

Review: John Hellermann / Søren Wind Eskildsen / Simona Pekarek Doehler / Arja Piirainen-Marsh (eds.): Conversation analytic research on learning-in-action: the complex ecology of second language interaction "in the wild". Cham: Springer Nature 2019

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From its inception, second language acquisition (SLA) research has mainly studied second language (L2) use in instructional settings. What can the investigation of everyday L2 use outside of the classroom tell us about second language acquisition? The book under review addresses this question from an ethnomethodological (EM)/ conversation-analytic (CA) standpoint by exploring three main issues related to language learning 'in the wild': the 'affordances' of the wild for language use and development, the sequential organization of learning practices in these contexts, and potentially fruitful ways to integrate the learners' 'lifeworld' into the second language classroom. The volume ends with a proposal for a sociologically inspired approach to second language teaching that paves the way for a profound reformulation of teaching and learning practices by bringing together classrooms and communities.

Comprising eight empirical chapters, this co-edited volume shows why it is so important to investigate language use beyond the classroom: the most obvious effect of this diversification of SLA's database is making salient the complexly intertwined 'multisemiotic' resources needed by L2 users to produce actions adequately without the constraints imposed by the classroom. Furthermore, looking beyond instructional settings allows SLA researchers to see how L2 users actively shape learning moments, by making use of this constellation of resources. In connection to the first two points, the volume proposes research-inspired methods to make some key elements of this complex ecology visible to learners and teachers in instructional settings.

1. Theoretical and methodological framework

In their introduction to the book, the volume's editors describe the main goals of the volume, and the general conceptual framework they worked with. The three main goals are clearly stated right at the beginning of the introduction (2):

[to] [s]crutinize the affordances of 'the wild' for the development of L2 interactional competence, investigate how L2 speakers configure learning opportunities in the wild, and analyze possible ways of integrating in-the-wild-experiences into the L2 classroom agenda.

The editors highlight that their research of "learning-in-action" is inspired by Hutchins' (1995) notion of 'the wild'. For them, "the complexity of cognition" is not simply a feature of an individual's mind, but "is best apprehended in [...] people's engagement in their activities in the real world – as opposed to the lab" (2). In this framework, 'learning' is regarded as a socio-interactional process. In SLA studies, *the wild* refers to "out-of-classroom, real world settings that put into play the multisemiotic resources inhabiting the worlds of L2 speakers" (2). This approach

calls for the revision of a strict distinction between 'learning' and 'participating' (i.e. 'using' a language).

The editors situate the work presented in the volume within the larger body of SLA research by thoroughly surveying the historical development of the use of naturalistic data in the field and only then discussing CA-SLA's most recent findings. They point out that the use of naturalistic data in SLA goes back to the 1970s, increased significantly after SLA's 'social turn', and gained particular relevance after the seminal 1997 paper by Firth & Wagner. The editors acknowledge that other approaches to SLA also conceptualize 'learning' as "situated in social practice" (6), but clearly distinguish these from CA-SLA. To them, one of the main characteristics of the latter is its focus on the "development of L2 interactional competence" (6). In the book, the investigation of specific practices and resources is done in the service of understanding the "social process of the L2 speakers becoming members of a community" (6).

In addition, Eskildsen et al. present the most important findings of the CA-SLA approach to the development of L2 competence, providing an overview of the changes, over time, of L2 speakers' methods to carry out specific interactional tasks, such as taking turns, doing repair, and organizing openings and closings. From there, they identify the gap in research this volume is meant to help close, namely the lack of uptake of Firth & Wagner's (1997) call to broaden the database: the vast majority of the studies so far have analyzed talk in educational settings (most commonly, classrooms). The broad variety of contexts of language use reflected in the book allows for the investigation of the affordances of different contexts for L2 development through the analysis of participants' orientation to the "multiple and complexly intertwined resources for meaning-making" in "the sequential organization and mutual coordination of social actions" (3).

