). Paulisper's account thus reproduces the ideological connection between the *international student* category and low language proficiency in multiple ways. It also explicitly evaluates incumbency in the *international student* category as a social disadvantage since category membership is discursively tied to a troublesome language barrier that apparently impedes members' capacities for forming friendships.

While Paulisper's explanation of the difficulties inherent in communicating with *international students* may seem somewhat belaboured, it is worth considering the social action that is accomplished via Paulisper's categorization practices. Indeed, the apparent reason for her lengthy explanation does not come until the very end of the excerpt in lines 52-55, where Paulisper explains in a small voice that perhaps her friendship with Ami, as an incumbent of the

international student category, will allow her to expand her friendship circle, which currently consists mostly of Americans. In other words, Paulisper's extensive categorization practices serve as an additional warrant for why Ami is a potentially valuable friend – because by pushing through the language barrier with Ami, Paulisper may learn how to “reach out” (line 55) and make friends with more *international students*. Her accounting work seems to suggest that because of the communication difficulties that are bound to membership in the *international student category*, her professed intention to make more international friends is not the norm for most incumbents of the *native speaker* category, who generally prefer “easy communication.”

In sum then, Paulisper's account constructs two category sets, each of which include two moral versions of category members: *international students with vs. without language barriers*, and *native speakers who prefer easy communication vs. those who are willing to push through the language barrier*. Paulisper's categorization work therefore appears to reproduce local understandings of international students as *novice English users* and treats willingness to interact with them as a predicate bound to only a select number of members in the *expert* category. Like Ed's account in Excerpt 6.1, Paulisper displays significant difficulty producing this account, which is filled with false starts and hedges, perhaps pointing once again to the sensitive nature of evaluating a peer's language abilities or of producing negative evaluations of others in interviews.

6.4.2 Willingness, openness, and asking

In addition to treating lower language proficiency as a commonsense attribute of members belonging to the *novice* category, PWU peers also constructed ideal members of these categories as students who were particularly open, outgoing, and willing to initiate conversation. As noted in Chapter 4, in many of the interview questions, I often asked PWU peers about the

strategies and success of JC peers as language learners. PWU peers obligingly produced accounts in which they described how language learners in an SA context should act, often using idealized moral accounts in their evaluations of the efficacy of JC peers' language learning behaviours or strategies. For example, in their interviews, both Kyla and Serena (Lisa's roommates) produced accounts in which they described what members of the *exchange student* category should and should not do to accomplish language learning. In this sense, they produced contrasting moral versions (Talmy, 2009) of *exchange students* in their evaluations of Lisa as a *good exchange student*. In this section, I present two excerpts in which PWU peers explicitly described the ideal behaviours and characteristics of *good language learners* in SA and demonstrate how these descriptions were used as resources to produce positive evaluations of JC peers.

In Excerpt 6.4, Kyla's account establishes Lisa's *willingness to talk* and *initiate* conversation as a predicate of the *good exchange student* category. Just prior to this excerpt, I had asked Kyla if she had any recommendations for incoming SA students. She replied that "talking to other people is definitely a key aspect" because "that's the only way you can really improve" (Kyla, Interview 2). Kyla thus treats my question in lines 01-02 as a request to build on that characterization of what successful SA students do.

Excerpt 6.4 "Lisa kind of takes initiative"

01 Victoria: so what do you think makes Lisa so: successful (.)
 02 in her efforts.
 03 Kyla: I think the fact that's she's willing to do it?
 04 like (.)she's willing to like go out and have like
 05 conversation (0.4) random conversation with other people?
 06 or just like kind of being [((inaudible))]
 07 Victoria: [°mhm°]
 08 Kyla: I think that's really good? cause like (.)
 09 I've also heard of like (.) other (0.5) like people telling
 10 me that like maybe (0.3) an exchange student
 11 >they would just< lock themselves up in their rooms
 12 and like wouldn't even say hi and stuff and like (0.4)

Similarly, in Excerpt 6.5, So-Yi, Ami's roommate, highlighted the importance of "trying" and not being ashamed to make mistakes when she described what she liked best about speaking with Ami. In line 01, I ask So-Yi what she likes best about speaking with Ami.

Excerpt 6.5 "She's not ashamed"

01 Victoria: so (.)what do you like best ab-about speaking with Ami.
02 So-Yi: mm:
03 (0.9)
04 she is tr- she is trying to (0.5)
05 I guess she is trying to speak more fluently?
06 and (0.6) and she asks sometimes sometimes
07 asks me how to do this or do that
08 Victoria: °mhm°
09 So-Yi: and I really like that part? of her? so yeah.
10 Victoria: mhm. so you like- why do you like it.
11 (0.9)
12 So-Yi: because like (0.3) she asks wha- asks to me?
13 because she knows I guess she knows me
14 Victoria: °mhm°=
15 So-Yi: =and she's not ashamed about that?
16 and I really like that part. like yeah.
17 Victoria: ah. that's great.

(So-Yi, Interview 2, 15/01/2016, 15:45-16:44)

In lines 04-05, So-Yi explains that what she likes best about Ami is that "she is trying to speak more fluently." So-Yi's response, which topicalizes language proficiency by explicitly mentioning "fluency," treats my line 01 question as being about Ami's speech and the manner in which she uses English with So-Yi. By referring to "fluency," her response also projects Ami's incumbency in the *language novice* category. An interesting aspect of So-Yi's response is that she explains that what she likes is that Ami is "trying." She thereby emphasizes effort and intention rather than the quality of Ami's English. After her initial evaluation (i.e., she's trying to be more fluent), So-Yi expands on her response by providing an example of "trying," explaining that Ami "asks her how to do this or that" (lines 06-07). The examples So-Yi provides treat Ami as having lower language proficiency in English (she is not yet fluent) and as actively engaged in

language learning (i.e., she is trying to become more fluent and she asks questions). When I follow up by asking “why do you like it” (i.e., the fact that Ami asks) in line 08, So-Yi explains that Ami is not ashamed of asking (line 15). “Not being ashamed” bears a striking resemblance to the predicates mentioned in Kyla’s account (Excerpt 6.4), particularly those of “being open” and “just talking.” As such, “not being ashamed” can also be heard as a predicate bound to the *good exchange student* category (and the *good language learner* category). Thus, although So-Yi does not explicitly mention the (good) *exchange student* category in this account, So-Yi’s response serves to categorize Ami as a member of that category.

An especially interesting feature of both this excerpt and Kyla’s (6.4) is the way in which they link attributes, or personality characteristics, of a *good exchange student* (e.g., being open-minded, willing, and unashamed) with particular actions or stances (e.g., taking initiative and asking).⁴² For instance, in her account, Kyla first describes Lisa as willing to initiate talk (“willingness” being a characteristic that is assumed about Lisa). She then describes other *exchange students* who would not even “say hi.” In this way Kyla’s account establishes the act of initiating conversation through greetings as an indicator of the willingness and open-mindedness that *good exchange students* must have to succeed in their language learning goals. Similarly, So-Yi first explains and positively evaluates Ami’s practice of asking questions (another way of initiating talk) and then discursively constructs that practice as an indicator that Ami is unashamed. Thus, via categorization practices, both Kyla and So-Yi’s evaluations of Lisa and Ami discursively establish a connection between invisible attributes such as effort (i.e., trying)

⁴² Elements of these moral categories could be observed throughout the PWU peer interview data. Indeed, PWU peers often mentioned predicates associated with the positive version of this category, including being open, outgoing, and intentional about interacting in English with people on campus and negatively evaluated behaviours, such as interacting only with co-nationals or studying, rather than seizing opportunities to socialize in English.

and openness and the observable actions of “asking” and “initiating talk.” Gal (1998) refers to the process by which specific aspects of language use become associated with social groups as iconization. She explains that “linguistic differences that index social contrasts are reinterpreted as icons of the social contrasts” so that “the ideological representation fuses some quality of the linguistic feature and a supposedly parallel quality of the social group and understands one as the cause or the inherent, essential, explanation of the other” (Gal, 1998, p. 328). In these interview excerpts, there is evidence of iconization processes at work: *exchange students* who initiate talk or ask questions were ascribed the qualities of being willing and motivated students who took advantage of the opportunity to learn English through authentic interactions. The ideological connection established between asking and trying and willingness/desire to learn also appears to reproduce language ideologies that value experiential learning in immersive contexts (Doerr, 2015). This is an important point to which I return in the interpretation section at the end of the chapter.

6.4.3 Summary

In PWU peer interviews, the categories *international/exchange student* constituted discursive resources for indirectly indexing lower English proficiency and were generally discursively tied to a desire to learn and to specific actions, such as “initiating talk” and “asking questions,” that members might take to improve their proficiency. An additional interesting aspect of categorization practices across these excerpts is that they were typically deployed for producing positive evaluations of JC peers’ English. Indeed, by using explicit category mentions like *exchange student*, participants were able to produce inferences that allowed me as the interviewer to assume JC peers’ lesser proficiency and to avoid explicit negative evaluations. Instead, participants’ accounts placed an emphasis on these JC peers’ willingness to learn. In

Table 6.1, I list the categories that were explicitly mentioned in reference to members of the *novice* category across PWU peer interviews as well as the predicates most commonly bound to members of those categories.

Table 6.1 *Novice Peer* Categories and Predicates

Categories	Predicates
International student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Come from countries other than Canada such as China and Japan (but not America or the UK)
International friend	
Exchange student	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are non-native speakers with recognizably less proficient English • Are in the process of improving or studying English • Are more difficult to communicate with • Are confident/not ashamed to ask questions • Seek interaction, are willing, and open-minded
Exchange friend	

It is notable that the categories most often used to categorize JC peers as *English novices* (i.e., *exchange* and *international students*) are labels used by PWU to classify students for administrative purposes. When a category is clearly named, and particularly when it is institutionally-relevant like the categories discussed here, it is an indication that the category holds cultural relevance in the community in which it is used (Jayyusi, 1984). The criteria for claiming membership within institutionally-relevant categories are often shared to some extent across the community – in this case PWU. That this was the case is evident from the ways in which these labels were readily recognized by the participants and myself as referring to language ability, even when language ability was referenced only indirectly. It was only when *international students* were described as having higher proficiency (e.g., in the case of Lisa and Ed’s first meeting, or Paulisper’s American friends) that additional accounts to explain their level of proficiency were produced. In other words, *exchange students*, or *novice peers*, are expected

to have hearably/recognizably lower English language proficiency and to be involved in actively working towards improving that proficiency. These findings provide valuable insight into the ways in which PWU peers expected JC peers to behave as members of the *novice peer* category (i.e., displaying lesser proficiency and trying despite challenges) as well as some limited evidence of how such behaviours should be evaluated in this context (i.e., positively).

6.5 Expert peer identity categories in interviews

As mentioned in Chapter 1, finding appropriate ways to refer to PWU peers was an ongoing challenge in this study. PWU peers spoke a wide variety of languages and had been exposed to English in different ways, making categorization by language ability a complicated prospect: some peers had learned English at home and were English-dominant (e.g., Paulisper and Elizabeth), others had learned English at school when they immigrated to an English-speaking country at a young age used different languages at home and at school (e.g., Serena, Ed, and Kyla), and yet others had learned English through language classes in their universities abroad and were dominant in a different first language (So-Yi, John, and Emma). The PWU peers that participated in this study also had a wide range of institutional statuses at the university – all were undergraduate students; however, some were international degree-seeking students, some were exchange students, and others were domestic students. In essence, there was no clear way to categorize PWU peers from an institutional, geographic, or linguistic perspective.

Following previous SA research on the centrality of the native speaker in SA, it might be reasonable to assume that the *expert peer* category would be closely connected to the notion of the native speaker (see Chapter 2) and that native speaker status might feature as a key predicate in JC peers' categorization practices. Indeed, Paulisper's interview talk (Excerpt 6.3) explicitly

bound predicates of language expertise, such as having no “language barriers” and “easy” communication, to the *native speaker* category (i.e., people who “speak English as a native language”, line 50). However, in many of the interviews including Paulisper’s, members of the *native speaker* category were not necessarily evaluated as good members of the *expert peer* category. As the data presented below will demonstrate, desirable moral versions of the *peer expert* category were more often constructed through references to peers’ willingness to overcome communication difficulties and to their previous experience with international students (i.e., learners with “language barriers”). In the sections that follow, I analyze the predicates that served to make members recognizable as *good expert peers*.

6.5.1 Experience with international students

The first predicate mentioned in most JC peer interviews was related to acceptance of and experience with non-native speakers. For example, in Excerpt 6.6, Samantha describes how she prefers to speak English with people who “can accept her,” and who have gotten “used to the non-native speakers’ English” (lines 09-14).

Excerpt 6.6 “They accept me to speak”

01 Victoria: so what kinds of situations do you like E-
 02 speaking English the best.
 03 (1.7)
 04 Samantha: mm::
 05 (1.2)
 06 ah::
 07 (1.0)
 08 I think that I realize is
 09 ah people who knows that (0.4) mm: (0.9)
 10 non-native speakers?
 11 Victoria: mhm
 12 Samantha: they can- they- I think (0.3) ah: (0.9.)
 13 they accept me like (0.5) \$not good\$ ((laugh))
 14 I’m not good at speaking English but they accept me to speak
 15 and they (0.3) hear me more like mm.
 16 (2.0)
 17 kindly like \$I don’t know how to say but\$ the mm::

“depressing.” Samantha then furnishes examples of incumbents in the *good expert peer* category – Elizabeth (her roommate) and myself – with whom conversations are described as “so comfortable” (lines 26/28). Through these evaluations, much in the same way that peers constructed idealized moral versions of *exchange students*, Samantha’s account also constructs contrasting moral versions of *peer experts* in terms their familiarity with non-native speech and their willingness to accept it.

A crucial aspect of this excerpt is the way in which the mentions of native/non-native categories are used to accomplish categorization in the *good expert* and *good novice* categories. By explicitly mentioning acceptance of non-native speakers, Samantha’s response makes relevant her own incumbency in the non-native speaker category. Her incumbency in that category is then further reinforced through her mentions of predicates associated with it, such as when she explains that “I’m not good at speaking English” (line 14) and produces hesitations and explicit unknowing stances (e.g., “I don’t know how to say,” line 17). As discussed in the previous section, displaying recognizably lower English proficiency is an accountable predicate of membership in various *novice peer* categories (e.g., *exchange student*). However, what is perhaps more interesting is that Samantha’s mention of *non-native speakers* also makes the contrasting category, *native speaker*, potentially available as a resource for categorization in this context. Both Elizabeth and I, who she mentions as examples of *good experts* at the end of the excerpt, are native speakers in the conventional sense (me of Canadian English and Elizabeth of British English). However, while the *native speaker* category may have some relevance here, Samantha’s account makes it clear that *native speaker* status is not the main criteria for inclusion

in the *good peer expert* category. Rather experience and kind acceptance are constructed as the defining attributes of members in the good version of this category.⁴³

Excerpt 6.7 involving Ed, JC peer Lisa's roommate, also explicitly references experience with *English novice peers* as a predicate bound to members of the *good peer expert* category. In this excerpt, I ask Ed about the challenges she faces when talking to Lisa and she replies that she is used to the way that Lisa speaks.

Excerpt 6.7 "Maybe cause I'm used to it"

01 Victoria is there any challenge when you're talking to ah Lisa?=
02 Ed: =Lisa?
03 (0.6)
04 Ed: no: it's just like (.)
05 some- like I don- maybe because I'm used to it?
07 cause I've had a lot of friends (0.4) whose visited? who (.)
08 not like tour visited but who came to (0.7)
09 Bangladesh or Singapore
10 Victoria: mm
11 Ed: just to learn English?
12 Victoria: mm:
13 Ed: and um (0.4) when they did it sort of I sort of
14 >I don't know< I got used to the way they're talking so (.)
15 whenever I talk to Lisa it's sort of the same?
16 Victoria: mm.

(Ed, Peer Interview 1, 01/21/2106, 17:26-17:53)

By topicalizing "challenges," my initial question potentially projects Lisa's incumbency in the *novice* category through reference to a predicate commonly bound to *novice* members (i.e., the language barriers mentioned in Paulisper's excerpts, Excerpts 6.2 /6.3). In line 04, Ed answers the question by saying there was no challenge talking to Lisa. This initial "no" response does not seem to orient to the *novice* category potentially made relevant by my question.

However, in the next lines, Ed extends her response, explaining that she has a lot of friends who

⁴³ Here it is worth mentioning that in JC peers' course work, they were often asked to reflect critically on the label "native speaker" and that this may have also contributed to Samantha's avoidance of the term.

came to learn English in Singapore or Bangladesh and that speaking English with Lisa is the same as speaking English with them. By explicitly mentioning predicates that make the *exchange student* category relevant (i.e., actively learning English), Ed's utterances serve to project her friends' membership in that category and treat my question as being about *exchange students*. In addition, by subsequently equating her interactions with those friends with her interactions with Lisa, Ed's description also collects Lisa in that same *exchange student* category. Therefore, Ed's categorization practices do orient to and reproduce Lisa's incumbency in the *novice* category (thus as a person whose English is still developing and who could have challenges).

However, Ed's response also does other important interactional work: by being dismissive of the potential challenges involved in interacting with Lisa, Ed also does "being accepting," a predicate that was associated with the *good peer expert* category in Samantha's excerpt (6.6). Ed's story about her friends from Singapore, which is offered as a justification for why interactions with Lisa are not challenging, foregrounds Ed's experience communicating with many different *exchange students*. Ed's response implies that although there would normally be potential for communication difficulties (because Lisa is an *exchange student*), because of Ed's experience, those challenges are mitigated. I respond to Ed's story about her experience with an enthusiastic "mm:" at line 12, thereby treating Ed's response as especially relevant and interesting. It would seem then that I both recognize and align with Ed's warrant and treat it as projecting her incumbency in the *good peer expert* category. The upshot of our interactional work is that through complex categorization practices, Ed's utterances successfully take up the categorizations made relevant in my question while simultaneously avoiding a negative assessment of Lisa (i.e., she does not topicalize challenges) and producing a positive version of Ed as an experienced and supportive communicator. Thus, these two excerpts

demonstrate that 1) JC peers produced positive evaluations of PWU peers by referring to their experience with language learners and their acceptance of non-native speech and 2) PWU peers sometimes “did” these predicates in interviews by producing positive and supportive evaluations of JC peers that minimized their language difficulties.

6.5.2 Friendliness

An additional categorization resource that was used in connection with members of the *good expert peer* was the explicit mention of JC peers as *friends*. Following work in MCA on standard relational pairs (e.g., Sacks, 1992), the category *friend* is typically understood as one part of a standard relational pair, that of *friend-friend*. In this pair, the mention of a third party as a *friend* conventionally generates the inference that the speaker is also an incumbent of the *friend* category (i.e., if Lisa is Ed’s friend, Ed is also Lisa’s friend). For instance, in Ed’s excerpt (6.7), she not only categorized the students from Singapore and Bangladesh as *novices*, but also referred to them as “friends,” making her membership in the *friend* category an additional resource potentially available for interaction. Indeed, PWU peers regularly referred to JC peers as their *friends* even though in the lay sense, their relationships (especially Ami’s and Samantha’s relationships) often did not conform to conventional norms of friendship (e.g., seeing each other for social reasons, shared interests). Instead, the category *friend* (and the associated predicate of friendliness) appeared to serve as a discursive resource for generating inferences related to what *good friends* usually do, such as being friendly, supportive, and helpful.

For example, in Excerpt 6.8, Elizabeth utters the *friend* category twice when describing why she has agreed to participate in the study, first when referring to her many *international friends* and again when referring to Samantha, her roommate and a JC peer. This excerpt begins

as I am pursuing the reason why Elizabeth agreed to participate in the study when her other roommates did not.

Excerpt 6.8 “A lot of my friends are international”

1 Victoria: and so what made you want to agree to do the
2 project.
3 (1.3)
4 Elizabeth: yeah like (0.5) it sounded interesti:ng
5 >like quite a lot of< my friends are all like
6 internationals [like]
7 Victoria: [mm]
8 Elizabeth: kinda like um (0.5) China: Japa:n (0.5)
9 so yea:h.
10 (0.8)
11 I just >so yeah I thought it would be< interesting
12 to kind of watch her English
13 just impro:ve.
14 (1.1)
15 Victoria: so you're kind of curious about he:r English
16 progress
17 Elizabeth: yea:h and like (0.7) and like she's my friend so
18 like I want to help her out too.
19 Victoria: Yeah=
20 Elizabeth: =yea:h.
21 Victoria: awesome.
(Elizabeth, Interview 1, 01/27/2016, 7:40-8:08)

After a long pause in line 02, in lines 04-09, Elizabeth initially answers my questions by explaining that the project seems interesting because she has a lot of international friends from places like China and Japan. Here, much like in Ed's excerpt (6.7), Elizabeth responds by describing a particular category of *friend* that is relevant to the study – international people from countries in Asia whose English needs improving. She thereby treats the research project as one that involves members of that category and projects Samantha's incumbency as a *novice*.

Elizabeth's utterance also accomplishes an additional social action: it provides a warrant for why she is a good person to participate in the study. As previously observed, experience with *novice peers* was routinely bound as a predicate of the *good peer expert* category; thus Elizabeth's mention of her international friends makes relevant her incumbency in the good peer category and serves as a rationale for her suitability as a research participant. She concludes this line of thought at line 09 saying "yeah" with falling intonation. I pass my turn and following an almost one second pause, Elizabeth provides an additional rationale for her participation, saying that it would be interesting to watch Samantha's English improve. Elizabeth's statement implies that she would be able to observe and recognize Samantha's language development, projecting the potential relevance of English expertise for understanding Elizabeth's interest in the study. Indeed, I treat her answer as making expertise relevant by requesting clarification of whether she is "curious about her English progress" (a predicate bound to language expertise). While Elizabeth minimally aligns with my question at line 17, her "yea:h" is produced with continuing intonation and a "and like," treating my recast as incomplete. She then specifies that she is also participating because Samantha is her *friend*. Here, the mention of the *friend* category, provided as one reason for participation, generates inferences related to what *good friends* normally do for their friends – in this case, as she explicitly states, they help each other when help is needed. That she is successful in projecting a positive image of herself as a *good friend* is evident in the way I assess her account using an upgraded positive assessment ("awesome," line 19). Thus, in this excerpt, it was not until Elizabeth produced a rationale based on friendship that I align with her and evaluate her positively.

Similar to other excerpts, Elizabeth's response manages to recognize a JC peer's incumbency in the *novice* category but does so in a very positive way, topicalizing Samantha's

potential improvement and the value and interest of having friends like Samantha. In addition, even though Elizabeth’s incumbency in the *English expert* category is made relevant in the excerpt, her expertise is minimized through references to her additional/complementary role in Samantha’s life as a friend. This minimization of the differences and difficulties between JC peers and PWU peers was evident across all the interview data and points to the delicate negotiations required to “do language learning” in supposedly symmetrical and informal interactions with peers.