Although the editors intend to promote studies that go beyond L2 learning in the classroom, they still emphasize that the classroom should reflect these new developments. They argue that there is "growing attention paid to the coordination of epistemic, multilingual, and multimodal resources in the organization of tasks and pedagogical practices" (10), but there is a lack of research on pedagogical frameworks that take into account the learner's experience in the world. The editors' ultimate aim is to make the knowledge gained from investigating language learning in 'the wild' useable in language classrooms (and beyond). To achieve that, they argue for an experientially-based pedagogical approach, i.e., a pedagogy which "integrate[s] out-of-school interactional experiences into the pedagogical setup within the school" (10).

The empirical chapters in the volume are divided into three parts which reflect the three main goals of the book stated above:

- (I) *Learning in the Wild: Development of Interactional Competence;*
- (II) *Configuring the Wild for Learning: Learners' In-Situ Practices for Learning;*
- (III) *Designing Infrastructures for Learning in the Wild.*

Part IV contains an Epilogue by Johannes Wagner that synthesizes the main arguments raised by the EMCA tradition analysis for a new approach to SLA.

2. Empirical studies

In Part I, longitudinal studies survey the affordances of the wild for language learning based on changes (or lack thereof) in the L2-user's methods for accomplishing interactional tasks.

In *'We Limit Ten Under Twenty Centu Charge Okay?': Routinization of an Idiosyncratic Multi-word Expression*, Sangki Kim investigates what provides for a Multi-Word Expression (MWE) (the one that appears in the title of the paper) to be sedimented in the speaker's repertoire while keeping its non-standard shape. The video-recorded data collected over a 30-month period features Minji, a Korean L2-English user who works as a shopkeeper, interacting with her customers during payment sequences. The micro-analysis of the excerpts shows how linguistic, sequential, and bodily-visual resources, along with the material configuration of the environment, form a meaning-making ecology that allows for successful payment sequences. Since the social environment apparently does not make relevant any change in the lexico-syntactic design of her turn, the idiosyncratic form is sedimented as it is. Indeed, successful use of the MWE is shown in all excerpts of the chapter, but, unfortunately, the author is not explicit about how typical the selected cases were in comparison to her collection as a whole. The reader is also left to wonder whether perhaps any prosodic-phonetic features of this MWE might reflect (various) stage(s) of routinization of the idiosyncratic expression over the period of the study. Interestingly, the paper draws on longitudinal data collected across several months, but the analytical focus is not on interactional changes over time; on the contrary, the MWE saliently does not change lexically or grammatically, keeping its idiosyncratic character all along. Kim's study provides a convincing account of the socio-interactional ratification of an idiosyncratic expression as an adequate resource for its interactional function.

Changes over time are the main focus of analyses in *On the Reflexive Relation Between Developing L2 Interactional Competence and Evolving Social Relationships: A Longitudinal Study of Word-Searches in the 'Wild'*, by Simona Pekarek Doehler and Evelyne Berger. The audio data stem from 10 months of dinner-table interactions between an L2-French speaking Au-pair, Julie, and her L1-French speaking host family. The study investigates a specific type of word search sequence, namely, sequences in which a co-participant offers a solution to the emerging trouble. The authors track how Julie's word-search practices change, revealing not only how these practices develop but also how the changes may be intertwined with the speaker's socialization process. The analysis is presented in two sections. First, the authors identify the general developmental trajectory of Julie's word searches: (1) her methods for the identification of the trouble source become more efficient; (2) the methods with which she recruits help (Kendrick & Drew 2016) become less explicit; (3) her word searches become less disruptive to the progressivity of the interaction; and (4) her 'doing being a language learner' becomes less prominent. In the second part of the analysis, these general developmental tendencies are exemplified by an investigation of the MWE *comment on dit*: as the MWE moves from being used as a resource for explicit recruitment of help to being employed as a marker of cognitive work (doing "thinking"), the construction undergoes "prosodic backgrounding, morphophonological reduction, and semantic bleaching (loss of its literal meaning) that suggest its grammaticization into a

discourse marker-like element" (71). In the discussion, the authors argue that the general developmental tendencies exemplified by *comment on dit* reflexively produce and index changing identities (moving away from doing being a learner) and, more importantly, indicate "evolving social relationships" (73). In this chapter, Pekarek Doehler & Berger neatly integrate the language socialization approach, CA, and the interactional-linguistic analysis of the lexico-syntactic and prosodic resources used by Julie in different stages of her year as an au pair.