6.5.3 Summary

In these excerpts, I have shown how both PWU and JC peers routinely used categorization practices to establish the characteristics of *good expert peers* in this context. Predicates most often tied to the *expert peer* category involved previous experience with *international* or *exchange students*, being used to the speech of *language learners* or *non-natives*, and being accepting, kind, and willing to interact with *international students*. These characteristics are summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Expert Peer Categories and Predicates

Category	Predicates
Friend	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak relatively more proficient English • Have novice friends • Are used to less proficient English • Understand the difficulties faced by novices • Accept communication difficulties with novices • Are friendly

An interesting feature of these interviews was that *expert peers* who were assessed positively by JC peers were reported to have special experience not possessed by default by all expert English-speaking peers. Ed, for example, described her experience with student visitors in Singapore to legitimate her claim that she could understand Lisa’s English. In her excerpt,

Samantha explained that some people “had to get used to non-native English,” implying that people are not naturally able to understand non-native English but must accumulate different experience to do so. Even Elizabeth accounted for interest in interacting with Samantha as a product of her having a lot of international friends. Thus, the *good expert peers* were not treated as the norm but as an exceptional or special category of peer. Being a *good expert peer* was also projected as harder and requiring more effort. Paulisper’s (Excerpts 6.2/6.3) descriptions of the difficulties related to language barriers are the clearest example of this. Her account depicts a world in which native-speaker interaction is easier and more naturally conducive to sharing feelings while interacting with internationals requires extra experience and reaching out. Thus, being a *good peer* for international students was construed by PWU peers as well as JC peers as a learned practice or disposition rather than as dependent on language proficiency.

Performing or claiming membership in the *good peer expert* category was generally evaluated positively by me and the participants, for example when I reacted to Elizabeth’s offer to help Samantha as “awesome” (Excerpt 6.4, line 14). PWU and JC peers also constructed people who accept and are willing to interact with internationals as especially kind, helpful, and accepting. This can be seen in Samantha’s account, for example, in which she praises her PWU peers for accepting her even though her English “isn’t really good” (Excerpt 6.6, lines 05-06). In other words, in these accounts, *expert peers* are people who go above and beyond what would normally be expected in interaction because they are both more kind and more experienced.

6.6 Interpretation

Categories and categorization are fundamentally ideological: they draw on circulating commonsense notions and produce and reproduce local moral orders in situated ways (Jayyusi, 1984). Likewise, the *novice* and *expert peer* categories in this context predictably drew upon and

reproduced several aspects of the language ideologies and assumptions apparent in JC peers' stories, in particular ideologies related to immersion and to English as a global language (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 for more discussion of these).

6.6.1 Good novices as experiential learners

Firstly, predicates bound to the *novice* category, and particularly the “good” version of the *novice* category, reproduced ideologies of immersion in several key ways. As discussed in Chapter 2, ideologies of immersion emphasize the importance of contact between SA students and the host community, and construe interactions with host members as a privileged site of TL learning. This ideology is clearly reproduced in the ways in which “asking,” “taking initiative,” “saying hi,” and “just talking” were bound as predicates to a *good novice* peer. If the goal of language learning in SA is for the student to maximize their exposure to the TL, then students who seek out TL contact by starting conversations and asking questions would naturally be praised as conforming to the expected ways in which a student should seek to benefit from an SA experience. In addition, as Doerr (2015) explains, discourses of immersion prioritize experiential learning through mundane encounters and operationalize otherness, difference, and dissonance as necessary conditions for valued forms of learning in SA. Thus, the predicates surrounding openness, trying, and initiative that were mentioned in the interviews also reproduce assumptions about the value of experiential learning by positively evaluating students' risk taking and willingness to experience difficulty without being “ashamed” (Excerpt 6.5).

6.6.2 Good experts as users of English as a global language

The second category of ideologies that were reproduced through peers' categorization practices were those related to ideologies of English as a global language. These ideologies tend to disrupt the taken-for-granted association between English and inner circle countries (e.g., UK,

US, Canada...) and thus by association, between English and native speakers (De Costa, 2010). Instead, English is viewed, much as JC peers described it in this study, as the language of the mobile and multilingual elite (De Costa, 2014). Thus, learning English is associated with a desire to interact with a variety of cultural others, to travel, and to obtain elite jobs. Ideologies related to English as a global language were most clearly reproduced through peers' predication practices, and specifically the binding of prior experience with international students to the "good" version of the *expert peer* category. As the analyses demonstrated, the two moral versions of the *expert peer* category relied primarily on those members' experience or lack of experience with international others. Indeed, "doing being an *expert peer*" in these interviews involved being open and accepting of different types of English (and especially non-native English). As Samantha's excerpt showed (Excerpt, 6.6), JC peers evaluated attributes related to acceptance and experience as characteristics bound to suitable peers with whom they enjoyed interacting. What this suggests is that experts in this context may be profitably understood as accomplished international or intercultural users of English. Importantly, membership in the *good expert peer* category did not exclude *native speakers*, as Samantha and Paulisper's excerpts (Excerpts 6.6 and 6.4) suggest, but rather included only those native speakers with whom JC students could feel comfortable and accepted and who made a special effort to overcome the challenges or communication barriers bound to members of the *novice* category.

Thinking about PWU peers as experts of international or intercultural English substantially shifts the kinds of learning outcomes and experiences that one might expect in SA. It means that although students are physically in Canada, an English-dominant country, in practice, JC peers formed sustainable relationships predominantly within international and intercultural communities. While that in itself is not unusual (see Chapter 2 and 5), the fact that

JC peers valued and sought out participation in that community, in some cases over “authentic” Canadian communities, is not insignificant. This finding leads to important questions about the linguistic practices and values into which JC peers are socialized through participation in such communities and suggests that Canadian English native speaker norms are likely not highly relevant for these learners.

The relationship between the categorization practices observed in the interviews and the ideologies present in JC peers’ stories can be usefully mapped onto the Douglas Fir Group (2016) framework. In this model, the language ideologies identified at the macro level interact in complex ways with the construction of local *expert/novice* categories at the meso level.

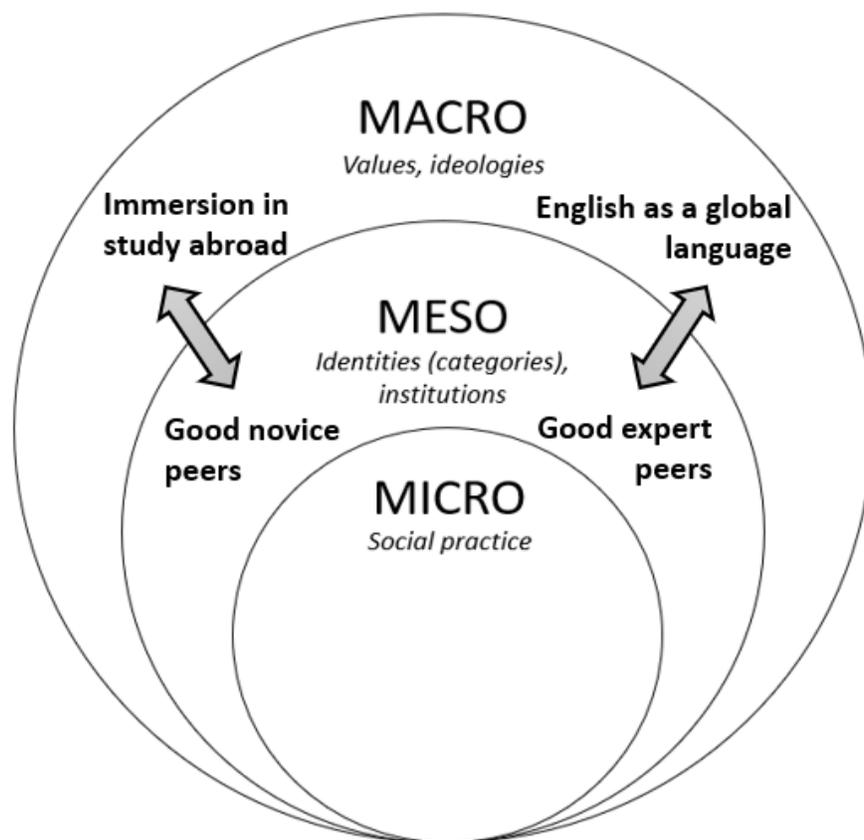


Figure 6.1 Relationship between language ideologies and categories. Model adapted from the Douglas Fir Group (2016).

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how PWU peers, JC peers, and I engaged in categorization practices related to *expert* and *novice* peers. I demonstrated how participants' accounts of their experiences, motivations, and preferences drew on category resources when accomplishing social actions in talk. I highlighted how peers' categorization practices often served to produce positive evaluations of JC peers as *good novices*. I also explained how the predicates bound to *good novice*, such as being open, initiating conversation, and having lower language proficiency, reproduced common assumptions about language learning in SA. Finally, I noted how predicates bound to the *good peer expert* category were related to experience with *novices*, as well as acceptance and willingness, and suggested that expertise in this context could usefully be understood as expertise in international and intercultural uses of English. In the following chapter, I build on these analyses by focusing specifically on how JC and PWU peers described their opinions and experiences related to talk-about-language.

Chapter 7: Rights and responsibilities in talk-about-language

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed PWU and JC peers' categorization practices in interviews focusing on the predicates bound to *expert* and *novice peer* categories in participants' reports of their interactions with and impressions of each other. In particular, I highlighted how *novice* category members were evaluated positively if they demonstrated "willingness" and "openness" by seeking out and initiating conversation. I also pointed to how *expert peers* who had experience interacting with *international* people (i.e., English learners) were assessed as being particularly well suited to interacting with *novice peers*. In this chapter, I further explore how PWU peers and I co-constructed the responsibilities of *novice* and *expert peers* in reports of their engagement in talk-about-language. I focus on the ways in which PWU peers and I oriented to norms around how talk-about-language was managed and who, the *novice* or *expert*, was responsible for initiating it. This chapter, therefore, provides preliminary answers to the second research question:

What role (if any) does talk-about-language play in interaction, how is it initiated, and how is it discursively managed?

To answer this question, I draw on the notion of *deontic authority*, which refers to "the capacity of an individual to determine action" in talk (Stevanovic, 2018, p. 375). Deontic authority, and the ways in which it is managed in interaction, are introduced in the first section of the chapter. In the sections that follow, I proceed with a detailed analysis of PWU peers' descriptions of their talk-about-language practices in interviews. As the analyses will demonstrate, PWU peers' reports attributed the responsibility of initiating talk-about-language

(through requests for help) to members of the *novice peer* category and treated unsolicited correction and “teaching” as accountable actions for members of the *expert peer* category.

7.2 Focus on the discursive co-construction of deontic authority

As described in Chapter 3 (section 3.5.3.2), *deontic stances*, such as initiating a new topic, requesting an action, or giving an order, have to do with the ways in which participants’ uses of discursive resources determine a particular course of action in talk. Stevanovic and Peräkylä (Stevanovic, 2018; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014) claim that, in much the same way that speakers monitor what another speaker can be assumed to know (i.e., epistemic order), another key facet of accomplishing interaction involves monitoring which speaker has the right to produce different deontic stances in a given moment (e.g., to commit to an action, to request an action, or to express a desired action). Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) explain that the distribution of deontic rights in a given instance of interaction is related to local understandings of participants’ *deontic status* – or their relative rights and authority to determine action as compared to other co-present interlocutors. In other words, participants’ treatment of each other as having the right to engage in deontic stancetaking relies on the social categories that are made locally relevant in talk as well as participants’ shared understandings of the deontic authority conventionally associated with each of those categories (Antaki, 2012; Clifton, Van De Mierop, Sehgal, & Aneet, 2018; Landmark, Gulbrandsen, & Svennevig, 2015; Lindström & Weatherall, 2015). In this sense, various forms of deontic authority can be usefully understood as predicates bound to membership in different social categories.

For example, Landmark et al. (2015) explored the distribution of deontic rights and authority in medical consultations in Norway. They analyzed interactions in which doctors gave patients the choice between two treatment options (invasive and less/non-invasive). They explain

that the right to make the *final treatment decision* is as an important deontic right in this context that is necessarily negotiated in interaction between doctors and patients. They note that while, traditionally, doctors had been considered to have deontic authority based on their medical knowledge (i.e., in this case, the authority to decide on the treatment plan), more recent policy recommended allowing patients to have more authority over treatment decisions. In their analyses of actual doctor-patient interactions, they found that in some cases, participants were able to achieve a relatively symmetrical distribution of deontic rights, or a shallow *deontic gradient*. In these interactions, doctors often presented treatment options using modal verbs (e.g., *you can*) instead of imperative statements such as (e.g., *you have to*), which “may constrain the patient’s deontic rights to varying degrees” (p. 56). However, as the authors point out, even though doctors typically indicated their preference for one treatment over another (i.e., they effectively produced a deontic stance in which they recommended one of the treatments), patients sometimes resisted the doctor’s deontic authority. Thus, Landmark et al. (2015) note that deontic authority is not primarily achieved through one-sided claims but is achieved through others’ acceptance of deontic stances. Thus, deontic authority is best understood as a member’s matter that relies on socially and culturally available knowledge displays about the rights and responsibilities of category incumbents.

One major difference between my approach to analyzing deontic authority and that of Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) and Landmark et al. (2015) is that rather than inferring deontic authority based on the ways in which participants treat each other’s utterances in talk, in the analyses that follow, I examine how deontic authority is explicitly constructed and discursively tied to *expert* and *novice* categories in PWU peers’ stories involving talk-about-language. In other words, in this chapter, I examine norms, or ideologies, related to the ways in which deontic

authority is distributed in this context rather than actual displays of deontic stancetaking. Like Landmark, Gulbrandsen, and Svennevig (2015), who focussed on the ways in which a particular deontic right was negotiated (i.e., the right to decide on treatment), in this chapter, I focus on the right to introduce a new topic of talk related to language – in other words, I examine how PWU peers and I co-constructed participants’ rights and responsibilities to initiate talk-about-language.

7.3 Deontic rights in interview questions

Before proceeding to analysis of PWU peers’ accounts, it is worth considering the distribution of deontic rights that I assumed at the outset of my study. Initially, I was principally interested in understanding the role of peer interaction in JC peers’ English language learning and in whether or not PWU peers addressed language and language learning with JC peers explicitly in their talk. In other words, I intended to investigate the extent to which PWU peers initiated, controlled, or took responsibility for JC peers’ language learning. Therefore, in the interviews for this project, I explicitly asked PWU peers to describe how they “helped” JC peers with their English via the following questions (for a complete list of questions, see Appendix B):

- *Do you ever try to help (JC student’s name) with his/her English? How?*
 - *What helped (JC student’s name) to improve their English, in your opinion?*
 - *Did conversations with you help (JC student’s name) improve? How?*
- (Questions from interview protocols for PWU peers)

By referring to PWU peers as people who “help” and JC peers and people who “improve,” these questions projected the interactional space for PWU peers to produce accounts in which they described their deontic rights and responsibilities with regard to JC peers’ language learning. Indeed, in response to these questions, I fully expected that peers would list helping strategies or stories in which they taught JC peers something about language (e.g., new expressions, grammar corrections). Instead, PWU peers’ responses tended to take the form of

nuanced and complex explanations in which they presented downgraded and often vague versions of helping (i.e., minimizations of their deontic authority).

Faced with these unexpected results, I examined the questions and PWU peers' responses more closely. Excerpt 7.1 presents a clear example in which my question about helping is met with a downgraded account of the *expert peer's* role in the *novice peer's* language learning. The excerpt begins as I ask So-Yi, Ami's roommate, if she ever helps Ami (a JC peer) with her English.

Excerpt 7.1 "It's her language I guess"

01 Victoria: so do you ever help her with her English?
02 (0.7)
03 So-Yi: until now not really but like really crucially
04 °not much(.) but°
05 (0.8)
06 minimal things (.) a bit. ((laugh)) sometimes.
07 (0.8)
08 uh she asks (.) like (.) like (.)
09 "when do you say do do me a favour."
10 like ah those kinds of things then=
11 Victoria: =yeah=
12 So-Yi: =I I tell I told her some (0.9) like when to use it?
13 Victoria: mhm
14 So-Yi: °those things°.
15 Victoria: so usually: she asks? (0.7)
16 rather than you: telling her or correcting her?
17 (0.6)
18 So-Yi: she asks [me]
19 Victoria: [mhm]
20 So-Yi: then I say but I I reply to her?
21 Victoria: [mhm]
22 So-Yi: [but] then I don't really want to correct her °English°
23 Victoria: mm
24 So-Yi: yeah. because it's her language I guess.
25 Victoria: mhm mhm

(So-Yi, Interview 1, 15/01/2016, 18:35-19:23)

The challenge of answering my question about helping is clear in the way that So-Yi produces a heavily hedged response in lines 03-06 in which she says "no," then quickly reformulates to "not crucially," "not much," and "a bit" respectively. In lines 08-10, So-Yi's

reformulations change in nature from specifying the amount that she helps (i.e., not much) to the contexts in which help is provided, namely when it is asked for by Ami. So-Yi then warrants this new account with an example of some help Ami asked for (lines 09, to explain “do me a favour”). In this way, So-Yi’s account shifts from one in which she is responsible for initiating “helping” (i.e., a relatively strong deontic right in which she determines what Ami needs to be helped with) toward one in which Ami is attributed the right to initiate a language helping event and thus, also to select the areas in which she requires help (i.e., Ami is attributed deontic authority to determine the topic of talk and to impose on So-Yi by “asking”).⁴⁴

At lines 15-16, I pursue elaboration by asking “so usually she asks? rather than you telling her or correcting her?.” By contrasting “helping when asked” (in which So-Yi has epistemic but not deontic authority) and “telling/correcting” (a relatively strong deontic stance in which So-Yi would have both epistemic and deontic authority), my question seeks confirmation of the distribution of deontic rights that So-Yi has specified in her previous talk. In lines 18-20, So-Yi confirms that Ami asks and that she answers, saying “then I say but I I reply to her?.” So-Yi’s response thus maintains her previous stance that Ami initiates by asking and that she then replies to Ami’s request. So-Yi then provides an additional rationale in lines 22-24, explaining that she does not “really want to” (line 22) correct Ami because it is Ami’s English (and not hers). So-Yi’s use of “I guess” (line 24) and “really” (line 22) and her use of quiet voice (i.e., “English,” line 22) all serve to mitigate the force of So-Yi’s rationale and likely signal some difficulty or discomfort in answering this question.

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that my research design had also conferred a similar deontic right upon Ami by requesting that she select *peers/friends* who were willing to help with the study.

This excerpt clearly shows the tension and hedged responses that were produced when I, as the interviewer, implied through my questions that So-Yi may have the right/responsibility to introduce a language-focus in her and Ami's talk. Here, it could be that the tensions were in part caused by the fact that, by virtue of its polar design, my interview question *preferred* an affirmative answer in this context (Hayano, 2013). Indeed, the field of conversation analysis has long acknowledged a preference in responsive talk for avoiding or minimizing disconfirmations in favor of confirmations.⁴⁵ Pomerantz and Heritage (2013) explain that when answering questions, "recipients creatively find ways of avoiding outright disconfirmations and, instead, shape their responses as at least partial confirmations" (p. 213). Here, it would seem that So-Yi's response is doing just that – her response acknowledges that she helps sometimes (as my question implies), and thus she does provide a mitigated affirmative response.

Interestingly, So-Yi's response also orients to another form of preference that has been widely researched in conversation analysis: a preference for "minimizing or avoiding making requests, correcting co-participants, giving advice, or delivering bad news" (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013, p. 220). According to Pomerantz and Heritage (2013), CA research has shown that in everyday conversation across languages, speakers tend to avoid strong deontic stances, such as correcting others (to which So-Yi refers explicitly in this excerpt). In asking questions about helping, it seems that I had also asked PWU peers to provide evidence that they regularly flouted this preference, which may be one of the reasons that So-Yi, and almost all the other PWU peers, treated my questions about their involvement in JC peers' language learning as

⁴⁵ "The core idea of preference is that participants follow principles, often implicit, when they act and react in a variety of interactional situations. [...] Preference principles play a part in the selection and interpretation of referring expressions, the production and interpretation of both initiating and responding actions, repair, turn-taking, and the progression through a sequence of actions" (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013, p. 210).

difficult. Having acknowledged the role that my questions played in eliciting these hedged accounts, in the remainder of this chapter, the analyses focus on excerpts such as the previous one, in which PWU peers engaged in complex accounting around the deontic rights and responsibilities of *expert* and *novice peers* when describing their engagement in talk-about-language.

7.4 Deontic authority in PWU peers' reports of talk-about-language

In this section, I explore two ways in which PWU peers constructed accounts that shifted deontic authority for initiating talk-about-language to JC peers. As in the excerpt with So-Yi (7.1) above, section 7.4.1 provides an additional example in which a PWU peer respecified a talk-about-language activity, in this case “editing,” as editing *when asked*. The second section explores instances in which PWU peers reported that they granted JC peers rights to ask for language help explicitly in their conversations. While I present only four examples in this chapter, accounts in which PWU peers attributed deontic rights to initiate talk-about-language to JC peers were present in interviews with almost all PWU peers. Following the analyses, I note the ways in which this distribution of deontic rights reproduced the discourse of “learning-by-doing” that were observed in other interview accounts in Chapter 6.

7.4.1 Respecifying “helping” as “helping when asked”

While my questions about helping often produced the kinds of answers observed in Excerpt 7.1, in some cases PWU peers also produced similar complex accounts in response to other questions. For example, in Excerpt 7.2, Ed, Lisa’s roommate, produces an account of deontic rights and responsibilities when explaining the ways in which she and Lisa used social media. Several minutes previous to this talk, Ed and I had been discussing Lisa’s social media use, specifically Lisa’s frequent use of Instagram to keep a record of her experiences. At the

beginning of the excerpt, Ed is explaining that even though Lisa wants her and their other roommates to use Instagram, she and the other roommates, Kyla and Serena (referred to as “us” in line 03 and “we,” line 05), prefer to engage in Lisa’s Instagramming habit by editing the things she writes rather than making their own posts. Ed’s mention of “editing” appears to trigger a relatively extended account around who is responsible for initiating the “editing” activity.

Excerpt 7.2 “No whenever she asks”

01 Ed: that’s that’s Lisa’s thing and like (.)
02 cause I think she Instagrams a lot
03 and like she pushes us to Instagram?=
04 Victoria: =uh huh=
05 Ed: =but we don’t bother we just \$edit her\$ (.)
06 um (.) like (0.5) the things she writes. (.)
07 sometimes. only wh- no whenever she asks but yeah.
08 Victoria: what do you mean by you “edit her thing”
09 Ed: like um so: whenever she’s posting?=
10 Victoria: =mhm=
11 Ed: =and she’s unsure of like what she’s writing
12 she asks us to um edit it?
13 and (.) so we just fix the grammar sometimes °yeah°.
(Ed, Interview 2, 4/6/2016, 8:29-8:55)

By topicalizing “editing Lisa’s things” in line 05, Ed projects her right to correct the language in Lisa’s Instagram posts (a deontic right to impose on Lisa’s language use). However, in line 07, she quickly treats “editing” as problematic by recasting “editing” as an activity that only happens “sometimes” (line 07). She then abandons this line saying “no” before explaining that editing only occurs “whenever she (Lisa) asks.” Unlike “sometimes,” which respecifies frequency, explaining that Lisa asks for editing has the effect of displacing the initial imposition, and thus the deontic authority, onto Lisa. Seemingly satisfied with this respecification of rights, Ed reorients to the interactional task at hand and says “yeah” and finishes her turn.

In line 08, I pursue an elaboration of her account about helping. However, my question addresses the first half of her turn about “editing” rather than her respecification of the activity as “editing when asked.” Consequently, in her response from line 09, Ed appears to mobilize a

number of interactional resources to warrant her previous statement. She does this in several ways. Firstly, her response is prefaced with a highly explicit account for why editing has to happen in the first place: Lisa is “unsure” (i.e., as a *novice*, Lisa has lesser epistemic status) and Ed is in a position to help her by providing grammatical “fixing” (i.e., as an *expert* Ed has superior epistemic status). Secondly, for the “fixing” to happen, Lisa must ask them to edit her post. Only then can editing take place.

Throughout this excerpt, Ed continues to make Lisa’s incumbency as a member of the *novice* category relevant, through the mention of Lisa being “unsure” (line 11) and Ed “fix[ing] her “grammar” (line 13). While Ed treats Lisa’s lesser knowledge of English as relatively commonsense throughout this excerpt, she treats the possibility that she (Ed) initiated editing as an accountable action for members of the *expert peer* category by persistently reconstructing her activities as “editing” *when asked*. Thus, like So-Yi’s response in Excerpt 7.1, Ed’s responses clearly work to respecify the distribution of deontic rights related to participation in talk-about-language activities (in this case, editing) and attribute the responsibility for the initial imposition to members of the *novice* category. Both Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate that, despite the fact that *good novice peers* “should” display their desire to learn by engaging in conversation and asking questions (see analyses in Chapter 6), initiating talk-about-language may not always be a simple task. Several reasons for this are discussed in the interpretation section of this chapter.

7.4.2 Granting deontic rights to novice peers

Not only did PWU peers tend to respecify the deontic authority to initiate talk-about-language as bound to *novice* members, many of them also reported that they had explicitly told JC peers to ask for language help. In other words, not only did PWU peers construct accounts that linked *good novice peers* with actions such as initiating TL talk and asking questions (see

Chapter 6), but PWU peers also reported *explicitly socializing* JC peers into these behaviours. While it is unclear whether or not such reports by PWU peers are accurate, their claims to have offered to help with English when asked also served to accomplish important social actions in our interview talk. Specifically, the reported offers indexed PWU peers' willingness to help, which, as Chapter 6 showed, was a predicate bound to *good expert peers* in this context.

Excerpt 7.3, which involves Elizabeth, Samantha's roommate, is a particularly strong example in which a PWU peer's offers to help made that peer recognizable as a good member of the *expert peer* category. At this point in the interview I had just shifted topics from having Elizabeth assess Samantha's English use to asking about Elizabeth's active strategies for contributing to Samantha's language learning.

Excerpt 7.3 "I'm always here if she wants to practice"

01 Victoria: yeah so are there like any like specific strategies
 02 you use to kind of interact with her? ((sniff))
 03 Elizabeth: (0.7) mm (0.7) not really no::
 04 (1.5)
 05 just \$kind of talk\$ ((small laugh))
 06 Victoria: mhm?
 07 (1.4)
 08 and and do you ever specifically try to help her
 09 with her English?
 10 (1.9)
 11 Elizabeth: ye- um: (0.4) yeah >I asked her like<
 12 "I'm always he:re if you"-
 13 if sh- she wants to practice more and like=
 14 Victoria: =mm
 15 Elizabeth: with her homeworks and like
 16 "\$if you come\$ knock my door and I'll help you".
 17 (1.0)
 18 Victoria: oh wow that's \$that's really generous\$
 19 [((laugh))]
 20 Elizabeth: [yea:h]
 21 Victoria: and does she ever do that? ((laugh))
 22 Elizabeth: not ye:t like (.) it's still early days
 23 [but like]
 24 Victoria: [yeah]
 25 Elizabeth: if she ever wants that \$I'm there for her\$.=
 26 Victoria: =o:h that's great=

27 Elizabeth: =°yea:h°
 28 Victoria: =and when you're talking with each other
 29 do you help her in any way?
 30 (2.0)
 31 Elizabeth: u:h (1.7)
 32 yeah \$>so I only kinda like<\$
 33 just met her recently?=
 34 Victoria: =mm yeah of course.
 35 (2.5)
 36 Elizabeth b-but yeah like so far like (.) it sounds g- good
 37 but like if she um (0.8) maybe didn't use some words
 38 correctly I would like help her out?
 39 Victoria: mhm=
 40 Elizabeth: =in the future?
 41 (1.7)
 42 Victoria: okay.
 (Elizabeth, Peer Interview 1, 1/27/2016, 11:47-12:58)

Following my initial question about using “specific strategies” (line 01), Elizabeth is silent and her eventual negative response, “no, not really, no” and “we just talk” (lines 03-05), is also produced with long pauses and an awkward smile voice. Despite her negative response and audible signs of discomfort (i.e., the smile voice and hesitations), I pursue further elaboration, producing “mhm” with rising intonation at line 06. When Elizabeth does not elaborate on her answer, I pose a reformulated version of the initial question in line 08. Pomerantz and Heritage (2013) explain that when recipients produce disconfirming responses, as Elizabeth does here, the speaker who initiated the question or request (in this, case, me) will often reformulate the question in a way that will enable the recipient to produce a confirming response. In this case, Elizabeth does align with my new formulation of her and Samantha’s activity as “helping with her English” by uttering a somewhat hesitant positive response: after a long 1.9 second pause, she says “ye- um: (0.4) yeah” (line 11). She then follows this positive response up by reporting an offer to help Samantha if she wants to practice (line 13). Her offer to practice with

Samantha *when Samantha wants to*, is provided as an example of the type of “helping” I asked about in my question.

Thus, as with So-Yi’s and Ed’s excerpts, Elizabeth’s version of “helping” attributes the initial imposition (and deontic authority) to Samantha, who should want practice (and presumably must indicate that desire in some way). In addition, by describing their talk as “practicing,” Elizabeth’s response makes relevant Samantha’s incumbency in the *novice* category as well as the category-bound responsibilities for *novice peers* in this context to actively engage in language learning (see Chapter 6). In lines 15 and 16, Elizabeth again reproduces this configuration of deontic responsibility by saying that Samantha has only to knock on her door (i.e., a deontic stance) to receive help. In this way, Elizabeth’s offer of future help diverts any deontic obligation away from herself and onto Samantha, who has been firmly established as a member of the *novice* category.

Throughout this excerpt, I react to Elizabeth’s offers very positively by exclaiming “that’s really generous”; however, I still pursue my line of questioning in line 21 asking “and does she ever do that?” The extreme case formulation using “ever” (Pomerantz, 1986) as well as the laugh that follows the question signals my incredulity.⁴⁶ Despite this response from me, Elizabeth continues to maintain her stance, saying “if she ever wants that I’m there for her” (line 25). This response again reproduces the distribution of deontic authority that she has already specified (i.e., *novices* indicate their need or desire for help, then the *experts* provide it). After yet another question by me about “helping” in lines 28-29, Elizabeth effectively does *good interviewee* by providing the response that my question has arguably been seeking: that she

⁴⁶ I remember thinking in this interview that it was unlikely that Samantha would be able to just knock on Elizabeth’s door out of the blue to ask for help with language.

would potentially take up some deontic responsibility. However, her assertion is heavily hedged. Firstly, it is prefaced with excuses: they have only just met and Samantha's speech already sounds good (i.e., likely wouldn't need correction). Elizabeth then goes on to explain that in the unlikely scenario that Samantha "would maybe not use some words correctly" (line 37-38) (both "maybe" and "some" serving to mitigate this claim), then Elizabeth would "help" her. I finally treat this response as sufficient by uttering the confirmation token, *okay*, and subsequently shift my line of questioning to a new topic.

Elizabeth's many reports of offers to help in this excerpt accomplish several important social actions in our talk. First, the reports serve to successfully provide a confirmatory response to my question. Second, through her offers, Elizabeth is essentially demonstrating that she has agreed to align with Samantha's goal of language learning and to accept and participate in Samantha's language learning *if Samantha asks her too*. It also implies that Elizabeth is able to provide the help or practice that Samantha is seeking. Thus, the reported offers also operate as displays of "being an open and willing *expert peer*" (see Chapter 6). Finally, the last part of Elizabeth's response works to minimize Samantha's need for help (or language difficulties) by explaining that Samantha's English already sounds good and likely does not need (much) correction. Thus, Elizabeth also succeeds in producing a positive evaluation of Samantha as a *good novice peer* who is a willing and able communicator.

Similar to Elizabeth's excerpt above (7.3), the following excerpt from Paulisper's interview features offers to help Ami with her English. In Excerpt 7.4, Paulisper describes how she helped Ami with her grammar via instant message (I learned later in the interview that in this

excerpt, she is referring to one occasion in particular when she explained to Ami the difference between *actually* and *technically*).⁴⁷

Excerpt 7.4 “I’m not like an English expert”

01 Victoria: and so I know that you guys texted back and forth to
02 arrange (.) meetings and whatever do you text
03 otherwise like just to (0.5) update [or say] hello?
04 Paulisper: [um]
05 (1.4)
06 Paulisper: well mostly it's to ah for meeting times=
07 Victoria: =mhm=
08 Paulisper: =especially like lately since
09 Victoria: [yeah]
10 Paulisper: [um] yeah. um sometimes she asks me questions um
11 (0.8) like about- cause I I told like
12 if she had any like \$grammar questions\$ like
13 Victoria: =o:h=
14 Paulisper: =she could ask me and um she asked me once
15 and I tried my best to explain it [\$hopefully\$]
16 Victoria: [((laugh))]
17 Paulisper: \$it came across cause\$(0.4)I- I’m just kind of
18 guessing I’m not like an English expert so
19 (0.4)((.pt)) yeah.
(Paulisper, Interview 2, 05/04/2016, 8:10-8:41)

In line 01, I pose a question to ascertain if Ami and Paulisper were maintaining regular social contact (the two had not seen each other face to face for over a month at this point), suggesting perhaps that they might interact to “update” or “say hello” (line 03). Before answering, Paulisper pauses for 1.4 seconds and prefaces her utterance with “well” (line 06), which, Heritage (2015) explains, often signals that the response will involve disagreement or

⁴⁷ Paulisper later showed me her reply to Ami’s query, which read as follows (Paulisper, Int. 2):

Paulisper: Actually is sort of like in reality.

Ami: Trying to explain technically with an example.

Paulisper: Although some people consider tomatoes a vegetable they are technically a fruit. In this instance you can replace technically with actually they are pretty much interchangeable. Technically is used when you’re talking about the exact meaning or when you’re being very specific about a definition or something. Does that clear it up or should I give more examples.

Ami: I see, really good example. Technically can be used when I want to make something clear.

disaffiliation in relation to the prior turn or that the new turn will be expanded and involve a departure from the previous line of talk. Indeed, Paulisper confirms the first part of the question (that they do indeed text often to arrange meeting times) but then provides a context for interaction that was not listed in my question: she says that Ami texts her “sometimes” (line 10) to ask her questions. She then elaborates on this response explaining that Ami asks because she had told Ami to ask if she had “grammar questions” (line 12). In other words, Paulisper claims that 1) Ami texts Paulisper to ask questions about language and 2) Paulisper had given her permission (and perhaps encouraged her) to do so.

As previously mentioned, “asking for language help” (in this case, by asking about grammar), is typically treated as a weak deontic stance in which the “asker” exercises deontic rights to select the topic of talk and makes a response relevant from the recipient. However, as was explained in section 7.2, deontic authority is achieved when other speakers ratify the deontic stances of co-present interlocutors – deontic rights cannot simply be claimed. Here, Paulisper’s reported offer to help Ami with grammar questions serves to publicly register, in our interview talk at least, that Ami has the deontic authority to ask questions about English in their interactions. In addition, the offer to help indexes openness and kindness, which are predicates bound to the *good peer expert* category. By mentioning that Ami engages in “asking,” Paulisper’s response also makes available Ami’s incumbency in the *good novice peer* category by implying that she actively engaged in “learning” through her interactions with Paulisper.

At the first mention of grammar questions, which Paulisper utters with a smile voice, I produce a latched “oh:,” thereby treating Paulisper’s response as interesting news (Heritage, 1984). Paulisper responds to my enthusiastic alignment with her mention of grammar questions by providing an example of a time Ami asked her about grammar, saying “she asked me once

and I tried my best to explain it” (lines 14-15). This reported instance of helping, serves to warrant Paulisper’s earlier claim that Ami asks for help sometimes (i.e., it is an example that provides evidence that they texted for the purpose of talking about grammar). Paulisper then produces a heavily hedged account of “helping” explaining that “hopefully” (line 16) it came across and she’s “just guessing” (line 17) and “she’s not an expert” (line 18). Here, Paulisper may in fact be orienting to the fact that I am (conventionally-speaking) a language expert (i.e., an applied linguistics researcher and English teacher). Her mitigated response serves to remind us that as analysts, we must account for the ways in which our membership in various social categories may shape or constrain participants’ responses.

7.4.3 Summary

The excerpts presented above provide evidence of a larger pattern that was observed across the PWU peer interview data, in which PWU peers’ responses constructed the deontic rights associated with initiating talk-about-language as being bound to members in the *novice peer* category. The analyses also demonstrate how PWU peers systematically treated the binding of strong deontic stances (e.g., *unsolicited correction or editing, using specific strategies*) to members of the *expert* category as problematic. Finally, the data showed that PWU peers reported explicitly telling JC peers to request language help when needed.

A close examination of these excerpts also shows that PWU peers typically treated asking for language assistance as a “normal” activity for members of the *novice* category. In other words, rather than producing evaluations of *novices’* requests for language help as undesirable or as difficult to accomplish (or conversely, as exceptional or rare practices), PWU peers treated “asking for language help” as an expected practice for *novices* engaged in language learning in this study (e.g., Samantha was expected to simply knock on the door if she wanted help with

English, Excerpt 7.3). Similarly, while PWU peers often produced complex accounts around how to *initiate* talk-about-language (deontic rights), most often they construed their ability to help with English language problems (i.e., their epistemic status related to English) as self-evident (e.g., Ed reports that she edits and fixes Lisa’s Instagram posts as if it were a simple task, Excerpt 7.2). With the exception of Paulisper’s account (7.4), in which she downgraded her ability to help with English problems, there were no accounts in the interview data in which PWU peers reported that they were unable to help when asked. Nor did they report that JC peers had any difficulties asking about English.⁴⁸ In the section that follows, I discuss these findings in light of research on requests, other-repairs (i.e., unsolicited correction), and in light of similar and contrasting accounts in the JC peer interview data.

7.5 Interpretation

From an ideological standpoint, it is notable that PWU peers attributed the responsibility to seek language help to members of the *novice category* and resisted the binding of deontic stances, such as unsolicited “editing” (Ed, Excerpt 7.2) or “having strategies” (Elizabeth, Excerpt 7.3), or “correcting” (So-Yi, Excerpt 7.1) to members of the *expert peer* category. In this section, I discuss how these findings might be related to findings about deontic authority, conversational repair, and the speech act of requesting.

⁴⁸ These finding may stem partially from the fact that good research participants in this study were *novice peers* who were actively improving their English and *expert peers* who were helping them do so (see analysis of recruitment materials in Chapter 6). However, these excerpts demonstrate that systematically PWU attended to the matter of deontic authority in talk-about-language, even when my previous utterances did not make it relevant (see Ed’s talk in Excerpt 7.2).

7.5.1 Minimizing the deontic gradient

As demonstrated in the analyses above, PWU peers treated the binding of strong deontic stances (e.g., *unsolicited correction or editing, using specific strategies*) to members of the *expert peer* category as problematic and often reformulated accounts of talk-about-language that mentioned these types of stances. One explanation for these findings has to do with the link between deontic stancetaking and performing positions of power (Stevanovic, 2018).

As I explained in section 7.2, strong deontic stances (e.g., corrections offered via interruptions or using imperative modes) are often associated with a high degree of deontic authority relative to co-present participants and thus, tend to project a steep deontic gradient (or power asymmetry) in talk. Research on repair related to TL language use (i.e., one form of talk-about-language) has found that strong deontic and epistemic stances (e.g., via explicit correction) are most commonly observed in institutional settings where the right to repair *novice*'s TL utterances is normatively associated with performing the institutional role of *teacher* (e.g., Friedman, 2010; Kurhila, 2001, 2005; Razfar, 2005).⁴⁹ Conversely, in informal conversations between language learners and native speakers, Wong (2005) reports that native speakers were observed to regularly sidestep or “pass” on opportunities to correct their non-native speaking peers. Wong's findings support more generalized findings in CA studies which have revealed a preference for self-initiated repair (i.e., self-correction and asking for help/clarification) over other-initiated repair (e.g., interrupting, teaching, or telling) (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks,

⁴⁹ Although it is not always the case that strong deontic stances are necessarily only produced in institutional talk. Indeed, some studies have shown evidence of significant power asymmetries in talk between teenage girls (Goodwin, 2006). However, it is significant that strong deontic stances in talk between interlocutors such as teenage girls may be labelled as “bullying” (particularly when the stances are not taken up or ratified by the person to whom they were addressed), whereas similar strong stances between a supervisor and employee may simply be referred to as “managing” or “recommending.”

1977; also see, e.g., Dingemanse & Enfield, 2015; Hosoda, 2006). Taken together, the findings from this body of research suggest that, in interview talk for this study, PWU peers may have been resisting the implication that they performed actions that could be perceived as institutional roles and/or as instantiations of a hierarchical relationship. Instead, PWU peers represented talk-about-language interactions as collaborative events involving a relatively symmetrical relationship between *experts* with epistemic authority over language knowledge and *novices* with deontic authority to request access to that knowledge.

The hedges and hesitations observed in these accounts may also be a result of PWU peers' recognition that unsolicited provisions of corrective feedback can be interpreted in conflicting ways. As moves designed to support language learning, they may be treated positively by the recipient. However, as moves that threatens students' positive face (i.e, the hearers' desire for respect; Brown & Levinson, 1987), corrections may also be perceived negatively by the recipient. In providing a correction without being invited to do so, PWU peers might also run the risk of telling JC peers about a language error that JC peers had already recognized but did not mention. As Heritage (2018) explains, there is a preference in talk to avoid telling participants what they already know. Thus, interactionally speaking, doing correcting, teaching, or other strong deontic stances in talk constitute potentially risky social undertakings for PWU peers.

It is likely that PWU peers were sensitive to these potential risks and indicated as much through their downgraded accounts of "helping." This interpretation is also supported by other excerpts from the PWU interview data. For example, in her second interview, Paulisper explained that she felt conflicted about correcting Ami because she recognized Ami's need /

desire to receive feedback on her language use but worried that any corrections she provided could be perceived as impolite:

sometimes like she makes a couple mistakes and then, then I'm like "oh okay" like like I don't really know if I should co- correct her cause I don't wanna seem rude but like... I- I like then again, she probably wants me to correct her? I don't know. But if it's like little if like I mean it's, it's not big enough that I, I don't understand what she's trying to say so like, so I feel like it's fine? (Paulisper, int. 2)

Paulisper indicated that she was aware that Ami might also worry about the consequences of asking too many questions, saying “I don’t know if she might not ask more because she would be worried about like annoying me or something” (Paulisper, int. 2). Indeed, in almost all the excerpts presented, PWU peers recognized JC peers’ desire to improve their English (and evaluated that desire positively), but, like Paulisper’s explanation here, produced mitigated and tension-filled accounts of the interactional unfolding of talk-about-language events. These findings point to the fact that initiating and managing talk-about-language is likely a delicate issue in talk between peers and that “helping” may in fact be more complex than peers’ accounts in interviews would indicate. These complexities are explored in Chapter 8.

7.5.2 Asking for language help and doing good novice peer

The findings in this chapter can also be usefully interpreted through the lens of the *expert* and *novice* categories described in Chapter 6. As Friedman (2010) explains, practices for giving and receiving corrective feedback are “embedded within larger social, political, and cultural systems of belief about norms of language use and expectations regarding the responsibility of novices in upholding these norms” (p. 348). In these data, PWU peers’ descriptions of JC peers’ responsibilities as *novices* appear to reproduce social norms about the ways in which *good exchange students* should behave as well as the ways in which *good experts* should behave.

For example, in the second two excerpts presented in this chapter (7.3 and 7.4), I noted that PWU peers reported offers to help and that these offers served to index their acceptance,

kindness, and alignment with JC peers' learning goals. In Chapter 6, I demonstrated that acceptance, kindness, and patience were all attributes tied to membership in the *good peer expert* categories in participants' interviews. Thus, through PWU peers' reports of doing activities that index these characteristics, PWU peers also reproduced the discursive connection between doing *good expert peer* and these positive attributes.

In Chapter 6, I pointed out the ways in which the actions of "initiating talk" and the characteristic of being "unashamed to try to speak English" were construed as indexing willingness and active engagement in language learning. In the data presented in this chapter, PWU peers described instances in which JC peers displayed those characteristics by asking about grammar (i.e., initiating talk) or asking for editing (i.e., being unashamed of potential mistakes). Thus, PWU peers' accounts portray JC peers as *good learners* who take responsibility for directing their own language learning by requesting help with language in various ways. PWU peers' constructions of *novice* responsibilities also reproduce the ideologies associated with experiential learning discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, whereby SA students must actively learn through exploration and "authentic" (rather than pedagogical) encounters in the local context (Doerr, 2012, 2015).

There was also evidence to suggest that in most cases, by the beginning of the second semester (when the study began), JC peers were also orienting to and reproducing these norms in their descriptions of talk-about-language events. For example, in Lisa's first interview she reported explicitly asking for language help from her roommates:

when I'm talking with my roommates? Ah they talk something and I don't know sometimes there is a- a word which I don't know so oh "what is that" and I ask them and "oh it is" something and "oh please spell it" and they teach me and then I will use electronical dictionary and search it and I remember" (Lisa, int. 3)

Lisa’s description of her activities in this excerpt demonstrate that she treats asking about language as her responsibility. Her account also portrays a situation in which her requests were well-received by her roommates and in which the ultimate outcome was a positive one in which she remembers (i.e., learns) the new word. By the end of the project, Ami also reported matter-of-factly that she routinely asked her Pair Talk partner for help, explaining that “sometimes I stuck [...] I don’t know how to say? So I just ask ‘how do you say in English’” (Ami, int. 3). She even claimed to interrupt her Pair Talk partner to clarify word meanings, saying “many case I I say, I stop her to talk and then ask the mean” (Ami, int. 3). Samantha too explained that she asked her dance friends for language help, noting “if I don’t know that words I can ask them and they like they’re ah explain the meaning of the words” (Samantha int. 3).

In Figure 7.1, I represent the connections between the categories discussed in Chapter 6 and the distribution of deontic rights between *experts* and *novices* discussed in this chapter.

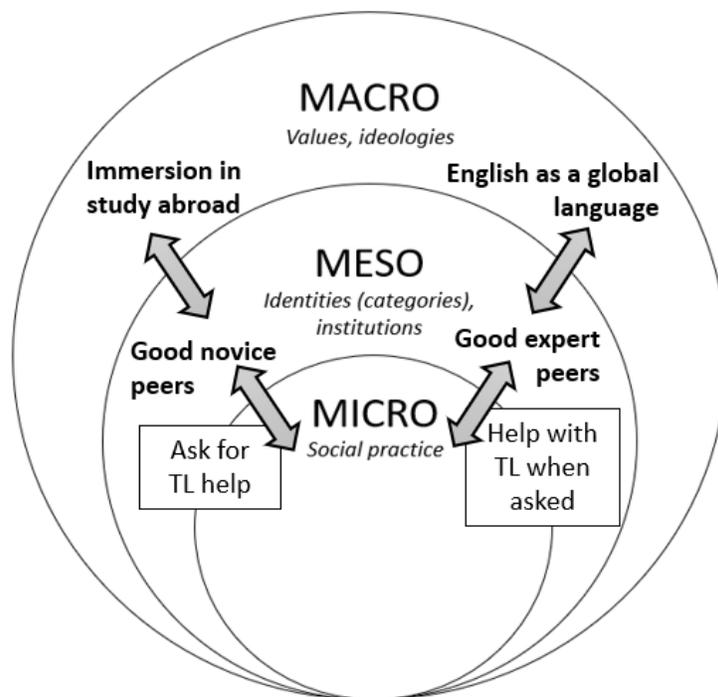


Figure 7.1 Asking and helping as category-bound practices. Model adapted from the Douglas Fir Group (2016).

7.5.3 Asking for language help as learned social practice

Before moving to a discussion of actual recorded interactions among peers in Chapter 8, a final interesting and important aspect of PWU peers' accounts that must be discussed is the way in which they portrayed asking for language help as a commonsense and easily achieved social act. However, as the literature in pragmatics has shown, requests are not often so easily made in mundane conversation: they are often treated by interlocutors and conceptualized by researchers as face-threatening acts that impose on the negative face of recipients by constraining their future actions (i.e., obligating the hearer to fulfill the request) (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Accordingly, research on requests has shown that requesting often involves a relatively broad range of discursive strategies that mitigate the force of the request (e.g., using modals, formulaic expressions, lexical downgrading; Shively & Cohen, 2008). Similarly, initiating new topics of talk or initiating repair/correction also requires interactional competence in a range of discursive moves, including interrupting, initiating side-sequences, and asking questions that may have different consequences for affiliation with one's interlocutor (for example, see Steensig & Drew, 2008).

Learners, like JC peers, require significant linguistic and social knowledge as well as confidence to accomplish both requests and topic initiations in recognizable and appropriate ways, especially in non-instructional contexts where the norms and expectations may be highly implicit. Indeed, research on the learning of TL requests in SA has reported that following their sojourns, SA students often show growth in both the range and mastery of strategies that can be used to carry out requesting (e.g., Cohen & Shively, 2007; Schauer, 2009), indicating that these practices are not innate but must be learned and mastered through participation in meaningful interaction. These findings support Levine's (2009) understanding of talk-about-language as a

contingent and socially situated social practice and extend Levine's notion by suggesting that it may also be an important learned practice in the context of SA.

The interview data from JC peers also support the notion that requesting assistance with language was an activity that had to be learned and practiced. For example, in Ami's first interview, when explaining why she felt more comfortable speaking English in the second semester, Ami described how she learned to ask for help from her host family in Toronto through conversations with a peer from Taiwan: "I talk a lot of English with my friend? And so, I learned how to uh express my feeling. Or how to ask how to, ah I know how to ask how about 'how can I say in English this word'" (Ami, Int. 1). Ami's description suggests that she may have learned to "ask about language" via metapragmatic discussions as well as interactions in which she actually asked for language help. When Ami's story is interpreted in conjunction with the data presented in this chapter (which suggested that PWU peers also explicitly encouraged JC peers to ask for language help), it would seem that learning to initiate talk-about-language may have been an important affordance of peer interaction in this context.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, through a detailed analysis of PWU peers' responses and descriptions of doing talk-about-language activities (e.g., *asking and answering grammar questions, practicing, editing, fixing mistakes, and correcting*), it was possible to move beyond a list of strategies or examples to examine the ways in which PWU peers' responses consistently worked to specify who was responsible for initiating the "language helping" activity. The analyses have shown how PWU peers attributed deontic rights and obligations to *novice peers* in their interview talk and reveal that they resisted the binding of predicates such as "correcting" and "using strategies" to members of the *good expert peer* category. The analyses also highlighted instances in which

PWU peers reported offering to help JC peers with language when asked to do so. Based on these findings as well as findings from the CA and pragmatics literature, I pointed out that JC peers' accounts worked to minimize asymmetry in the relationship between *expert peers* and *novice peers* and that their descriptions of talk-about-language also reproduced social norms about the ways in which *good novices* and *good expert peers* "should" behave in this context. Based on these findings, I suggest that "learning to ask for language help" may have been one important affordance of JC-PWU peer interaction in this context.

In Chapter 8, I turn to the remote observation data recorded by JC students in order to investigate the ways in which Ami, Lisa, and Samantha managed talk-about-language in collaboration with their PWU peers. I examine the extent to which each of the focal JC peers oriented to similar distributions of deontic responsibility in talk-about-language, how JC peers initiated talk-about-language, and the ways in which their PWU peers "helped" to solve (or not solve) various language related problems.

Chapter 8: Accomplishing talk-about-language in peer conversation

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how PWU peers and I co-constructed accounts in which JC peers, as members of the *novice peer* category, were made responsible for initiating talk-about-language by “asking for language help.” The analyses also highlighted how PWU peers reported encouraging JC peers to ask for language help by explicitly offering to help with language problems when asked. Building on these findings, this chapter explores the ways in which participants oriented to the category-bound responsibilities of *novices* and *experts* in actual instances of talk-about-language between peer participants. Through its focus on moment-to-moment negotiation of *expert* and *novice* roles, this chapter further contributes to answering the second research question:

What role (if any) does talk-about-language play in interaction, how is it initiated, and how is it discursively managed?

The excerpts presented in the sections that follow come from audio-recorded informal conversations between PWU and JC peers in their residences, in restaurants, and in public spaces on campus. Each excerpt represents an instance in which different dyads and groups were engaged in managing communicative trouble related to English language use – otherwise known as the practice of conversational repair. As the data will show, JC and PWU peers did not always effectively repair communicative breakdowns for a variety of reasons: PWU peers did not always provide appropriate solutions and JC peers did not always ask for language help in recognizable ways. I argue that although PWU peers often reported that *good novice peers* should ask for help and treated “asking for language help” as the commonsense responsibility of novices, the accounting around engaging in talk-about-language that was reported in Chapter 7

as well as the data in this chapter suggest that initiating and managing talk-about-language in peer interaction was in fact a complex, learned, and negotiated social practice. The analyses in this chapter focus primarily on three aspects of participants' management of talk in this context: deontic and epistemic stancetaking, the extent to which their stancetaking was recognized by others as indexing an *expert* or *novice* category, and the consequences of that stancetaking for successfully resolving trouble and maintaining affiliation. The chapter begins with a brief review of the concept of conversational repair and its relevance to the analyses that follow.

8.2 Focus on repair and epistemic stancetaking

As I noted in Chapter 4, talk-about-language in conversations between JC and PWU peers was typically undertaken in the context of *conversational repair*. Repair is “the set of practices whereby a co-interactant interrupts the ongoing course of action to attend to possible trouble in speaking, hearing or understanding the talk” (Kitzinger, 2013, p. 229). A ubiquitous aspect of conversation, repair serves to ensure that intersubjectivity (mutual understanding) and progressivity (smooth progression of talk) are maintained and restored. In conversation analysis (CA), repair is also understood as one of the generic organizational features of conversation across languages (Schegloff, 2007).

Findings from the CA literature have shown that repair is most often initiated by the speaker who produced the trouble source (self-initiated repair, e.g., *A: I would like milk with my coffee – ah I mean cream!*) (Schegloff et al., 1977). However, repair can also be initiated by a different speaker (other-initiated repair, *A: I love samosas, B: What's a samosa?*). In each case, the repair solution can be provided by the speaker who initiated the repair (e.g., self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair) or by another speaker (e.g., self-initiated other-repair, other-initiated other-repair). As reported in Chapter 4, in this study, I was most interested in

instances of other-repair. Other-repair related to language and language use occurred 104 times in the data generated (see Chapter 4 for a breakdown).

One reason for the focus on other-repair here is that repair often makes relevant participants' epistemic rights in talk, as well as speakers' membership in different *expert* and *novice* categories. For instance, an utterance may be repaired on the grounds that one speaker has superior epistemic access (e.g., via experience) or more knowledge than the other speaker (Bolden, 2018; Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Whether or not a repair initiation is recognized and treated as legitimate may also be related to speakers' category incumbencies, revealing what Stivers, Mondada and Steensig (2011) refer to as the morality of knowledge. As was discussed in Chapter 6, membership in the *novice peer* category was bound to predicates of lower English proficiency and active language learning, meaning that the production of unknowing stances with regards to certain English words or structures were construed as commonsense category-bound activities. Conversely, if a proficient English speaker claims to not know common English words, their claims would likely be treated as accountable because knowledge of English is a predicate typically bound to members of *expert English speaker* categories (i.e., it is a commonsense attribute tied to category members). In this sense, producing epistemic stances that are recognizable as *good novice peer* stances (or *good learner* stances) may allow JC peers to suspend obligations to know otherwise commonsense words or concepts. For this reason, it was beneficial to examine instances of repair in order to observe the ways in which unknowing epistemic stances were treated by PWU peers and to what extent those stances were indeed recognized as "doing learning."

In the remainder of this chapter, I turn to the remote observation data to examine how JC and PWU peers initiated and managed repair sequences in situ. In keeping with a language

socialization perspective, which views language learning as a collaborative and situated process (Duff & Talmy, 2011), I attend to the linguistic resources (e.g., intonation, pauses, questions, word searches, epistemic stances) that JC peers used to recognizably “do asking for language help” as well as the ways in which JC peers provided help.⁵⁰ However, before turning to excerpts in which JC peers “asked” for help, it is necessary to consider the role of correction across the remote observation data.

8.3 Scarcity of “correction” across cases

As discussed in Chapter 7, in the interview data, PWU peers generally resisted my implication that they sometimes initiated correction (i.e., offered help without being asked). In general, in interviews, correction was co-constructed by the participants and me as referring to other-initiated other-repair. This type of repair can be defined as a repair in which the speaker who initiates repair on the utterance of another speaker also supplies a corrected version (e.g., A: *he don't have it*, B: *you mean he doesn't have it*) (Hall, 2007). The analyses of the remote observation data tend to support PWU peers' claims in interviews that they did not engage in this type of repair. Despite the large number of potentially “correctable” utterances present in JC peers' talk in the recordings (a total of 671 minutes), only six sequences involved this type of correction. PWU peers more often opted to let “errors” pass (Garfinkel, 1967), a practice which has been found to occur frequently in non-institutional talk in various languages between both proficient and less proficient speakers (Hosoda, 2006; Kurhila, 2005; Schegloff et al., 1977). In addition, only three instances of other-correction in the data focused on grammatical form: 1) *freezing/frozen* (Ami and So-Yi, 15/01/2016), 2) *he don't have/he doesn't have* (Samantha and

⁵⁰ Given that interactions were audio-recorded, and not video-recorded, visual data related to gaze, gesture, etc., which otherwise might have been relevant in such an analysis is not included (see Chapter 4).

John, 08/04/2016), and 3) *get the bus/get to the bus* (Ami and Paulisper 04/02/2016). These findings align with research on repair in informal interactions between speakers with different language proficiencies, which has shown that *language learners*, and not *experts*, are typically responsible for inviting repair of their own utterances or requesting clarification via hesitations, rising intonation, words searches, partial repetitions, and explicit requests (Hellermann, 2016; Hosoda, 2006; Kurhila, 2001; Lilja, 2014; J. Wong, 2005).

The scarcity of language-related (and especially form-related) corrections in this context is an important finding because SA students may assume that immersion provides opportunities for this type of explicit corrective feedback. However, based on the findings from research on repair practices in English conversation, the finding is not a surprising one. In general, there is a dispreference for other-correction in English conversation between adult peers (Kitzinger, 2013). In addition, other-correction is often treated as uncooperative, or disaffiliative, and threatens the preference for progressivity in talk. Other-initiations can also implicitly blame the speaker of the trouble source, thus further exacerbating the potentially face-threatening nature of other-repair (Robinson, 2006). In this study, repairs were usually initiated by JC peers rather than PWU peers. The items targeted for repair were principally lexical items with only a few instances of repair related to pronunciation or grammatical form.

As the data will show, the repaired items also tended to be relatively obscure (e.g., *whipped cream, sloth, one-piece*) and were not found to recur with any frequency across recordings. Given the low frequency in use of the terms that were being negotiated, I argue that for these JC peers, the value of engaging in talk-about language for learning the specific lexical or grammatical items was likely relatively limited. Instead, by participating in repair sequences, JC peers were afforded important interactional space to produce *language learner* stances.

8.4 Asking and helping in peer talk

As the data in this section indicate, for JC peers, seeking language help was not as simple as producing formulaic chunks such as “how do you say X” or “what do you mean by x” and receiving an appropriate solution from a PWU peer. Instead, all parties to the interaction had to work collaboratively to recognize the activity as “language learning” and had to possess a certain degree of shared knowledge and experience to achieve a successful outcome. These findings point to the importance of conceptualizing language learning in SA as a multidirectional and co-constructed enterprise (Kinging, 2017). They also challenge conventional notions of “expertise” in SA by highlighting the role of various forms of non-linguistic knowledge, such as shared experience, for effectively resolving language-related problems and reestablishing intersubjectivity.

8.4.1 Ami and her peers

Of the three participants, Ami was the one who most explicitly referred to “asking” as a practice that was both expected and desirable for members of the *novice peer* category. In Chapter 7, I showed how Ami described learning “how to ask” from her Taiwanese friend and how, by the end of the semester, she oriented to asking as a commonsense and regular practice in her interactions with her Pair Talk partner. Ami also often construed talk with PWU peers as language learning opportunities and reported that by interacting with her Pair Talk partner, she had learned such colourful expressions as *muffin top* (i.e., when the fat from the belly bulges over the waistband of one’s pants) and asked for clarification of other expressions such as *couch potato* (i.e., a lazy person who spends all day on the couch).

The remote observation data involving interaction with Ami’s PWU peers (So-Yi, Paulisper, and Emma) bear out what Ami describes in her interviews: Ami often “asked,” or

initiated talk-about-language, and used a range of elaborate strategies to do so, including inviting other-repair through word searches (Brouwer, 2003; Hosoda, 2006), initiating other-repair on specific language items used by her peers (e.g., “what does it mean”), and repeating trouble sources immediately after their production (Lilja, 2014). However, while Ami initiated repair in elaborate ways, she did not always receive help from PWU peers that led to the resolution of her language problem. The three excerpts presented below were all generated in the first month of the project.

8.4.1.1 Word searches

Words searches are interactional practices in which the speaker interrupts his or her own turn and displays, through means such as hesitations, false starts, and explicit questions (e.g., how do you say?), that they are searching for the appropriate item to continue their talk (Brouwer, 2003). Word searches are thus a form of self-initiated repair. While word searches might seem to be an obvious strategy for initiating talk-about-language and inviting other-repair, Brouwer (2003) points out that not all word searches are related to TL learning or make relevant incumbency in *language learner* categories. Word searches also occur frequently in the speech of expert language users when they momentarily forget a word or are selecting the best way to express their thoughts. Word searches of this nature were frequently observed in Paulisper’s speech. For example, despite having grown up a Canadian province that experiences very cold winters, she displayed difficulty retrieving words such as *snow plow* or *snowshoe* in her conversation with Ami about life in Toronto.

Given the fact that word searches are a form of self-initiated repair and may or may not be heard as a request for help, they constitute a relatively weak deontic stance, meaning that they do not strongly impose a specific action or response from the other speaker. As such, the hearer

can opt-out of participating by treating the search as not information-seeking. Indeed, in some cases, Ami's use of word searches appeared to be a discursive strategy to buy time for her to complete her own utterances. However, in other cases, it was clear that Ami simply did not have the right words to "express her feeling" as she described it in interview 1, and her word searches appeared to project a need for assistance. Such is the case in Excerpt 8.1.

Just prior to this excerpt, Ami and Paulisper had been discussing *Gudetama*, a Japanese animated character, represented in the form of a despondent egg yolk. They are apparently looking at pictures of *Gudetama* and Ami is attempting to describe the character's most famous characteristic: that he is depressed and refuses to face the world.⁵¹ At line 05, Ami cuts Paulisper off to begin her explanation about the character but encounters trouble producing an appropriate description of *Gudetama*.

Excerpt 8.1 "How do you say"

01 Paulisper: [he's so cu:te]
02 Ami: [((laugh))]
03 Paulisper: [did you] s-
04 Ami: [((inaudible))]
05 Paulisper: there's like um
06 Ami: they say it's (.) mm:: how can I-
07 how do you say like
08 (3.0)
09 ((sharp exhale))
10 (1.0)
11 ((small laugh)) I feel lazy: I don't don't I want
12 I don't want to do anything like=
13 Paulisper: =ah:
14 Ami: ((laugh))
15 Paulisper: oh so cute

(Ami and Paulisper, 26/01/2016, 14:25-14:45)

⁵¹ This was an audio-only recording; however, I know they were looking at pictures because Ami reported that they were doing so during her second interview and playback session.

After beginning her turn in line 06, Ami has difficulty pursuing her talk, abruptly cutting her own utterance short (“they say it’s”) yet retaining her turn with the stretched filler “mm::.” In line 06, Ami continues to display language difficulty by initiating a word search saying “how can I- ” and then immediately recasting it before it is completed as “how do you say like” (line 07). The “like” here projects the continuation of a turn that Ami is ultimately unable to complete. Ami instead leaves a three second pause (line 08) during which time Paulisper remains conspicuously silent. After the pause, Ami continues with a frustrated exhale, small laugh, and a circumlocution of the reported (represented) speech associated with a particular attribute apparently associated with the character, saying “I feel lazy,” “I don’t want to work.” Here, instead of describing *Gudetama*, Ami animates the character, providing indexical cues lexico-grammatically as to qualities that can be attributed to *Gudetama* (Goffman, 1981).⁵² Paulisper treats Ami’s represented talk (Prior, 2015) as providing the necessary information for completion and she indicates her understanding by producing the elongated change of state token “ah:” (Heritage, 1984) before moving on to other business in line 15.

Throughout this excerpt, Ami produces multiples hesitations, false starts, a word search, and finally, the syntactically and lexically simplified represented talk, all of which index lower language proficiency, a predicate bound to the *novice peer* category. The unfilled pause also suggests that Ami was inviting other-completion of her turn in line 07, particularly because both peers were in the process of looking at a picture of *Gutedama* on their phones and thus his characteristics were likely visible to Paulisper (Ami reported this to me during our subsequent

⁵² I observed represented talk of this nature across the dataset and it seemed to be a compensatory strategy that allowed the teller to avoid syntactically complex constructions. Similar to this excerpt, PWU peers did not usually treat the lack of preface for this reporting as requiring any clarification, and the strategy often allowed the JC student to keep the floor and maintain progressivity.

interview, as well) (Koshik, 2002). However, by remaining silent throughout the long pauses, Paulisper does not treat Ami's displays of difficulty as requiring assistance, clearly prompting Ami's subsequent animation of the character.

Instead, Paulisper's silence and her subsequent receipt of Ami's explanation as news suggest either that Paulisper is more interested in the epistemic expertise that Ami has as a *knowing speaker* with information about *Gudetama*, or that she cannot infer enough information from Ami's animation of the character to come up with a suitable descriptor herself.

Heritage (2012) contends that speakers monitor who has authority over the knowledge made relevant in talk and that this monitoring is a key resource for action formation in interaction. Indeed, Ami was the one who earlier supplied the name *Gutedama* when Paulisper had difficulty retrieving the name. Therefore, Ami's earlier displays of knowledge about the character (not presented here) may make Ami recognizable to Paulisper as a "*Gudetama expert*" rather than a *novice peer* who needs language help. In this sense, in this excerpt, Paulisper is doing culture learning, much as she described in Excerpts 6.2 and 6.3 in Chapter 6.

In sum, what Excerpt 8.1 demonstrates is that it was not always enough for JC peers such as Ami to produce unknowing stances in order to receive language assistance. In this excerpt, Ami produces what is, syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically, a request for help: "how do you say." As unknowing stances go, there are few more explicit. However, as explained above, in this context, the conversational activity in which these two peers were engaged was "doing culture learning" (i.e., learning about Japan) rather than "doing language learning." Thus, Ami's bids for assistance were not treated as those produced by a *language learner*. This finding points to the fact that "doing language learning" was not an omnirelevant frame in interaction between

peers. As later analyses will show, additional interactional work was often required to shift to the action orientation of talk to focus on the business of language learning.

8.4.1.2 Other-initiated repair

Successful performances of “asking for language help” often required more explicit or repeated attempts to elicit assistance, such as in the following excerpt of talk between Ami and So-Yi. In Excerpt 8.2, Ami initiates repair on So-Yi’s talk (i.e., other-initiated repair) by explicitly and repeatedly asking for clarification. Ami, So-Yi, and Ami’s JC peer were eating dinner together in their residence and discussing university entrance requirements in their respective home countries of Korea and Japan.⁵³ Ami and her JC peer had just explained that their university has several different campuses in different cities. The excerpt begins with Ami’s JC friend pursuing the topic by asking about campuses at So-Yi’s university in Korea. So-Yi replies that there is a satellite campus in the suburbs on the east coast but that the entrance scores required are quite “different” (i.e., lower). In line 15, Ami initiates the repair of So-Yi’s statement, identifying the trouble source as the word “score.”

Excerpt 8.2 “There is what? cores?”

01 JC friend: your university has a lot of (0.7) campus? (0.9) like?
02 (0.6)
03 So-Yi: mm.
04 (0.8)
05 JC friend: oh really?
06 So-Yi: but (0.6) there’s one in the (0.8) suburb? (0.5)
07 kind of like in the (.) east coast of Korea?
08 JC friend: mhm=
09 So-Yi: =but then (.) the level of university is different
10 [there]
11 JC friend: [oh::]=
12 So-Yi: =the name is same but (.)

⁵³ Ami’s JC peer in this recording was Ami’s friend from the JC cohort (not Emma). Ami had invited her for dinner in their shared residence. Ami asked her JC friend at the beginning of the recording if she consented to have the recording used for research, and she agreed. However, she did not participate in the rest of the study, hence the lack of pseudonym.

in line 21 seems to refer indirectly to the notion of scores). It is also unclear to what extent So-Yi is treating Ami as a *novice English speaker* vs. a *novice with regard to Korean university systems*. Similarly, Ami, by producing her continuers without apparent difficulty, gives no sign of “doing *novice*” at this point in the interaction.

In line 22, Ami acknowledges the completion of So-Yi’s turn with an elongated “mm::” but pursues further clarification, this time, targeting a specific section of So-Yi’s final utterance: the qualification of the level as “different.” Ami’s repair initiation (i.e., “high you mean?”) is formulated as a polar question that prefers an affirmative response (Hayano, 2013) and presupposes that So-Yi will confirm that the level was indeed higher. Once again, despite the fact that Ami has produced several unknowing stances by this point in the interaction, there is little evidence to suggest that So-Yi is treating her as a *novice English user*. So-Yi’s response to Ami’s repair initiation, “Seoul is higher” (line 23), treats Ami as someone who is unfamiliar with the Korean system by providing corrections based on the notion that the urban campus in Seoul is likely to have stricter requirements (i.e., Seoul is higher) rather than a correction that targets language specifically.

However, So-Yi’s orientation appears to change following Ami’s reaction to her response about Seoul. In line 24, Ami registers So-Yi’s response about Seoul with confusion, saying “uh::” followed by two consecutive attempts to approximate the word Seoul, produced more like “south” and said with rising intonation. The difficulty with which she produces these isolated lexical items projects her incumbency in the *language novice* category. This is evident from the way So-Yi treats Ami’s repair initiation at this point differently from those in previous parts of the conversation. Instead of providing an explanation, as she does after the previous two repair initiations, So-Yi simply repeats the lexical item in isolation at line 26. Ami takes up So-Yi’s

candidate repair with exaggerated pronunciation (“S:eoul,” line 27) to which So-Yi responds by confirming her production of the lexical item (“yeah,” line 28) and Ami closes the side sequence, uttering a change of state token (“ah” line 29). What this analysis demonstrates is that it was not until So-Yi treated Ami as a language learner and took up a *language expert* role that the trouble was resolved in this section of their talk.

Unfortunately, similar communicative trouble resurfaced many times throughout this recording with So-Yi. The talk following this excerpt continued to revolve around the difference between the suburban and urban campuses and Ami had multiple difficulties understanding So-Yi’s explanations. However, much like in Excerpt 8.2, So-Yi did not often provide language help in a way allowed Ami to pursue their discussion of universities. After two more minutes of trouble-filled talk, Ami appeared to be fed up with So-Yi’s explanations, and in a loud voice asked So-Yi “what are you talking about?!” As a result, Ami appeared to become increasingly frustrated as she continually requested help and did not receive satisfactory answers.

An interesting facet of Ami’s repair initiations in this excerpt concerns the way in which the “blame” for the need to repair (or trouble responsibility) remains ambiguous. Robinson (2006) discusses who is to blame for causing communicative trouble and contends that an important feature of the design of other-initiated repair is the extent to which it presupposes or assigns responsibility for the trouble. For example, in Ami’s first repair initiation “there is what? cores?,” it is unclear whether she assumes responsibility because she does not understand the word or whether she assigns blame to So-Yi (e.g., for not speaking clearly). In other words, Ami’s repair initiation did not index an unknowing epistemic stance related to her English knowledge that would make her incumbency in the learner position relevant. This seems

consistent with So-Yi's behaviour, which does not treat Ami as having a lexical problem but as someone who has not heard clearly or perhaps someone who has not understood the explanation.

In his work on repair in English conversation, Robinson (2006) explains that when the speaker who initiates the repair does not explicitly assume responsibility for the utterance that caused the initial trouble, the repair tends to be interpreted as assigning blame to the other. For example, repairs prefaced with an apology, such as "sorry, what?" assume responsibility while repairs such as "what do you mean" tend to be treated as assigning blame to the other. The way in which such blame is managed, says Robinson, can ultimately have an effect on the management of the repair sequence and on alignment and affiliation more broadly. Certainly, the overall tenor of this interaction, as well as the talk that followed, was one of confrontation rather than collaboration. For Ami and So-Yi, this confrontational approach to talk-about-language was not uncommon. For instance, in February, Ami asked So-Yi the difference between brown and white sugar and So-Yi replied simply and curtly with a single word: "colour," giving Ami little of the information she was actually seeking. Another time, Ami tried to explain how she took the train to her university in Japan and So-Yi attempted to correct her by supplying the term "subway." Ami refused her suggestion, explaining that it was not a subway because subways go underground while trains do not. Stivers (2011) has noted in her work that the way in which knowledge is managed at the micro-interactional level has consequences for building affiliative relationships. Given the ways in which So-Yi and Ami engaged in this kind of talk, it is perhaps unsurprising that Ami's relationship with So-Yi deteriorated over the course of the semester.

In Excerpt 8.2, and in others, while Ami's repair initiations could be conventionally understood as "asking for clarification," the format of her initiations usually did not make her lower proficiency in English relevant and thus did not explicitly assume responsibility for the

communicative trouble. The upshot was that not only did their collaborative practices not reestablish progressivity in most cases, but their inability to align with each other and produce sequentially relevant talk appeared to lead to conflict and outright frustration. These findings provide further evidence that “asking for language help,” a practice bound to members of the *novice peer* category, is not the same type of “asking” that often occurs when pursuing other interactional activity.

8.4.1.3 Doing learning

Talk-about-language between Ami and Emma was quite different than it was with her other two peers, So-Yi and Paulisper, likely because Emma was of similar proficiency to Ami and because they shared a first language but had agreed to practice speaking English together for this project. Their shared attributes meant that the two could often maintain interactional progressivity by using Japanese when they had difficulties finding a satisfactory English expression. When I asked Ami what she learned from her talk with Emma, she explained:

I guess I didn't learn something new from her but we make sure ah whether it works like “can I say it like” and she “yes like this” and so I just make sure how to use and then make confidence to use the words (Ami, Int. 3).

In other words, Ami represented conversation with Emma as a sort of testing or training ground rather than a site of new learning. In the remote conversations they recorded, Ami dominated: she tended to control the conversation and topic selection.

Ami also explained that the two could “sometimes use Japanese to make sure like make it clear the meanings” (Ami, Int 3) and that this was a particularly helpful aspect of interacting with Emma. When Japanese was used in their talk, it was often treated as a request for help, confirmation, or clarification. However, perhaps because Emma could not always provide confirmation or help, Ami’s bids often were not completed by Emma, such as in Excerpt 8.3. In this excerpt, Emma asks Ami a straightforward question about how often she goes to the gym.

However, rather than producing a straightforward answer, Ami displays difficulty answering and initiates a talk-about-language sequence around the expression “once every two days.”

Excerpt 8.3 “Is it correct?”

01 Emma: how often do you go to gym
02 Ami: mm:: (1.7) mm: (1.3) once a two days?
03 Emma: oh:
04 (2.0)
05 Ami: once a two days.
06 (1.8)
07 is it correct?
08 (1.4)
09 Emma: per week.
10 Ami: no no.
11 Emma: huh?
12 Ami: two days >*futsuka ni ikkai*< ((once in two days))
13 ((both laugh loudly))
14 (1.8)
15 Ami: onc:e
16 Emma: [ah:]
17 Ami: [once] once day is *ichinichi ni ikkai*? ((once a day))
18 once a day is >*ichinichi ni ikkai*< ((once a day))
19 once a week is
20 Emma: yeah
21 Ami: *isshukan ni ikkai* ((once a week))=
22 Emma: =yeah
23 Ami: so once a two days?
24 ((both laugh))
25 Emma: oh:: ((inaudible))
26 Ami: it's difficult
27 Emma: is it=
28 Ami: =mm
29 (1.5)
30 Emma: where where is the gym?
31 (0.8)
32 Ami: recreation centre

(Ami and Emma 31/01/2016, 5:40-6:36)

As in Excerpt 8.2, before explicitly asking for clarification or help, at line 02, Ami displays difficulty and uncertainty by producing two long continuers (mm:: m:) and using rising intonation. Despite these trouble signals, Emma treats Ami’s answer as news, producing an elongated “oh::” (line 03) (Heritage, 1984). After a brief pause, Ami continues to pursue a

solution to her language difficulty, recasting her utterances as “once a two days” (line 05) and subsequently asking Emma explicitly if that form is correct. At this point, Ami has made her unknowing stance public by asking a direct question, thereby making a polar response sequentially-relevant (Hayano, 2013). However, Emma does not produce a polar response, instead she responds by saying “per week” (line 09) with falling intonation. It is unclear exactly what she means here, but it seems perhaps she is suggesting “per week” as an alternative candidate.

In any case, Ami treats Emma’s contribution as inappropriate, saying “no no” (line 10). Emma, now clearly confused, initiates a repair of her own, saying “huh?” in line 11, at which point Ami begins a long sequence in which she clarifies her meaning incrementally using Japanese. Her use of Japanese makes relevant both of their incumbencies in the *Japanese speaker* category. In line 12, Ami uses Japanese to gloss the target expression, saying *futsuka ni ikkai*. Once she has used Japanese, they both begin to laugh together in line 13. The laughter sounds slightly nervous; they are perhaps orienting to the fact that conversations for the recording should be in English. However, once the laughter stops, Emma still does not contribute to resolving the language problem. Instead there is a brief pause before Ami again takes the floor. From line 17, Ami actively pursues a solution for her language problem, saying “once a day is x, once a week is x so, once every two days is...” to which Emma replies by producing the continuer “yeah” at lines 20 and 22. However, Emma still does not contribute any suggestions. Instead, they both laugh and Ami concludes by saying “it’s difficult” (line 26).

Throughout this excerpt, Ami attempts on a number of occasions to elicit contributions from Emma; however, Emma does not participate in Ami’s word searching. Instead, she acknowledges Ami’s questions through the production of continuers, projects her incumbency in

the *language learner* category, and aligns with Ami's unknowing stances. As with the previous excerpts, this talk between Ami and Emma shows that it takes two parties to effectively engage in the talk-about-language practices that participants described so straightforwardly in their interviews.

8.4.2 Samantha and her peers

Unlike Ami, Samantha did not explicitly mention in her interviews that she had to learn to ask for language help. Instead, Samantha reported that she had learned *who* to ask for language help (i.e., members of the *good peer expert* category) and that some PWU peers were better helpers than others. The talk-about-language data with her two PWU peers, Elizabeth and Samantha, are a testament to her words. In most cases, Samantha and her PWU peers audibly oriented to language learning as a relevant activity when Samantha explicitly asked for help or clarification about an English word or phrase. Samantha's PWU peers also oriented to her "asking" practices as making relevant their incumbency in the *expert peer* category and both Elizabeth (an international student and L1 speaker of British English) and John (an international student and L1 speaker of Mandarin) tried to help. However, as the data show, while Elizabeth appeared to recognize that as an *expert*, she had a responsibility to help Samantha, she was often unable to do so. John and Samantha, on the other hand, shifted easily from talk about other topics to talk-about-language and back again and John was usually able to resolve any communicative trouble quickly and effectively. Thus, the excerpts from Samantha's remote observation data serve to further destabilize the notion of stable and predictable language expertise in the host community.

8.4.2.1 Failed bids for completion

Samantha described Elizabeth as friendly and kind; however, she encountered several difficulties communicating with her. She explained that Elizabeth was difficult to interpret saying “sometimes I feel like she- I don't know what she thinks about” (Samantha, int. 2). The two also seemed to have little in the way of overlapping interests and experiences (e.g., the foods they liked, sports, travel, or academic experiences). As a result, most of her interactions with Elizabeth closely resembled “public” small talk between acquaintances and centred around mundane topics such as the weather, midterms, weekly plans, plans for travel during the semester, and restaurants they had tried. When Samantha did try to describe less common experiences (e.g., ballroom dancing) or use new terms (e.g., pier), Elizabeth was, more often than not, willing but unable to support her language use.

A salient example of this was an incident that involved a search for the word “persimmon.” The two had been talking about foods they liked and especially about cooking. Samantha had recently bought a persimmon at the grocery store and attempts to ask Elizabeth if she knows about persimmons. In asking her question, Samantha struggles to produce the word and in so doing, initiates a talk-about-language sequence that resembles a game of twenty questions with Elizabeth asking questions about the shape, origin, and taste of the food.

Excerpt 8.4 “You've never seen this?”

01 Samantha: do you know (1.0) um (0.5) per- permission?
02 (0.7)
03 Elizabeth: [yea:h]
04 Samantha: [you know] it's [fruit]
05 Elizabeth: [cheese?]
06 Samantha ah fruit I-I don't [know how to say]
07 Elizabeth: [oh how does it look]
08 Samantha: ah like orange and
09 (0.8)
10 no I think it's not permi- per (0.9) per mm? (0.6)
11 oh I bought that (0.5) yesterday.
12 I don't know what the name of this fruit.
13 ((Samantha gets the persimmon in the kitchen))
14 (7.0)
15 Samantha: this one.
16 (2.3)
17 ((both laugh))
18 Samantha: \$do you like\$-
19 Elizabeth: \$I've never had this befo:re\$
20 Samantha: ((laugh)) do you know this?
21 (3.5)
22 Samantha: ((laugh))
23 Elizabeth: oh is it like (0.7) a li:tchee?=
24 Samantha: =\$no no!\$ ((laugh)) \$ah you've never seen this?\$(
25 Elizabeth: where's it fro:m.
26 Samantha: mm: I don't know ((laugh)) (.) China or (.)
27 [Japan?]
28 Elizabeth: [oh: it's-]
29 (0.8)
30 Samantha: I don't know but (0.6) ((laugh))
31 Elizabeth: c- c- can I I'll have to like google it. ((laugh))
32 Samantha: y- you can taste this (.) after that (0.5)
33 I think y-you can taste ((laugh))=
34 Elizabeth: =it's it's a fruit?
35 Samantha: yeah it's fruit and it's-
36 Elizabeth: do you have it in Japan?
37 Samantha: yeah I ate Japan and I don't know what we call this fruit
38 but
39 (0.6)
40 ((both laugh loudly))
(Samantha and Elizabeth, 01/31/2016, 14:55-16:14)

In this excerpt we can see that Samantha “does *novice peer*” multiple times, first at line 01, through her hesitations in producing the word, then again at line 06 when she produces an

unknowing epistemic stance, saying that she doesn't "know how to say," as well as at line 10 through the renewed attempt to produce the word, and at line 12 where she says explicitly that she does not know the word in English. In all cases, Elizabeth appears to orient to Samantha's hesitations and word searches as bids for completion but is simply unable to provide a candidate suggestion because she is unfamiliar with the concept of persimmons. For example, Elizabeth first attempts to collaboratively provide a candidate answer in line 05, where she suggests that Samantha might be referring to "cheese" (i.e., parmesan). When Samantha responds that "it's a fruit," Elizabeth continues to orient to her projected incumbency in the *novice peer* category as making relevant her own position in an *expert* category by asking follow-up questions such as "how does it look" (line 07). Through these questions she appears to be gathering information that might help her provide a solution. In so doing, Elizabeth affiliates with Samantha's line of inquiry and together they collaboratively engage in word searching. After a number of turns, Samantha finally publicly recognizes Elizabeth's lack of epistemic authority in this context when she produces the change of state token "ah:" (line 24) indexing her understanding that Elizabeth simply does not know what a persimmon is (and by corollary does not know the word either). Samantha treats this realization as especially newsworthy and surprising – she repeats the news with rising intonation in an incredulous tone.

A key feature of this excerpt is the way in which Elizabeth continues to take up her projected position as *expert* by searching for the appropriate term, even after it has become clear that she has no knowledge about persimmons, which she explicitly states upon seeing the persimmon ("I never had it before," line 19). Indeed, at line 31, Elizabeth continues to pursue her commitment to *helping*, explaining that she will have to google the fruit to find the name. Her offer to google the fruit can be heard as her deferring her offer to help and thus also preserving

her incumbency in the *good peer expert* category. In this interaction, therefore, Elizabeth can be heard to be *helping* or, at the very least, her collaborative engagement in the word search is a recognizable performance of *willingness to help*. Throughout the interaction, the tone remains light and friendly and they end their exchange with good-natured laughter, giving this interaction an overall friendly and cooperative feel. Unfortunately, despite the cooperative interactive moves, Elizabeth is ultimately unable to provide even a remotely viable candidate suggestion, leaving the language problem unresolved.

Samantha remembers this interaction as the most memorable of her encounters with Elizabeth, saying:

She thought it was peach and I thought that like everyone knows that fruit but I didn't know she didn't know that fruit so I just like explain [...] and she, once she saw that fruit she said "oh it's peach something" it was so funny, hilarious. (Samantha, Int. 3)

Samantha explained to me that she later asked Ami about it and Ami conjectured that persimmons were simply not common in the UK. In many ways, this excerpt exemplifies how Samantha described her conversations with Elizabeth – friendly and kind but largely unhelpful. The example of the persimmon may seem an unfair representation of Elizabeth's potential as a *helpful peer expert*, since a persimmon may not be a common fruit in areas Elizabeth has lived. However, similar bids for completion occurred around words like *bloom*, *cilantro/coriander*, *ballroom dancing*, *pier* and *lounge* and while Elizabeth always publicly recognized Samantha's bids for completion, in each case, the two were unable to resolve the language problem. It is perhaps significant here to remind readers that Elizabeth is a native speaker of British English and yet, of all the PWU peers, she was the least able to help with lexical items when asked by a JC peer. Elizabeth also did not respond to invitations to come in for a final interview.

8.4.2.2 Preemptive repair

While Elizabeth appeared to have difficulties “helping” Samantha with her English, John, who Samantha’s Pair Talk partner, tended to provide both efficient and effective language help. Not only did he engage in more preemptive repair than any other PWU peer but he also was usually able to provide clear and succinct answers when Samantha asked for help or invited suggestions through word searches. Samantha described conversations with him as valuable learning opportunities in both her interviews with me and when Elizabeth asked about him in their recorded conversations. John appeared to share a lot of common interests with Samantha and was better able to anticipate which types of information might not be shared. For example, they discovered that they both loved Pokémon when they were young; therefore, when they had a discussion about the differences between various Pokémon games, the emergence of Pokémon Go, and the translations of characters’ names in Mandarin, English and Japanese, they successfully resolved most incidents of language trouble with minimal fuss. John also counselled Samantha on activities to do in the area before the end of her sojourn and rather than wait for her to ask for explanations, he took the time to describe words he thought might be new, like *float plane* and *Northern lights*. Unlike interactions with Elizabeth, no bids for assistance went uncompleted. In the rare case where trouble persisted, the two found creative solutions to the language-related problem at hand, often by writing the word or searching with their phones. Below are two excerpts that demonstrate the way in which John treated Samantha as a *novice peer* and the expediency with which they were able to deal with language trouble in side sequences and return to the topic of conversation at hand.

Excerpt 8.5 occurred when the two were watching the trailer for the animated film *Zootopia*, which features a sloth as its main character. As they watch the trailer, Samantha

comments (line 02) that the sloth character is so slow. In line 03, John responds to Samantha's comment by mirroring her laughter and producing the word "sloths" with falling intonation.

Excerpt 8.5 "Sloths"

```
01          ((video playing, a character says "sloths" loudly))
02  Samantha: ((laugh)) he's so slo:w ((laugh))
03  John:      ((laugh)) sloths.
04          ((video plays for 10 seconds))
05  Samantha: ((laugh)) how do you say this animal in English=
06  John:      =sloths.
07  Samantha:  sloths.
                (Samantha and John, 2nd week/03/2016, 17:35-17:53)
```

It is unclear here why John initially produces the word "sloth" in this excerpt, but the tone and lack of "oh" as a preface suggest that it is not there to align with Samantha's sentiment that they are humorous animals but more as a way to produce the word for Samantha's benefit as an *English novice*. Given John's tendency to anticipate potential gaps in her English vocabulary and the fact that this excerpt comes from a Pair Talk language practice session, this interpretation seems likely. After 10 full seconds, Samantha explicitly asks John to provide the word for the animal in English, which he does without hesitation and with falling intonation. His quick response and intonation both constitute indexes of epistemic authority in this area: the word "sloths" is produced here not as a suggestion but rather as the correct (and only) answer. It constitutes a strong performance of *expert* and Samantha treats it as such by repeating the word, thereby confirming her receipt of the new information and displaying understanding. The two then go back to watching the video and the word does not come up again.

On the surface, this may appear a simple and commonplace interaction, but in fact, there were few talk-about-language moments that were carried off this smoothly by other peer-pairs in this study. Like the excerpts explored in Ami's section, talk-about-language was more often initiated through hesitations, difficulties, false starts, or word searches. In this context, where

In this case, John initiates the talk-about-language moment by asking if Samantha knows the phrase “a wig.” It is possible that John’s comprehension check here is a result of the short pause that occurred after his initial production of wig at line 03. Samantha, like the other two JC peers, often produced a large number of continuers (usually *mm*) when listening to the stories of her PWU peers and the absence of a continuer here may have prompted John to check Samantha’s understanding. However, here the comprehension check is unnecessary – Samantha already knows the word wig, which she indicates saying “yeah, yeah yeah” at line 07. However, John persists and latches onto her affirmative answer with “yeah” and then proceeds to begin a definition of the term saying “a wig is like.” It is not until Samantha demonstrates her understanding of the term “wig” by repeating the word in line 10 that John quickly abandons his definition and proceeds with the story.

In this excerpt, through his comprehension check, John has treated Samantha as unknowing and displayed a knowing stance (i.e., her as *novice* and him as *expert*) and thus has made a learning frame relevant in their talk. Samantha, on the other hand, appears to be rushing to move past this “learning moment,” producing latched confirmation (=yeah yeah yeah) and overlapping with John to supply the word “wig” before he can explain the meaning of the word. John, however, did not allow the sequence to be closed until Samantha provided evidence of her understanding by producing the target term “wig” in line 10, which she does hastily when he does not abandon his explanation immediately. In many ways, this is a very pedagogical approach to talk in which the *novice* is required to produce proof of uptake before the lesson can move forward. Thus, we can see through this interaction and the previous one how John and Samantha had become comfortable moving fluidly between the asymmetrical roles of *expert* and *novice* and the more symmetrical roles of peers enjoying common interests.

8.4.3 Lisa and her peers

The recordings that Lisa submitted were quite different from those of other JC peers. Firstly, only one of the recordings she submitted involved dyadic interaction – the other seven were all multiparty with anywhere between two to four interlocutors. Lisa's were also the only interactions to involve swearing, teasing, yelling, squealing, and whining: Ed was constantly harangued about her terrible cooking; Lisa was teased about partying too much and never sticking to her diet; and Kyla was teased about her aversion to swearing. In other words, the interactions Lisa recorded were more intimate and informal than those submitted by other JC peers. While this made it in some ways more difficult for Lisa to initiate talk-about-language, when Lisa managed to be heard as “asking for language help,” her roommates took the time to help over an extended number of turns, sometimes waiting for her to look up words in her dictionary when no solution could be found.

Lisa's remote observation data perhaps most clearly exemplify both the challenges of *asking for language help* as a *novice* as well as the benefits of doing so with people who are willing and able to provide it. In the excerpts that follow, Lisa often had to work over several turns to be heard as requesting language help. She used a wide array of resources, including hesitations, rising intonation, repetition, and explicit questions, to elicit help. In many cases, she produced utterances expressing extremely explicit unknowing stances (i.e., I don't know, is it correct, you don't say one piece?) in order to be heard. However, when her bids were recognized, the roommates invariably took them up in affiliative ways and did not treat them as threats to progressivity or as face-threatening interruptions. That is, they oriented to these repair requests and invariably tried to remedy them.

It is important to note that while Lisa's roommates were responsive to her requests, the candidate solutions they suggested were not always correct. For example, when Lisa asked Kyla about the best Tim Horton's donut, Kyla recommended "sourdough," a flavor that does not exist at that shop (presumably she meant "sour cream"). Similarly, when they were discussing the relative calorie-counts of different types of nuts, their roommate explained that she liked the big brown ones you roast over a fire (chestnuts) and the others claimed decisively that she was referring to hazelnuts (which was quite clearly not the case). This highlights once again that expertise is relative, co-constructed, and highly dependent on previous experience. In other words, expertise (linguistic or cultural) cannot be assumed.

8.4.3.1 Interrupting to ask

For Lisa, the multiparty and highly emotional nature of these interactions posed several challenges. In particular, initiating talk-about-language often involved either waiting for a lull in her roommates' talk or interrupting, as she does in the following excerpt. Just prior to this excerpt, Serena, Ed and Lisa had invited their other roommate to watch a movie with them on Thursday, and she had been non-committal, saying she would "let them know," a response Ed and Serena treated as hostile (see the way Serena echoes her in line 07).⁵⁵ Here, the roommate appears to be trying to make it up to them by offering to make them hot chocolate with whipped cream. Unfortunately for her, neither Ed nor Serena likes whipped cream and they loudly refuse her offer. In so doing, they produce the item "whipped cream" five times before Lisa attempts (unsuccessfully) to interrupt to ask about the word in line 20.

⁵⁵ Lisa's other roommate verbally consented to the use of the recordings but was not involved in the study in any other way, hence the lack of pseudonym here.

Excerpt 8.7 “Whipped cream?”

01 Roommate: I'll make you guys do you want hot chocolate
02 o:r mm um (0.9) ((lipsmack)) coffee.
03 (0.8)
04 Serena mm.
05 (0.6)
06 Roommate: which one do you want.
07 Serena: I don't know. I'll let you know Thursday. ((laugh))=
08 Roommate: =we'll decide on Thursday yeah.
09 (0.5)
10 yeah tell me cause I have the whip cream thing
11 and then chocolate thing they put on top of the (.)
12 whipped cream.
13 Serena: [>I don't like whip cream anyways<]
14 Ed: [oh my gosh no:!]]
15 no whipped [crea:m.]
16 Roommate: [what?]
17 Serena: I don't like whip cream=
18 Ed: =yea:h me neithe:r=
19 Roommate: =really! it's so good! okay
20 Lisa: =what what=-
21 Roommate: =you'll see on Thursday and then you'll want some.=
22 Lisa: =what you don't like it.
23 Ed: whipped [cream?]
24 Serena: [I don't-]
25 Lisa: whipped cream?
26 Ed: whipped cream.
27 Lisa: I don't kno:w.
28 Ed: [it's-]
29 Serena: [you] know like on top of hot chocolate
30 you put the cream?
31 Lisa: a:h!
32 Serena: that [thing]
33 Lisa: [it's] the sweet one [right?]
34 Serena: [yeah] yeah.
35 Lisa: ah: m.
(Kyla, Ed, Serena, Lisa, 02/02/2016, 14:32-14:56)

From line 01-19, the roommates discuss the merits of whipped cream in loud voices complete with expletives (e.g., “oh my gosh,” line 14) and multiple overlaps. The interaction is fast-paced and of a high emotional intensity. Lisa remains noticeably silent during this exchange despite the fact that the offer of hot chocolate and whipped cream was presumably also extended

to her (she had confirmed in previous talk that she would attend the movie night). We hear her first at line 20, when she produces two false starts “what what” at the end of her roommate’s turn constructional unit “it’s so good!.” However, the roommate does not recognize her turn initiation and continues her turn overlapping Lisa, saying “okay, you’ll see on Thursday.” Despite the fact that her utterance was not explicitly oriented to by the other roommates,⁵⁶ Lisa persists in *asking for language help*: when the roommate completes her turn, as indicated by the marker “okay” at the beginning of the turn and the falling intonation, Lisa initiates other-repair by asking “what you don’t like it” (line 22). The design of the question appears to target the trouble source by reproducing part of one of the utterances in which the item was referred to (e.g., “I don’t like whipped cream,” line 17), although her question is grammatically inaccurate according to the norms of standard English (*what don’t you like* being the correct form). Lilja’s (2014) work on partial repetitions, like the one that Lisa produces at line 22, discusses the many ways in which such repetition can be taken up in talk. She explains that in encounters when language learning is not oriented to, such repetitions are often treated as disagreements, indicators of surprise, or requests for clarification. However, when language proficiency differences are salient in talk, then hearers will often take partial repetition as initiating repair or “teaching.” In this excerpt, Ed and Serena’s initial responses do not necessarily orient to Lisa as “doing language learning.” Serena responds to Lisa’s question by saying “I don’t” (line 24) and while it is unclear exactly what this utterance refers to, it appears that Serena is treating Lisa’s partial repetition of her utterance at line 22 as a request for confirmation that she does not in fact like whipped cream (i.e., no, I don’t like whipped cream). In line 23, Ed orients to the question as referring to the

⁵⁶ It is possible that via gesture or gaze the roommates oriented to Lisa’s talk; however, in the absence of video data, what is clear is that the roommate does not take up what appears to be a question initiation.

trouble source “whipped cream?,” although she does so with rising intonation, mitigating the force of her candidate suggestion. It is unclear whether Ed has oriented to Lisa as not knowing the word or simply as not having heard the conversation.

It is not until Lisa repeats Ed’s turn in line 25, saying “whipped cream?” with rising intonation, that both Serena and Ed begin to orient to her utterances as requests for language help. Ed does this by reproducing the term with falling intonation in line 26, effectively modelling the word for Lisa, and “doing *expert*.” In doing *expert*, she also treats Lisa as an incumbent of the *novice peer* category. The *expert-novice* frame having been established, Ed and Serena continue to treat Lisa’s utterances as having been produced by a *novice* and thus as requests for help. For example, as the interaction continues in line 27, Lisa says “I don’t know,” which, despite its falling intonation, Ed and Serena treat as a request for an explanation, which they provide in lines 28-30. In line 31, Lisa registers her uptake of the explanation by producing a change of state token, an elongated and exclamatory “ah:!” which she follows up with a statement about whipped cream, “it’s the sweet one.” Her utterances serve to publicly demonstrate her uptake of the concept and effectively close the side sequence. In the talk that follows this closing (not included here) Lisa returns to the original conversation saying that although whipped cream is too sweet it looks nice and she tells the roommate she would be happy to take pictures of the hot chocolate and post them on Instagram.

This excerpt effectively displays the finding that “asking for language help” can require persistence and a significant amount of negotiation. Lisa could have easily let this moment pass. She was not actively involved in the initial discussion about hot chocolate and the sequence appeared to be closing when she asked her question. In other words, progressivity was not threatened. However, Lisa did not let it pass and not only did she *ask for language help*, but she

persistently modified her utterances until her roommates treated her as a *novice* asking for language help. As soon as Lisa was heard by Ed and Serena to have asked for language help, the two roommates immediately and unproblematically shifted from their confrontational and intensely emotional talk about hot chocolate to take up *expert* roles in which they provided a succinct explanation. Note here also that Lisa's roommates did not treat her request as an imposition, or an interruption, rather as soon as the activity was collaboratively recognized as learning, they worked together to resolve the trouble.

This excerpt is a testament to the challenges that JC peers sometimes faced in initiating talk-about-language in the fast-paced talk of some of their PWU peers. To accomplish *asking for language help*, Lisa had to first find a way to clearly identify the trouble source. In dyadic interaction, the repair initiation would most often occur immediately following the utterance in which the trouble source appeared (e.g., A: I hate whipped cream, B: what's that?) making it easier to locate the problematic item; however, in this case, Lisa was not able to initiate a repair fast enough to take the floor immediately after the trouble source. She, therefore, had to find a creative way to make the trouble source clear to others ("what don't you like it?," line 17) in a later turn. In order to do this, Lisa required access to most of the rest of what was being said (i.e., she needed to have both heard and understood the majority of the previous utterances) in order to reproduce enough of the previous talk to effectively target a trouble source. Lisa also had to take the floor at a time when her talk would be recognized. Finally, she had to produce an explicit unknowing stance ("I don't know") that assumed responsibility for the trouble to receive the help she needed. However, the reaction of Lisa's roommates here demonstrates the benefits of persisting: being heard to ask as a *novice peer* (or *exchange student*, as Ed referred to her in her interviews) resulted in this case and others in the data in a sequence of collaborative and

affiliative *helping* instead of being treated as a face-threatening interruption or threat to progressivity. Given the large number of potentially face threatening moves (both for self and other) required to accomplish this interaction, I would argue this requires a certain level of trust and goodwill from all parties involved.

8.4.3.2 Distributed expertise

In the conversations between Lisa and her roommates, expertise often had to be negotiated between three or more speakers, which prompted a number of rich talk-about-language moments. As becomes clear in the excerpt below, when language expertise was contested and negotiated, Lisa was also able to contribute to these talk-about-language moments as a *Japanese expert*.

In Excerpt 8.8, Lisa discusses what she will wear to an end-of-year formal event on campus, explaining to her roommates that she will wear a “one piece” (line 03). The expression “one piece” is immediately treated as highly problematic by both Ed and Serena, who explain that “one piece” refers to a bathing suit. Note how once Lisa has produced an explicitly unknowing epistemic stance, in line 06 (“don’t you say one piece?”), the talk shifts from a teasing interaction to a learning/teaching interaction.

Excerpt 8.8 “Don't you say one piece?”

01 Lisa: but on Monday because we have farewell party so:=
02 Ed/Serena: =oh:
03 Lisa: so we have to wear one piec:e.
04 Ed: ONE PIECE!=
05 Serena: =WHAT!
06 Lisa: o- do you- you don't say- don't you say one piece?
07 Serena: one piece is a bikini.
08 Lisa: no! oh really?
09 Ed/Serena: ((laugh))
10 Ed: one piece is like a bathing suit where it's like-
11 Lisa: -really!=
12 Serena: [=yeah]
13 Ed: [=yeah] like one piece (0.4) bathing suit.

14 Ed/Serena: ((laugh))
15 Lisa: really!=
16 Serena: =yeah!
17 Lisa: oh in Japan we say it like (0.4) ah the (.) whole skirt?
18 like [no separate]=
19 Serena: [oh gown?]=
20 Lisa: =yeah yeah like that.=
21 Serena/Ed: =oh::
22 Lisa: we say one piece.
23 Ed: [gown]
24 Lisa: [oh really!] gown=
25 Ed: =yeah=
26 Lisa: =oh really:=
27 Ed: =gown is like if it's full length?
28 Lisa: oh:
29 Ed: and dress is if it's short.
30 Lisa: ah.
31 Serena: well you can say full length dress or something.=
32 Lisa: =oh: I see.
33 Serena: is it like very formal?
34 Lisa: formal. yeah.=
35 Serena: =yeah=
36 Lisa: =so dress I think.
37 Serena: =gown
38 (2.3)
39 Ed: which are you wearing your black one?=
40 Lisa: =yeah same one.=
41 Ed: =aw:=
42 Lisa: =last last time.=
43 Ed: =you should go shopping.
44 Serena: wait the black one you wore to the formal?=
45 Lisa: =mhm.
46 Serena: but that's not long that's like up to here isn't it?=
47 Lisa: =yeah yeah yeah.
48 Serena: that's just a dress.
49 Lisa: ah dress okay. dress. (0.4) gown is longer.
50 Serena: yeah.
51 (2.3)
52 Lisa: yea:h
53 Ed: I'm like "why are you wearing a one piece
54 [to a formal" ((laugh))]
55 Lisa: [I kno:w!] I was so surprised.
56 really I didn't know tha:t.
57 Serena: ((laugh))
58 Lisa: oh:. oh:.. that was a surprise.
(Ed, Serena, Lisa, 06/04/2016, 13:07-14:10)

This is the longest talk-about-language sequence observed in the data, which is unsurprising given the humorous inference that is produced by Lisa's mistake (i.e., the image of Lisa wearing a bathing suit to a formal gathering). In this case, it is not Lisa who initiates the repair, rather both Ed and Serena treat the utterance as problematic by exclaiming "what!" and "a one piece!" in loud surprised voices. However, while they treat her talk with apparent shock, once Lisa makes relevant her position as a language learner at line 06, saying "you don't say one piece," Serena and Ed begin to do *good expert* by providing nuanced and ultimately helpful explanations (it's a bikini/bathing suit, lines 07, 10, 13). Note here another potentially misleading display of expertise since conventionally a bikini is a "two-piece," not a one-piece. Lisa receives these explanations with a surprised "no!" (line 08) followed by the change-of-state token "really" that marks their explanations as newsworthy and thus also reaffirms Lisa's unknowing/learner position.

At this point, Lisa has the opportunity to close the sequence: Serena and Ed are laughing and she has registered their explanation. However, instead, perhaps because of the embarrassing nature of the mistake, Lisa pursues the topic by providing an account for her use of "one piece": that the word *one piece* (i.e., *wanpīsu* in Japanese) refers to a "whole skirt" (line 17). Lisa's utterance has the effect of shifting the dynamic of the conversation from being one in which she is a *novice English learner* to one in which she is also a knowledgeable Japanese speaker. Her assertion, which is announced both as a rationale for her initial mistake but also as news, also projects Serena's and Ed's incumbency in the *Japanese novice* category. In other words, Lisa has shifted the territory of knowledge (Heritage, 2012) that is oriented to in talk in such a way that she can claim epistemic authority and do *expert* as well. From this point on, "expertise" is much more fluid. In lines 20 and 22, Lisa continues to perform *expert* by confirming and further

explaining what “one piece” refers to in Japan. In essence, Lisa is teaching Ed and Serena about this Japanese expression. For their part, Ed and Serena obligingly treat her explanations as newsworthy in line 21 by simultaneously producing an elongated “oh::.”

Once again, at this point in the talk, the problem could be treated as resolved and the group could have conceivably shifted topics but instead, after Lisa closes her sequence in line 22 by repeating “we say one piece,” Ed and Serena begin their own teaching sequence in which they explain the difference between *dress* and *gown* in order to find an appropriate alternative for “one piece.” Ed explains first that a gown is long and that a dress is short, pausing after each assertion for Lisa to register her uptake of the explanation, which she does saying “oh:” and “ah.” Here Ed has arguably claimed expert knowledge of these words and has produced her explanations confidently without hesitation and with falling intonation. Serena, however, treats Ed’s explanation as potentially problematic, prefacing her statement with “well,” which typically accompanies a dispreferred response (Heritage, 2015). Serena then explains that you can also say “a full length dress” (line 31). In the turns that follow, the three work collaboratively to determine what to call Lisa’s outfit. Finally, in line 48, after having identified which dress she was talking about and its length, Serena delivers the final verdict: “that’s just a dress.” Lisa cooperatively provides all the information requested through this sequence as they work together to choose the correct word. Then finally, following Serena’s final pronouncement, Lisa publicly demonstrates that she has understood the lesson by effectively summarizing the main points, “ah dress okay. dress. (.) gown is longer” and the sequence is closed with both Serena and Lisa saying “yeah.” Interestingly, once the *asking for/providing language help* sequence is closed, Ed returns to the original mistake and retells it with laughter (line 53-54) in what is clearly a subtle form of teasing. Thus, it appears that while *language helping* was happening, teasing was off

limits, but once the *language helping* was complete, Ed could revisit the humorous nature of Lisa's error.

In this interaction, Lisa manages to turn a potentially embarrassing mistake into one which involved collaboration and teaching. This is an impressive interactional feat considering her roommates' reactions to other mistakes and slip ups (language and otherwise), which usually involved loud exclamations of "oh my gosh," harsh teasing, and in some cases disciplinary action (e.g., Ed was banned from using knives for dropping them on the floor). By performing *language learner* explicitly from the beginning ("oh, you don't say one piece?"), she transforms the interaction into one which makes *helping* relevant rather than teasing.

This excerpt is also reminiscent of what Kalocsai (2009) refers to as "speaking in tandem," in which "two or more speakers hold one side of the conversation and make a joint effort to repair a non-understanding, or supply the word or phrase a co-participant is lacking" (p 32). For Kalocsai, this type of interaction is especially characteristic of English conversations between multilingual peers in Erasmus contexts. In these highly collaborative interactions, Kalocsai explains that the linguistic resources of all participants are usually oriented to, valued, and negotiated, much like in the interaction between Lisa and her roommates. This excerpt also aptly demonstrates the multidirectional nature of peer language socialization in this context: not only did Lisa learn about the differences between dresses and gowns, she also taught her roommates about how to refer to these items in Japanese.

8.4.3.3 Collaborative telling

A final way in which Lisa's peers engaged in talk-about-language was by providing language support that allowed Lisa to pursue her narratives. Lisa usually elicited her roommates' support by attempting to use a word or phrase in her story and then inviting comment on it from

one or more of her roommates. The best example of this came out of Lisa’s final recording in which Lisa discusses what the roommates collectively referred to as her “crush plan.” For most of the semester, Lisa had been interested in a boy from the JC program and had been getting advice from her roommates on how to handle the situation. In early April, she ran into “her crush” (as she referred to him) and they decided to have lunch, but she was prevented from admitting her feelings when a milkshake caused him to be ill. In Excerpt 8.9, she is just beginning the story by telling her roommates how she ran into him when helping a friend make a film for the JC program farewell party. Notice at lines 04, 06, and 08, Lisa invites Ed to repair her utterance and how quickly Ed is able to resolve the trouble and shift back to Lisa’s story.

Excerpt 8.9 “Taking a movie is it correct?”

01 Lisa: \$ah: you know what today?\$
 02 (0.5)
 03 ah: I went to like (0.4) um yeah one of my: (.) friend?
 04 are ah t-taking movie?
 05 Ed: =mm
 06 Lisa: taking movie
 07 Ed: =mm
 08 Lisa: =is it correct?
 09 Ed: =yeah
 10 Lisa: =taking movie for farewell party?
 11 yeah he’s like (.) kind of entertainer?
 12 so he is taking a movie and (.) later he will edit.
 13 and then I think maybe he will (0.7) broadcast?
 14 Ed: o:h send it um put it on YouTube or something?
 15 Lisa: =>yeah yeah yeah<! put it on the laptop
 16 and stream like stream
 17 Ed: =o:h
 18 Lisa: =and then think yeah he- he (.) want to do so.
 19 Ed: oh
 20 Lisa: that’s why um (0.4) uh he said to me that
 21 “could you help me?”

(Ed, Serena, Lisa, 06/04/2016, 1:17-1:56)

From the beginning, Lisa displays difficulty producing her narrative. Her speech is marked with hesitations (e.g., “I went to like (.) um,” line 03) and non-standard forms (e.g., “one

of my friend,” line 03). Then, at lines 03-04, Lisa explains that one of her friends is “ah taking movie?=” The hesitation marker “ah” as well as the rising intonation flag that she might be uncertain about the expression and we learn that that is in fact the case in line 08, when she explicitly asks “is it correct?” However, initially, in line 05, Ed does not orient to Lisa’s hesitation or rising intonation as a bid for assistance. Rather, she produces a continuer “mm mm.” It is not until Lisa explicitly asks for confirmation of the expression that Ed orients to her talk as a bid for confirmation and she produces a latched affirmative response “yeah.” Lisa takes up her confirmation and uses the expression “taking a movie” twice in her next turn in lines 10-12. As in the other excerpts, Lisa’s repetition of the expression serves to publicly register that she has “learned” it and closes the small side sequence. By asking the explicit language-focused question “is it correct” and taking up the supplied answer in this way, Lisa has also registered her incumbency in the *language learner* category and made that resource available for her roommates in the remainder of the interaction.

Subsequently, in line 13, when a new language problem surfaces around the word “broadcast,” Lisa’s hesitation and rising intonation are sufficient for Ed to treat her utterance as a request for *help*. Ed produces a candidate gloss of what Lisa was trying to say with the word broadcast: “oh send it um put it on YouTube or something?” (line 14). Lisa confirms her gloss with an enthusiastic and overlapping “yeah yeah yeah” and produces a gloss of her own: “put it on a laptop and stream.” Her uptake of Ed’s suggestion again closes the sequence and Lisa continues her story.

Throughout the remainder of Lisa’s story, she produced several lexical items with similar hesitations, false starts and rising intonation and each time Ed treated them as bids for assistance and provided confirmation or a candidate solution. These brief repair sequences appear to have

allowed Lisa not only to clarify the correct term to use but also to ensure that her listeners were actively engaged and following along. As the example of “broadcast” shows, once this pattern had been established, these brief side-sequences did not significantly disrupt progressivity.⁵⁷ Thus, by the end of the semester, we see how talk between Lisa and her roommates was able to shift fluidly back and forth from *expert-novice* to *storyteller-listener* frames.

Lisa’s bids for assistance also had the effect of involving her roommates in the telling of what was for them an incredibly significant and compelling story in their relationship as friends. When I asked Lisa and her roommates to choose a memorable conversation, they all chose the “crush plan” (the excerpt presented here is only a small portion of the ten-minute-long conversation). For Ed and Serena, it was an interaction that transformed their vision of Lisa from a shy girl to a brave one, since Lisa decided to simply be honest about her feelings (they reported this in their interviews). For Lisa, she explained that she had been proud to share intimate feelings in English. It is remarkable that in this highly emotional conversation, which involved disclosures of personal and intimate information, that Lisa and roommates were still able and willing to skillfully manage side-sequences specifically about language in affiliative and cooperative ways. This speaks to the extent to which such side-sequences had become a part of their daily conversational practice by the end of Lisa’s sojourn.

8.5 Interpretation

PWU and JC peers’ practices at the micro-level reveal several ways in which participants reproduced the norms associated with the *expert-novice* categories that were co-constructed in

⁵⁷ Taguchi’s (2014) work also shows how Japanese interlocutors frequently invite collaboration through the use of incomplete utterances, thus demonstrating how this type of utterance can serve as a “resource for joint meaning construction” (p. 522) in Japanese conversation.

the interviews at the meso level. They also provide several interesting insights into peer language socialization in this context and into the relevance of talk-about-language in particular.

8.5.1 Doing good novice and good expert in peer talk

As discussed in previous chapters, *good novice peers* were constructed as learners who displayed their need to improve by having lower language proficiency while also demonstrating a willingness to improve by asking questions despite that lower proficiency. In most cases, in the data presented in this chapter, *novices* had to publicly display lower language proficiency through hesitations, questions, difficulties, and in some cases outright admission that they did not understand (a predicate associated with the *novice* category, see Chapter 6) in order to receive language help. When JC peers (especially Lisa) initiated repair through the production of these types of explicit unknowing *novice* stances, the initiations were generally treated in affiliative ways (e.g., orienting to the question as non-face-threatening, proposing repair solutions). This positive treatment of *novice* stances reproduces the positive attitudes expressed in interviews towards *novices* that “asked for language help.”

The findings in this chapter also demonstrated that for PWU peers to engage successfully in talk-about-language, they required more than just proficiency in English. They often required a body of shared knowledge or experience about a wide range of international or cross-cultural topics (e.g., persimmons and Pokémon) as well as the ability to infer JC peers’ meanings and predict potential difficulties. Arguably, this type of knowledge is gained through the types of international, intercultural, and language learning experience that was bound as a predicate to members of the *good expert peer* category in interviews. Thus, the analyses in this chapter provide additional evidence in support of the relevance of such international and intercultural experience for peer language socialization in this context.

I have modelled the relationships between ideologies at the macro level, categories at the meso level, and practices and micro level in Figure 8.1. As the model shows, the favourable treatment of “asking for language help” observed in these talk-about-language sequences serves to reproduce *good expert peers* as kind and accepting friends. This treatment also reinforces the connections between doing *good novice peer* and demonstrating desire to learn through initiating talk with others.

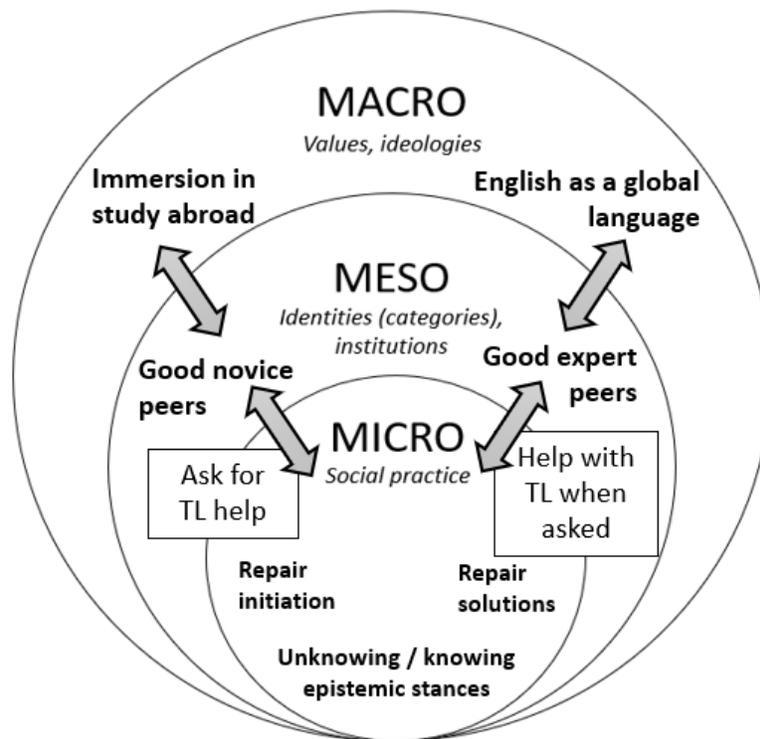


Figure 8.1 Relationship between ideologies, categories, and practices. Model adapted from the Douglas Fir Group (2016).

8.5.2 Talk-about-language as co-constructed social practice

These analyses also point to the fact that in situ, engaging in talk-about-language was more complex than the descriptions in interviews would suggest. Other research (Katz, 2000; Razfar, 2012) has also pointed to the ways in which ideologies produced in interviews do not necessarily match behaviours in situated interactions. In interviews, “doing *good expert peer*”

could be accomplished by reporting behaviours that made the PWU peers recognizable as members of that category. In interactions in situ, there are of course other competing concerns and constraints – for example, not possessing the knowledge needed to help (in Elizabeth’s case). As the data showed, not all PWU peers were effective *expert language helpers*. In addition, not all JC peers effectively did *good novice*: JC peers did not always produce stances that were recognizable as “asking for language help” despite the fact that it was relatively clear that their difficulties in maintaining progressivity stemmed from gaps in their knowledge of English.

These findings further support the notion that talk-about-language sequences are co-constructed interactions and should be analyzed as such. As Theodórsdóttir (2018) explains, “L2 correction practices in the wild are social undertakings where the contributions of both participants in an interaction constitute the practice” (p. 42). In these analyses, I have demonstrated that talk-about-language could only lead to a successful outcome when all participants 1) recognized the interaction as being about language learning, 2) oriented to that activity as appropriate or valued, and 3) had the requisite linguistic resources to participate.

The variable success with which JC and PWU peers were able to “do language learning” in their talk also highlights the complexity of managing shifts between the relatively symmetrical activity of peers chatting and the less symmetrical activity of teaching and learning. It shows that the accomplishment of “language learning” in peer interaction cannot be taken for granted in SA contexts and that crucially, its accomplishment appears to rely at least partially on the extent to which peers and SA students understand language learning as a relevant and desirable activity in their interactions. Based on these findings, as well as the reports in interviews, I contend that engaging in talk-about-language in locally appropriate ways was a learned or socialized practice for these JC peers (and to some extent their PWU peers as well).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored talk-about-language in the JC peers' recorded conversations as well as how those sequences were discursively managed. The findings highlight firstly that "doing asking for language help" was a complex and negotiated endeavour. For PWU peers to recognize that JC peers were *asking for language help*, JC peers first had to effectively identify a target for repair, and then produce an unknowing stance that assumed responsibility for the interactional trouble. In so doing, JC peers were often able to make relevant interactional identities as *novice English users* and *active language learners*. When JC peers' incumbencies in the *language novice* category were recognized in talk, their requests for assistance were often taken up by PWU peers in affiliative ways and not treated as interruptions or impositions. When JC peers' unknowing stances did not bind their displays of difficulty to their lesser abilities in English, PWU peers often opted to let the trouble pass or provided repair solutions that addressed meaning or hearing rather than knowledge of language form.

Secondly, despite being expert English speakers in the conventional sense (except for Emma), the analyses demonstrate that PWU peers were not always able to help with language questions. Doing *expert* required more than knowing how to speak English, even for university students. Helping required recognizing the JC peer's initiation, being able to infer the item that caused the difficulty, and being knowledgeable enough about that item to suggest a reasonable candidate solution. These results together point to the value of viewing talk-about-language as a collaborative, learned social practice for *novices* and *experts*. In the final chapter, I synthesize findings from across all results chapters and discuss their implications for understanding peer language socialization in internationalized SA contexts.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and implications

9.1 Introduction

In the introduction to this dissertation, I presented a short account of my own study abroad experience in France. I described how I met supportive native-speaking Francophone friends who mentored me patiently. What I did not fully acknowledge at the time was that the *French* friends I made were also proficient multilinguals who had previously lived abroad. These “once internationals” had lived my language struggles and were excited by international travel and cultural learning, much like I was. My friends were not *just* proficient French speakers. They were experts at language learning in the wild. They were mobility mentors and language brokers. They encouraged me to ask questions and to make mistakes, just as others had done for them. What I realize now, through the lens of my work with Ami, Samantha, and Lisa, is that those friends effectively socialized me into displaying both interest and effort in various ways. Like PWU peers, my French friends explicitly and repeatedly encouraged me to speak more French and to ask questions. They also answered my questions when I asked them.

Through a detailed analysis of PWU and JC peer interviews as well as peer interaction, this study shed light on the ways PWU and JC peers oriented to language learning in this context, the practices that were valued, and the ways in which such practices were accomplished in situ. The purpose of this final chapter is to summarize the findings of this dissertation and to discuss the implications for understanding language learning in an internationalized SA context. First, however, I address the ways in which this project also shaped Ami’s, Samantha’s, and Lisa’s experiences.

9.2 The project's role in JC students' peer socialization experiences

As a researcher adopting a discursive constructionist perspective (Potter & Hepburn, 2008), I fully acknowledge that both I and the design of the project contributed in various ways to the experiences of the participants and, by association, to the findings presented in this dissertation. First, the recruitment materials and research questions for this project placed value on informal peer interaction as a site for language learning. Ami, Samantha, and Lisa joined the project because they had been unsuccessful in forming peer relationships in the first term and desired to increase the amount and the quality of their peer relationships and interactions in English. Indeed, JC peers used the project as a pretext for requesting regular contact with PWU peers. Samantha, for example, set specific times to sit down with Elizabeth, her roommate, to do the recordings each week. Ami and Emma only spoke in English for the project. By asking JC peers to recruit PWU peers and take charge of their own recordings, the very design of the project also encouraged JC peers to “take initiative” and gave them additional tools for performing *good novice*.

I further contributed to JC peers' socialization into *good novice peer* identities through our interactions in interviews. When JC peers expressed their difficulties in making friends, as an experienced exchange student I expressed empathy with their challenges and encouraged them to keep trying. In addition, I engaged in talk-about-language with JC peers, both during interviews and more informal encounters, and praised their curiosity and progress. Through my positive evaluations of their “asking” practices, I further reinforced the indexical links between doing *good novice peer* and asking for language help. Thus, not only did the JC peers volunteer for the project because they were in some ways already aligned with its assumptions, but their experiences interacting with me likely reinforced those assumptions.

In this study, I adopted the perspective that remaining “neutral” is neither possible nor desirable in studies in which we ask our participants to divulge personal information over an extended period of time. Ellis (2007) explains that relational ethics in qualitative research require “researchers to act from our hearts and minds to acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and initiate and maintain conversation” (p. 4). In many ways, the role I played in socializing students was also part and parcel of the terms of participation, since I had offered to “practice” with students and serve as a resource for local knowledge. I also maintain that my orientation to and reification of certain discourses reported in this study, such as discourses of immersion and learning-by-doing (Doerr, 2013b), does not invalidate their importance. By discussing findings from both the interview and the conversation data, I demonstrated the relevancy of the *good novice peer* category for initiating talk-about-language and eliciting peer help. I thus maintain that learning to do *good novice peer* was an important facet of the language development of these three JC peers during their sojourns.

In addition, I would argue that acknowledging the role that project participation played in these students’ experiences also has benefits. As Briggs (2003) has suggested, the discursive mediation of interview data in particular “should not be viewed as a source of contamination but rather as a crucial source of insights into both interviewing processes and the social worlds they seek to document” (p. 494). It was precisely by analyzing the subtle ways that JC and PWU peers treated my interview questions that led me to identify meaningful patterns in their stancetaking. Examining what participants treated as accountable in my questions and in their responses allowed me to formulate an empirically grounded account of behavioural norms in this context. By viewing the project (the recordings and interviews) as consequential for JC peers’

learning during their SA sojourn, it is also possible to imagine how such a project could be transformed into a useful intervention to encourage peer interaction in SA.

In sum, I view my co-generation of the data and findings not as a limitation but instead as a defining characteristic of virtually all qualitative research. We gain more from understanding how we, as researchers, shape our interpretations than from claiming neutrality. Having acknowledged my part in the co-generation of the results, I will now proceed to an overview of the findings for each research question.

9.3 Overview of the study

This multiple case study has focused on the stories, experiences, and talk of three focal JC peers and their English-speaking peers at an internationalized western Canadian university. It has sought to gain insight into how JC and PWU peers described their relationships when language learning was made relevant and the ways in which *expert* and *novice* positions could be negotiated and legitimately be taken up when language issues were oriented to.

9.3.1 Research question #1

How do JC peers describe the contribution of peer interaction and/or relationships to their English learning? How do PWU peers describe their contributions to JC peers' English learning?

This research question was designed to address the *discursive construction* of participants' experiences and roles in English language learning. The stories of JC peers (Chapter 5) emphasized the importance of peer relationships forged through various opportunities provided by the institutional context (e.g., dance club, language exchange, student housing). The accounts served to construct peer interaction as a privileged site for English practice, thus reproducing widespread ideologies about the value of immersion and “authentic interactions” in

SA (Doerr, 2015; Kubota, 2016b). I also discussed the ways in which my JC focal participants' descriptions of their English learning goals and experiences (re)produced ideologies of English as a global or international language, which are predominant in Japanese higher education (Liddicoat, 2007a; Mori, 2014). The stories of the three JC peers' experiences using English in peer interaction also constructed English as a valuable tool for communicating with a variety of cultural and linguistic others, rather than just native speakers. I then discussed how these ideologies served to frame the multilingual and international peers they met as especially valued candidates for engaging in English practice.

In Chapter 6, I drew on concepts from MCA (Sacks, 1992; also see, e.g., Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015) to further examine how JC peers, PWU peers, and I co-constructed *expert* and *novice* categories in interviews. An analysis of the interview data revealed that PWU peers discursively connected the *good novice peer* practices of “initiating talk” and “asking for language help” with JC peers' desire to learn English. By mentioning these activities, PWU peers were able to produce positive evaluations of JC peers as *good novice peers*. Similarly, JC peers also produced positive evaluations of PWU peers through reference to their experience with international others and their willingness to help *exchange* and *international students*. While the actual experiences of each of the three focal students differed slightly (e.g., Ami and Samantha struggled more than Lisa in the first term; each student formed their most meaningful relationships through different extracurricular university programs), there was in fact little difference in the discourses and categories that were used to describe their experiences. Thus, while these category constructions are not necessarily accurate reflections of PWU peer or JC peer behaviour in situ (as we saw in Chapter 8), I argue that the similarities observed in the

categorization work across interviews provides insights into shared circulating norms about the characteristics and behaviours of *good expert peers* and *good novice peers* in this context.

9.3.2 Research question #2

What role (if any) does talk-about-language play in interaction, how is it initiated, and how is it discursively managed?

The second research question focused on a single type of speech event, talk-about-language (Levine, 2009), defined as interactions in which participants orient to a language-related item as a stance object in talk. The question aimed to ascertain the extent to which peers talked explicitly about language form, meaning, or use; the norms around the management of such talk; and, finally, the ways in which such talk arose and was collaboratively managed in situ.

Chapter 7 analyzed PWU peers' and JC peers' descriptions of engaging in talk-about-language in interviews. Across cases, both JC and PWU peers tended to construct this event as one in which *novices* ask for language help and *experts* provide it to the best of their ability. In interview talk, PWU peers resisted the responsibilities implied in the interview questions (i.e., having strategies, correcting) and constructed them as being in conflict with the responsibilities of a *good expert peer* (who demonstrates concern for their interlocutor's confidence and demonstrates interest by not interrupting). Drawing on the notion of deontic authority (and rights) (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), I demonstrated how maintaining claims to being a *good expert peer* involved shifting deontic rights to initiate talk-about-language (usually by asking for language help or clarifications) to the JC peers. This was usually accomplished in PWU peers' interviews through the explicit topicalization of JC peers' lesser knowledge of English, thus establishing their status as *language learners*. For PWU peers across cases, JC peers'

incumbency in this category appeared to provide a legitimate social rationale for offering language help. I also argued that the hesitations, difficulties, and accounting work that PWU peers engaged in when describing their participation in talk-about-language pointed to the challenges of “doing being *peer*” and “doing being *language expert*” simultaneously.

Like PWU peers, JC peers produced accounts in which they, as *novices*, had the right and responsibility to ask for help. However, unlike PWU peers, JC peers oriented to the actual accomplishment of talk-about-language as less straightforward. Ami for example, oriented to “asking” as a learned practice that was taught to her by her Taiwanese friend in Toronto. Based on JC peers’ accounts, I suggested that learning the practices associated with “asking for language help” (and their connection to doing *being a good novice peer*) might have constituted an important affordance of peer interaction in this context.

In Chapter 8, drawing on insights from the interview data, I examined instances of talk-about-language in interactions between the focal JC peers and the PWU peers they had recruited. In the recordings they submitted, talk-about-language occurred approximately every five minutes – usually in the context of repair sequences involving a lexical item. I showed, through a detailed analysis of the talk, that the linguistic resources and social knowledge required to engage in language repair practices were complex: JC peers had to claim the deontic right to open a side sequence at an appropriate moment, clearly identify the trouble source in talk, and make relevant their learner status to ensure that the repair initiation would be treated as a request for extended explanation. For their part, PWU peers had to not only recognize the initiation but also infer the linguistic knowledge sought by the JC peer. They then had to take up an *expert* position and assert that knowledge.

As the analyses showed, the successful resolution of repair sequences involving language was not always a foregone conclusion. The excerpts presented showed how in Ami's case, repair initiations were not always treated as requests for language help (e.g., in talk with Paulisper) or were treated as annoyances (e.g., So-Yi). Excerpts from Samantha's conversations showed how even when repair initiations were recognized by PWU peers, some PWU peers provided better language help than others. Specifically, I discussed the ways in which John's and Samantha's common experiences as well as John's ability to predict language difficulties enabled John to provide solutions more effectively than Elizabeth, who had little experience with the topics that Samantha discussed. Finally, I showed how Lisa and her roommates worked collaboratively to find language solutions but usually only after Lisa explicitly made relevant her language learner status.

Given the complexities of this metalinguistic task, the value of participating in talk-about-language appears to have less to do with the lexical items being negotiated, than with learning to strategically utilize discursive moves that index incumbency in the *novice* category. These findings also point to the importance of viewing talk-about-language as a collaborative achievement, one in which all members must 1) recognize the event as focused on language learning, 2) be willing and able to momentarily take up *expert* and *novice* roles, and 3) possess the knowledge and linguistic resources necessary to effectively resolve the language problem.

9.4 Limitations

While this multiple case study offers useful insights, it is important to acknowledge several limitations. Firstly, these case studies involved three female focal participants who were exceptionally resourceful, resilient, and motivated young language learners. Thus, the findings do not shed light on the experiences of the many JC students who did not desire or who did not

succeed at forming relationships with English speakers during their sojourns. It also did not address the ways in which peer socialization experiences may have been mediated by interactions with co-nationals, teachers or administrators. Thus, this study is only a partial portrait of peer language socialization in this context.

An additional limitation of this research has to do with the nature of the data generation. Most recordings submitted were audio-only, making transcription sometimes quite difficult. Video data might afford further insights into the ways in which SA students coordinate the use of resources from multiple modalities (e.g., eye gaze, gesture) to engage in talk-about-language. In addition, given that it was predominantly lexis that was negotiated, it may also be important to see how material objects and images displayed on phones and other electronic devices serve as additional resources for negotiation in this context. However, I would offer a word of caution in this regard since video recording equipment (and the necessary microphones to go with it) is more intrusive than a simple audio recorder and thus has a greater potential to transform relatively informal interactions into more obvious “research interactions.”

Given the nature of a case study, the specific experiences and discursive strategies employed by each participant cannot and should not be generalized either to other students in the program or to other populations. However, as Wernicke-Heinrichs (2013) notes, while the specifics may not be generalized, the ways in which identity categories can be made to function as interactional resources are relevant for understanding norms around negotiating access to and membership in desired communities in other contexts as well.

Despite these limitations, this dissertation contributes to the SA literature by investigating the extent to which interaction with peers at PWU involved explicitly “doing language learning” and how JC and PWU peers legitimately did *expert* and *novice* when that was the case. In so

doing, it adds to findings by Shively (2018), Diao (2016), and Kinginger and Wu (2018), which have shown that while peer interaction can involve talk-about-language, other concerns, such as building affiliation, are also important in this context. The findings also reveal that “practicing English” or “language learning” can be accomplished in affiliative ways that are compatible with friendship building as well as disaffiliative ways and that these practices are mediated by expectations around how *good novices* ought to behave.

9.5 Implications for language socialization research in SA

The study was motivated by a recent call for increased attention to the nature of host community members’ contributions to and perspectives on SA students’ language learning. It also aimed to contribute to a growing, but as of yet small, body of research on the nature of informal peer interaction and its affordances for language learning in the SA context (Diao, 2016; Ishida, 2010; McGregor, 2016; Shively, 2018). This study contributes to the field of SA by challenging common conceptions of “expertise” and “host community,” notably in contexts that are highly internationalized. Through the analyses, I have pointed to the ways in which the characteristics of the desired community, and thus of the *expert* members of that community, had as much to do with empathy and international experience as it did with English speaking skills. It also demonstrates the ways in which language learning is topicalized explicitly in peer talk and the ideologies that mediate the management of such talk.

These findings have implications for understanding peer language socialization in this context, three of which I will discuss here. First, this study encourages us to rethink the nature of the peer community that SA students seek and value at internationalized universities. Second, it points to how “doing *novice*” may be both a learned practice and a strategic resource for gaining access to that community or network. Finally, the findings highlight the need to conceive of

peers as historical multifaceted individuals who may or may not be willing or able to appropriately “do *expert*” in interaction with SA students.

9.5.1 Problematizing the notion of host community

Given that LS work seeks to uncover the means by which novices can participate meaningfully in the communities to which they desire access, understanding the features of their desired community is helpful for understanding the novice’s role within it. As discussed in Chapter 2, SA research has largely viewed the host community as a unified and culturally-bound other rather than as a highly diverse contact zone. However, as the stories of Ami, Samantha, and Lisa attest, the JC peers’ goals in this context were not, in the end, related to membership in local or native speaker peer communities. The network of people they came to appreciate most was a diverse one comprised of peers with high English language proficiency. Within that network, those who were empathetic and willing practice partners were valued most highly. In other words, similar to findings in Kalocsai’s (2009) study of Erasmus learners in Hungary, it seems that the community that JC peers most valued, ultimately, was a network composed of the English-speaking mobile elite.

The value placed on the international or transnational community in this study differs from findings in SA contexts that do not involve English, where typically more value is placed on national or region-based cultural authenticity and local native speaker status (Kubota, 2016b; McGregor, 2012). For instance, Coleman’s (2015) model of the concentric circles of socialization in SA identifies peers as members of one of three groups, co-nationals, locals, or other internationals, with “local” relationships being depicted as indicative of more advanced

levels of integration or socialization.⁵⁸ While Coleman acknowledges that interacting with all types of speakers can afford different sorts of opportunities for learning, he still views the movement from international friends to local friends as a “progression of friendships” (p. 44), with the native speaker friendships being the highest level of progression. While reference to native speaker norms were not entirely absent in this study, the data suggest that the category of peer that JC peers valued as a cultural and linguistic expert was not the local or *parochial other*, as Doerr (2013b) has suggested, but rather a *cosmopolitan other* (as juxtaposed with the Japanese self) represented by peers who have become English language experts through their own experiences of deterritorialization.

This finding is in line with neoliberal understandings of SA and English learning as tools for accumulating social capital and for supporting upward mobility. It reminds us, as researchers, instructors, and administrators, that SA is an instrument of cosmopolitan striving. It is also worth noting that this orientation appears to reflect the discourses of diversity and multiculturalism that Canada has adopted as its international brand for higher education (Anderson, 2015) as well as the discourses of intercultural contact inscribed in Japan’s higher education policy documentation (Liddicoat, 2007b). Future research might more directly explore the links between these recruitment discourses and the ways in which they are shaping SA students’ goals while abroad.

9.5.2 Conceptualizing development as learning to do learner in the wild

LS pioneer Elinor Ochs famously wrote that “the socialization of a humane world depends on a continual humane willingness to assume the status of novice as parents, as teachers, and as

⁵⁸ While Coleman (2013) acknowledges that this is likely a messy continuum rather than a set of mutually exclusive categories, his model reflects the ways in which many students view or categorize peers on their return.

culture-travelers” (Ochs, 1996, p. 432). The findings presented in this study demonstrate how “willingness” is discursively constructed and highlight the knowledge of specific linguistic and semiotic practices (e.g., producing appropriate epistemic and deontic stances) that were required to display *novice* and *expert* status in peer interaction. Based on the interview analyses and evidence from peer interactions, being a good or legitimate *novice* member of this internationalized community involved using English to display willingness, openness, and “trying” to learn in recognizable ways. By engaging in practices and producing discourses that made them recognizable as *good novices*, JC peers were able to index membership in categories that were recognized and valued by their PWU peers. In other words, in this context, doing *good novices* represented a category of practices that enabled JC peers to gain access to and legitimately participate in peer relationships. Thus, “asking” and “initiating talk” can be understood as a set of socialized behaviours rather than (or perhaps in addition to) as products of an internal desire or motivation to learn English.

As described in Chapter 2, much SA research has focused on acquisition of standard or local native norms for language use. The research has examined how students become more expert users and how they develop identities as competent users of the language. I contend, based on the findings of this study, that part of becoming a legitimate user involves learning to be an effective language learner in the wild. In other words, “doing *novice*” need not always be thought of as the opposite of “doing *expert*.” Rather “doing *novice*” can be thought of as a valued practice in which SA students develop expertise throughout their sojourns. This perspective reframes the disfluencies, repair-initiations, and epistemic stances as important learned resources that enable SA students to reframe informal “friendly” talk as a language learning interaction in ways that appeal to the goodwill of their interlocutors.

This reframing of “*novice*” performances as a valued strategy is supported by discourse analytic work in this area, which has also uncovered different ways in which speakers position themselves and are positioned by others as language learners for strategic purposes. Jenks (2013), for example, explored how speakers engaged in language practice produced compliments regarding language proficiency, which also made relevant “*good language learner (or novice) identities*” in internet chat forums for English practice. He construed this as a relatively supportive practice in which speakers collaboratively recognize each others’ efforts and recognize their mutual work as “practicing.” Kurhila (2005) also found a tendency in informal conversation for Finnish native speakers to respond to repairs initiated by non-native speakers (e.g., via word searches or ellipses) with helpful suggestions or reformulations, but found they did not often initiate repair themselves. Finally, most recently, Theodórsdóttir (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017; Theodórsdóttir, 2018) observed that a Canadian learner of Icelandic often prefaced her interactions with local service staff by framing them as “practice,” which often resulted in explanations, accommodations, and various forms of “language helping.” Of course, it is prudent to keep in mind that what allowed *novice* stances to be recognized and evaluated positively by interlocutors in this dissertation are ideologies that construe “trying” and “asking for language help” as desirable and appropriate behaviours for those attempting to learn languages abroad. It is unclear how, in a context where such ideologies were not in circulation (e.g., a workplace), such moves would be treated.

9.5.3 Recognizing variability in host expertise

As much constructionist research does, this study has also sought to challenge the notion that expertise is synonymous with proficiency. PWU peers were not always effective or willing *English experts* to JC peers despite their proficiency. This insight is not new. More than twenty-

five years ago, Jacoby and Gonzalez (1991) described expertise as fluid, dynamic and constructed in situ. Since then, others researching interaction between native and non-native speakers have pointed to the ways in which language expertise is only sometimes made relevant in talk and have described the importance of learners' epistemic stancetaking in making it relevant (e.g., Brouwer, 2003; Firth, 2009; Hellermann, 2011). However, this is a relatively new concept in the SA field, which has traditionally viewed host community members as uniformly competent speakers as well as potentially willing and able participants in SA students' language development.

The implication for SA research is that we must be cautious when labelling all TL interaction as "contact." The notion of contact, first operationalized in SA by Freed, Dewey, Segalowitz, and Halter (2004), has frequently been used as a proxy for exposure to authentic input in the SA context. Based on the findings in this study and others, it seems that the metaphors of input and exposure are likely inadequate for capturing the range of affordances that peer interaction in SA might provide. Not all peers are likely equal to the task of mentoring SA students in their language development (either because they are not willing or not able to do so). This study found that those with experiences in language learning abroad were especially willing to support JC peers' language learning and align with their goals. In terms of program development, this means that it may be beneficial to pair students with proficient TL speakers who have spent time abroad and who are better able to anticipate and support SA students' needs in talk.

A second important implication arising from these findings is that often peers are not and do not wish to be *language teachers to exchange students* for a variety of reasons. Even those who had initially agreed to participate in this study as PWU peers were not able to continue as

planned until the end due to other commitment and priorities. This may seem like common sense; however, we know from previous SA research that SA students can sometimes view local peers as instrumental tools of practice (L. Miller & Ginsberg, 1995; Yang & Kim, 2011). In fact, programs often contribute to reifying this notion, encouraging students to practice English by attending social events. This type of advice construes social events as language learning/practice events without acknowledging the needs or interests of non-SA peers who attend them. Indeed, PWU peers in this study were not always interested in or willing to engage in overt displays of expertise, as their interviews reveal. Their help was generally limited to answering occasional questions, resolving threats to progressivity or intersubjectivity, and occasionally offering advice or definitions. Other-correction, in particular, was treated as an inappropriate practice. These norms were slightly different in language exchange situations in which language learning was an omnipresent frame.

This aversion to *doing teacher* may well be a locally-situated phenomenon. Evidence from homestay research does not suggest the same aversion to overt correction and teaching. Homestay research in Spain and France has shown that some host parents correct their SA students (Shively, 2016; Wilkinson, 1998). It would appear that hierarchically arranged relationships (e.g., between a host parent and a student) might be more conducive to displays of teaching and expertise. However, this is an empirical question and an interesting avenue for future research.

9.6 Implications for SA practice

The findings reported in this dissertation also have several implications for SA practice. However, a word of caution is warranted before discussing how findings might be practically applied. This study points to how peer interactions provide affordances for language learning that

are different than those encountered in classrooms: JC peers came to value peer interactions precisely because, unlike classroom interactions, peer interactions involved using the TL for “authentic” social purposes (i.e., gossiping, friendship building, discussing shared interests). These differences are what make such interactions valuable for expanding students’ TL repertoires. Therefore, the implications of this study *do not* include ideas for optimizing peer interaction for language learning. To transform such interactions into “pedagogical opportunities” would deny SA students opportunities to learn to engage in social talk. Rather, the implications I have chosen to discuss focus on how institutions can facilitate access to the types of peer interactions and relationships that proved valuable in this study.

9.6.1 Managing expectations about peer interaction

The first implication centres around the need to explicitly challenge discourses that construe friendship as a means for language practice in SA. While peer interaction in the TL is likely beneficial for language learning to some extent, most peer interaction was not about language or language learning. In addition, when I suggested that PWU peers might have a role in JC peers language development in interviews, PWU peers resisted taking up expert roles, leading me to conclude that *friends* do not always want to be *teachers*. This finding is relatively unsurprising – unlike host parents who volunteer their services, most TL-speaking peers do not volunteer to serve as language experts. These findings suggest that SA programs may do a disservice to SA students by suggesting that such informal peer interactions at social gatherings are good places to “practice” the TL. Doing so promotes the instrumentalization of peer relationships in the host community without the consent or knowledge of peers within that community. It also sets up unrealistic expectations that local peers are willing and able to mentor students’ language development, which, as this study demonstrated, was not always the case.

These findings do not mean that SA students should not be encouraged to meet and speak in the TL with peers. However, they do mean that SA students should be encouraged to do so in ways that treat local peers as *people* rather than as *providers*. In this study, JC peers identified peer relationships that were mutually enriching or that involved a shared activity as the most significant sites of English interaction and learning. Therefore, programs may wish to focus on arranging opportunities for voluntary engagement in which all members, local and SA peers, can benefit from the joint activity in which they are engaged. Pre-departure programs could also include instructional units that require SA students to reflect on and deconstruct neoliberal visions of SA and to consider how they could contribute to the local community.

9.6.2 University-organized social programs

The second implication focusses on the role of the host program in creating spaces for peer interaction and relationships. As the findings in Chapter 5 indicate, none of the JC peers formed peer relationships through casual encounters in public spaces such as at a gym, a bar, a park, or a coffee shop.⁵⁹ Instead, all three met peers through programs that were arranged to some extent by the university or groups within the university: Ami connected with her language exchange partner, Samantha remains close with her dance club friends, and Lisa became good friends with her roommates who were assigned through PWU housing. Thus, institutionally-provided opportunities for social engagement appear to be essential for providing access to peer relationships.

⁵⁹ According to Trentman (2013), difficulties forming relationships through public encounters may be especially common for women studying abroad since initiating talk in public is not always as socially acceptable for women. The participants in this study also described how they would only go to university club activities in pairs or small groups for safety reasons. Samantha, for example, signed up for the dance club with a JC friend who was also interested in dance.

These findings also highlight that no single program suits all SA students. As previously noted, all the JC peers had a least a few discouraging encounters early on and had to try a number of programs before finding one that worked for them. The availability of new options at the beginning of the second semester (e.g., new roommates, new language exchange partners, new conversation clubs, and this project) also allowed them to overcome their initial challenges and try again. Thus, from a practice standpoint, it is important firstly that a range of programs be made available to SA students, and secondly, that SA students be made aware of the programs available and be encouraged to participate at regular intervals throughout the program.

This research also gives some indications of the kinds of programs that may foster ongoing meaningful participation and sustainable relationships. In this study, programs that involved regular meetings around a shared interest produced good results. Samantha's dance club is a good example. Other research has also shown that involvement in sports teams or church communities (both of which usually meet regularly and focus on a specific task) can also provide rich opportunities (Goldoni, 2013; Trentman, 2013). Programs could facilitate participation in these types of associations by asking students to investigate clubs and associations related to their hobbies, interests, or personal lives before arriving on site. They could also encourage students to bring items that would allow them to participate in those activities (e.g., appropriate sports apparel, equipment, books, games, or musical instruments) or provide used equipment or information about rental locations.⁶⁰ Secondly, given that past experiences with mobility and language learning were key characteristics of helpful peers, it might also be beneficial for administrators to design programs that connect former SA students

⁶⁰ Ami was a high-level tennis player and would have liked to play in a league at PWU but she decided not to bring her racket and could not afford one or the fees once she arrived.

with newly arrived SA students (ideally, this could be done in a small group format to maximize opportunities for connection).

9.7 Conclusion

By all accounts, SA sojourns to internationalized locales are on the rise and the desired communities of those engaged in this form of SA are shifting. In these contexts, the peers that SA students encounter are no longer likely to fit neatly into categories like native-speaker, local, or host. Yet work in SA, and immersion learning in general, often has difficulty dissociating histories of place from the complex linguistic and experiential histories of the people that inhabit those same places. As I engaged in this study, I struggled with how to label these peers in a way that would account for their past experiences and their knowledge of the world and of language. I was faced with the dilemma of describing transnational peers like Ed, who not only spoke English in native-like ways but was also fluent in Tagalog, was conversant in Bengali, and was educated in Singapore. While the encounters of these students were undoubtedly motivated and mediated by the site in which they occurred, they were also profoundly shaped by Ed's and Lisa's previous mobility and language learning experiences.

To this end, I echo Kinginger (2012, 2017) in calling for more attention to the complex histories of the "others" that SA students encounter. By paying attention to PWU peers' interview data in this study, I have revealed some ways in which PWU peers' perspectives shaped their understandings of JC peers as motivated language learners; however, more could be done to integrate the perspectives of peers and other community members into research in this area. I also call for an empirical and more nuanced account of the circulating norms around how peers and other members of the host community expect SA students to behave. Further research could investigate how norms are viewed differently by peers, host parents, and instructors and

how these expectations shape and constrain SA students' engagement with these different others. Research on host community and peer perspectives would also be especially instructive in SA programs that involve "exotic" locales or service learning, where some researchers have critiqued the SA enterprise as new form of colonialism (Ogden, 2007). In presenting a more nuanced view of host communities, not only will we gain a better understanding of our students' language socialization experiences, but we can perhaps also find new ways to encourage our SA students to view hosts as whole and complex people as well.

9.8 Epilogue

Since the completion of the study, Ami, Lisa, and Samantha have finished their undergraduate degrees and each of them has returned to Canada for sentimental or academic reasons. Lisa remains connected to her roommates via social networks but seldom interacts with them. She explained to me that while she has fond memories of Canada and misses her roommates, she has lost the confidence she once had to speak English and must now focus on finding work in Japan. Ami and Samantha have maintained active transnational friendships with many of their peers: Ami still meets up with Emma and her Pair Talk partner; Samantha recently danced with her hip hop group on a visit to Canada and she also keeps in touch with John. However, they are not in touch with PWU peers who were less able to support their ambitions to learn and practice English (e.g., So-Yi, Elizabeth, and Paulisper). The three JC peers continue to talk about their time abroad as a transformative experience and one they would recommend without hesitation to others.

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Appendix A Recruitment documents

A.1 Flyer for JC students

This was handed out at the welcome-back meeting in January 2016. Program and institution names have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect confidentiality

Dear JC students,

I would like to invite you to participate in a study for my doctoral research about interactions outside of the classroom during study abroad.

The purpose of my study is to explore:

- *your goals for your study abroad year;*
- *who you speak to regularly in English and how you speak to each other;*
- *what you learn from your conversations.*

This is what I will ask you to do:

- *Meet with me for 1 hour three times during the semester*
- *Invite some people you speak English with to join the study*
- *Record conversations with your peers in English each week until the end of the semester*
- *Attend a 1 hour session with other students and their friends.*

We will meet in a place that is convenient for you and I will keep your participation in the project confidential. To say thank you, I will also give you two \$15 gift cards (one at the beginning and one for those who continue to the end of the project in April, 2016). I will also be happy to answer any questions you have about the area or PWU and to help you practice your English if you would like!

If you want to know more information, please send me an email. If you contact me, I'll invite you to a session where you can ask questions about the project. You can contact me by email at: [email address]

*If you have other questions or concerns, you can also contact the Principal Investigator:
Dr. Patricia Duff, Professor, Dept. of Language and Literacy Education:
[email address] [phone number]*

Thank you,

Victoria Surtees

Department of Language and Literacy Education

A.2 Follow-up email to interested JC students

This was sent to all students who contacted me about the project. Some names have been changed to protect confidentiality.

Hello,

Thank you so much for your interest in my research. It will be a pleasure to learn about your experiences here and to get to know you better. I have attached the official form to sign if you decide to participate in the research – it explains many details. I will also explain the essential information in this email, then if you have more questions you can email me, or we can meet.

I am free to start anytime this week and we could meet in a place that is good for you. Just send me an email and let me know. Also, you can tell other students about the project if you would like.

Focus of my research:

As I mentioned before, my main focus is on how the interactions you have outside the classroom contribute to your English learning. So I'm interested in how your English conversations with your friends, roommates, clubmates and other peers helps (or does not help) you reach your language learning goals. I also want to give you a chance to practice your English with me! Just in case you didn't know, I grew up just outside of the area, and in fact, I did my undergraduate degree at PWU. I have also been a study abroad student in France. I am sure we have a lot to talk about and can learn many things from each other.

What I want you to do:

I will ask you to do 3 types of activities: interviews with me, recording 15-30 minute conversations with friends, and a group meeting. Here is more information about each activity I will ask you to do:

- 1. **Interviews:** I will ask to meet you for interviews 3 times (beginning, middle and end of the semester). Each interview will take about an hour. I will mostly ask you about your history learning English, your goals, who you speak to and what you speak about, and challenges and successes during your time in Canada. We will have a coffee or tea and talk about your experiences!*
- 2. **Recordings:** I will ask you and each of your friends to record 15-30 minutes of English conversation each week and give the recordings to me. You can record whatever kind of conversation you want – you could even turn on the recorder while you're playing a game, cooking, or working together on some homework. After each recording I will ask you to make a note about where and when you made the recordings and if you think you learned or*

noticed anything. We can discuss what equipment you can use to record these interactions. The recordings should not take too much time each week - you just record a conversation you would normally have anyways, you don't have to have a "special" conversation just for recording. I am interested in what you talk about in your daily life - so don't worry if you use slang or talk about topics you might not talk about in class (e.g., parties, romance, etc.).

- 3. *Group meeting:*** *Together, we will all decide (you, your friends, and other participants) on a time to meet together near the end of the semester. We will then take an hour or two (with snacks!) to create some resources to help students next year.*

The study will last for all of the second semester (about 13 weeks) and we would meet each week for 5-10 minutes so I can collect the weekly recordings. To do the weekly recordings, you will have to think of 2-4 people that you speak English with outside the classroom every week. Then, we can ask them to be part of the research. We will decide which people to ask in the first meeting. It's okay if only one or two agree or if you want to invite new people later in the semester. Your friends will not have to do as much as you: they would only have to do the recordings with you and meet with me twice to discuss their experiences – I want to know about what they learn from talking to you as well as what you learn from talking to them. Also, if you, or your friends, decide after a while that you don't want to participate any more, you can stop.

Some important notes about the project

Like I told you earlier, you will not get extra marks for this project and I will not share any of the data with the program coordinator or other instructors. I will also not tell them or other students you are involved in the study. Also, if there are recordings you don't want to share, you don't have to share them. If there are just parts you don't want me to use, that's okay too. I will not use your name in any publications (you can choose the name you want me to use). This will be the same for your friends. To thank you and your friends for participating I will also give you and each of your friends \$15 before and another \$15 afterwards.

I hope you are still interested - it is a long project, so I want to make sure that you can participate for the whole semester. If you still want to participate, send me an email with a time when we can meet for about 1 hour 30 minutes. I am very excited to work with you and to begin as soon as possible.

Thanks again (domo arigato!),

Victoria Surtees

A.3 Follow-up e-mail to peers

This was sent to all students who contacted me about the project. Some names have been changed to protect confidentiality.

Hello,

Focus of my research:

*My main focus is on **how the interactions study abroad students have outside the classroom contribute to their English learning.** So I'm interested in how your English conversations with study abroad students help them to reach their language learning goals. I also want to know what you learn from the conversations and the strategies you have when you communicate with study abroad students.*

What I want you to do:

I will ask you to do 3 types of activities: 2 interviews with me, recording 15-30 minute conversations with the study abroad student each week, and a group meeting (optional). Here is more information about each activity I will ask you to do:

- 1. **Interviews:** I will ask to meet you for interviews 2 times (beginning and end of the semester). Each interview will take about an hour. I will mostly ask you about your history learning/speaking English, how you know the study abroad student, and the benefits and challenges of talking English with them. We will have a coffee or tea and talk about your experiences! I will give you a \$15 gift card at each interview.*
- 2. **Recordings:** Each week, you will let your study abroad friend record 15-30 minutes of English conversation. You can record whatever kind of conversation you want – you could even turn on the recorder while you're playing a game, cooking, or working together on some homework. The recordings should not take too much time each week - you just record a conversation you would normally have anyways, you don't have to have a "special" conversation just for recording. I am interested in what you talk about in your daily life - so don't worry if you use slang or talk about topics you might not talk about in class (e.g., parties, romance, etc.).*
- 3. **Group meeting:** Together, we will all decide (you, your friends, and other participants) on a time to meet together near the end of the semester. We will then take an hour or two (with snacks!) to create some resources to help study abroad students and their roommates next year. This part of the project is optional, but will probably be a lot of fun!*

Some important notes about the project

- *If you decide after a while that you don't want to participate any more, you can stop at any time.*
- *You will not get extra marks for this project*
- *I will not share any of the data with any other PWU instructors. I will also not tell them or other students you are involved in the study.*
- *If there are recordings you don't want to share, you don't have to share them.*
- *I will not use your name in any publications (you can choose the name you want me to use).*

*Thank you,
Victoria Surtees*

Appendix B Interview protocols

B.1 Sojourner interview #1

- 1) Background information
 - a. What's your name? Could you spell it for me?
 - b. What is your major? What year of study are you in?
 - c. Where does your family live?
 - d. Do you have any English-speaking family members?

- 2) English learning history
 - a. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is almost no English and 10 is very advanced English, how would you rate your English?
 - b. How long have you been studying English?
 - c. Have you studied any other languages? If so, which languages and for how long?
 - d. What adjectives would you use to describe the English language?
 - e. What challenges have you had as an English learner?
 - f. Did you use English outside class while in Japan? If so, when, where and with whom? In a typical week, how many hours would you use English when you were in Japan, outside of class time?

- 3) Study abroad history
 - a. Have you been to other countries before? If so, where have you been, and for what purposes?
 - b. Have you been to Canada before? If so, when, where, and for what purpose?
 - c. Why did you choose to study abroad in Canada?
 - d. What does your family think about your decision of studying abroad in Canada?
 - e. How has your stay been so far? Has anything surprised or disappointed you?

- 4) Study abroad goals
 - a. What are your main goals for your study abroad?
 - b. What strategies do you use to achieve your goals?
 - c. What will you do after you graduate? Will that be related to English?
 - d. Do you expect to continue to study English after you return to Japan?

- 5) Study abroad English-speaking networks
 - a. Where do you speak English here?
 - b. Who do you speak with? How did you meet them?
 - c. How often do you speak with them? What do you talk about?
 - d. In what context do you enjoy speaking English the most? Why?
 - e. In what context do you enjoy speaking English the least? Why?
 - f. Did you complete the speech network assignment in the first semester? Would you be willing to share it with me?

- 6) Closing
 - a. In reports about this study I will not use your real name to protect your identity. Do you have a name you would prefer me to use?
 - b. Do you have any questions about this research?

B.2 Sojourner interview #2

- 1) Study abroad experience update
 - a. How is your semester going? Has anything exciting or challenging happened?
 - b. Do you feel like you're achieving your goals? Why or why not?
 - c. Have your goals changed at all since we last spoke?
 - d. Have you adopted any new strategies for achieving your goals?
- 2) Network update
 - a. Have you been communicating with anyone new? How did you meet them? Do you speak English with them? Do you think they would be interested in participating in the research?
 - b. Is there anyone you spoke to before that you don't talk to as much now? Why?
- 3) Research experience check-in
 - a. Have you had any technical difficulties with the recordings?
 - b. Emotionally, how do you feel about being recorded?
 - c. Is there anything you want me to know about the recordings you have shared?
- 4) Contact with peer(s) – repeat questions for each peer
 - a. Where did you first meet (peer)?
 - b. How often do you speak face-to-face with (peer)?
 - c. What other ways do you communicate, for example by email? How often?
 - d. How would you describe your relationship with (peer)?
 - e. Do you always speak English together? Why or why not?
 - f. What other language do you use and when do you use it?
 - g. What do you talk about?
 - h. What do you like best about talking with (peer)?
 - i. What is the biggest challenge when talking to (peer)?
 - j. Does (peer) ever try to help with your English? How?
- 5) Closing
 - a. Do you have any questions or concerns about the research?

B.3 Sojourner interview #3

- 1) Study abroad experience update
 - a. How is your semester going? Has anything exciting or challenging happened?
 - b. Do you communicate with anyone new? How did you meet them? Do you speak English with them?
 - c. Is there anyone you spoke to before that you don't talk to as much (or at all) now? Why?
- 2) Reflection on peer interaction: repeat questions for each peer
 - a. What is the most memorable conversation or activity you had with (peer)?
 - b. What did you learn from (peer)?
 - c. What do you think your (peer) learned from you?
 - d. Did interaction with (peer) improve your English? In what ways?
 - e. Do you think you will stay in contact with (peer) after you return to Japan? Why or why not?
- 3) Study abroad goals
 - a. Have your goals changed at all since we last spoke?
 - b. Do you feel you have achieved your goals for this sojourn? Why or why not?
 - c. What helped you achieve your goals?
 - d. What would you have done differently?
 - e. Do you think your English has improved? In what ways?
 - f. What helped to improve it, in your opinion?
- 4) Future
 - a. Will you seek out more opportunities to interact with English speakers? How and by what means? If not, why not? If so, how will you do that?
 - b. Do you have any recommendations for study abroad students coming to Canada?
- 5) Closing
 - a. Do you have any questions or concerns about this research?
 - b. Is there anything else you would like to add?

B.4 Peer interview #1

- 1) Background information
 - a. What's your name? Could you spell it for me?
 - b. When and where did you learn English?
 - c. Have you studied or do you speak any other languages?
 - d. Are you a student? If so, what do you study?

- 2) Contact with sojourner(s)
 - a. How did you meet (sojourner's name)?
 - b. How often do you speak with (sojourner's name)?
 - c. How would you describe your relationship with (sojourner's name)?
 - d. Do you always speak English together? Why or why not?
 - e. How do you communicate (face-to-face, email, etc.)? How often?
 - f. When you communicate with (sojourner's name) do you use any other languages? In what contexts?
 - g. What do you talk about?
 - h. What do you like best about talking with (sojourner's name)?
 - i. What is the biggest challenge when talking to (sojourner's name)?
 - j. Do you ever try to help (sojourner's name) with his/her English? How?
- 3) Closing
 - a. In reports about this study I will not use your real name to protect your identity. Do you have a name you would prefer me to use?
 - b. Do you have any questions about this research?

B.5 Peer interview #2

- 1) Changes in contact with sojourner(s)
 - a. How often do you speak with (sojourner's name)?
 - b. Do you always speak English together? Why or why not?
 - c. What do you talk about?
 - d. Has your relationship changed since we last spoke? How? Why do you think so?
- 2) Perceptions of interactions
 - a. What is the most memorable conversation you had with (sojourner's name)? Why was it so memorable?
 - b. Do you think his/her English has improved? In what ways?
 - c. What helped (sojourner's name) to improve (or not improve) their English, in your opinion?
 - d. Did conversations with you help (sojourner's name) improve? How?
 - e. What if anything did you learn from talking with (sojourner's name)?
 - f. Did the way you spoke with (sojourner's name) change over time? How?
- 3) Future
 - a. Do you think you will stay in contact after he/she returns to Japan?
 - b. Will you seek out more opportunities to interact with Japanese speakers or other international students? If not why? If so, how will you do that?
 - c. Do you have any recommendations for study abroad students coming to Canada?
- 4) Closing
 - a. How did you feel about being recorded?
 - b. Do you have any concerns about the recordings?
 - c. Do you have any questions about this research?

Appendix C Focus group protocol

The focus group will take place at time and location convenient for participants (peers and sojourners), most likely on campus. At least four participants must be available to attend. Drinks and snacks will be provided. The one-hour session will be video-recorded (with the consent of participants).

Once all participants have arrived and the video is in place, the session can begin. The questions and activities below are meant to elicit talk about study abroad experiences in general and language learning in particular. They can be modified depending on the answers and engagement of participants.

Guiding questions and activities

Introductions and warm-up:

1. Introduce yourself to the group and tell us one of the following:
 - Sojourners: What's your favourite memory from your study abroad year so far?
 - Peers: What's one thing you've learned from interacting with study abroad students?
 - Peers and sojourners: What's the funniest moment you have shared together?

Task

Goal: To create a list of 10 pieces of advice for incoming study abroad students.

1. First brainstorm so you can create the best list possible and include everyone's ideas:
 - Discuss the best things about study abroad.
 - Discuss the greatest challenges of study abroad.
 - Discuss strategies for making the most of study abroad.
 - Do you have any specific advice related to language learning?
2. Now together, decide on 10 things you would tell incoming students. You must all agree on what to include and how say it.
3. How can we as a group make sure incoming students have access to this advice?

Note: During the task the researcher will deliberately leave the room during a short period but will leave the video camera on. This will allow participants to interact unobserved and likely to get a bit more comfortable. It may also provide different kinds of interaction data.