In *Turn Design as Longitudinal Achievement: Learning on the Shop Floor*, Hanh thi Nguyen investigates the change over time of turn-design features employed by Xuân, a novice Vietnamese English-L2 speaker who works as a hotel escort, during small-talk with the hotel guests. The data stems from longitudinal self-recorded material over the course of 10 consecutive months. Specifically, the collection contains cases of two unrelated phenomena: 1) the choice of assessment terms in assessment sequences and 2) the selection of the lexico-syntactic format of topic initiations. In the first part of the analysis, Nguyen shows that two specific assessment terms were employed by Xuân after she had first heard them from the guests. The author argues that "[t]he sequential organization of assessments and agreements to assessments constituted the interactional affordances that enabled Xuân to adjust her turns design over time" (96). In the second part, Nguyen shows that, after an instance of relatively 'serious' trouble, which resulted in a lengthy repair sequence, Xuân stops using topic-initiating formats containing a word that was difficult for her to pronounce. Nguyen's chapter supports previous studies on the trajectory of interactional development (Pekarek Doehler 2018) and on the impact of 'interactional trouble' on the emergence of new methods for action (Nguyen 2012). She presents evidence based on the temporal distribution of events in time. When the author describes her collection (sub-divided into *where-* vs. *non-where* questions), it is at first unclear that the collection structure was motivated by her analysis, leaving it to the reader to wonder where the categorization came from. Later, it becomes clear that the issue was with the pronunciation of the word *trip*. The changes in the lexico-syntax of topic initiations were not motivated by problems of lexico-syntactic design, but emerged to circumvent phonetic difficulties with a word that appeared in some topic initiations (e.g. *How was your trip* or *Did you have a good trip?*). In the case of the assessment sequences, the author shows how sequential organization supports the acquisition of lexical items. It would be interesting to see a discussion of how here, too, the interconnection of different linguistic dimensions (in this case, lexico-syntax and phonetics) is reflected in the changes observed.

In Part II, the authors of both studies put forth collections of learning practices, showing how they are initiated and dealt with, mobilizing the identities of 'learners' and 'experts', and involving the range of material, technological, and linguistic resources available to the participants.

In *Learning Behaviors in the Wild: How People Achieve L2 Learning Outside of Class*, Søren W. Eskildsen, investigates "people's methods of displaying an orientation to learning or having learned something new" (108-9) by describing 'learning behaviors' and practices in the wild. The study draws on audio material self-recorded by L2-Danish users, from which the author collected instances of speakers using a word they just learned. The excerpts presented in this chapter feature three 'learning behaviors' found in L1-L2 interactions: "(1) noticing and

using a new word in word searches; (2) [preemptively] making explicit use of the expert in searches for 'missing' vocabulary; and (3) re-indexing previously learned items" (110). In this paper, Eskildsen shows how some – at first glance 'psychological' – phenomena, such as noticing a new vocabulary item, or planning one's utterance, are made social in different sequential arrangements.

In line with Eskildsen's project of collecting learning behaviors in the wild, in the chapter *Noticing Words in the Wild*, Tim Greer draws on video-recordings of everyday Danish-L2 interactions "to examine episodes of interactional noticing related to language form that take place 'in the wild'" (136). In the chapter, two instances are analyzed in which noticings of lexical items by a language novice lead to the co-construction of learning moments by 'novice' and 'experts'. For instance, in one of the excerpts, the novice speaker notices a new lexical item in a context in which the material configuration of the interaction allowed him to infer its meaning. The expert speakers then use the novice's move as an opportunity to explore other meaning aspects of the word. To that end, the expert explores artifacts and embodied demonstrations. The study thus shows how novices' noticings may open up opportunities for learning that are oriented to as such by novices and experts alike, and that different resources are used in such learning-teaching moments. Greer argues that the act of noticing is part of "socially-distributed cognition", and suggests "that a good deal of what goes on when we think, hypothesize and learn takes place outside the mind and within the process of interaction" (155).

In Part III, proposals to connect the 'outside world' and the instructional world are presented and supported by EMCA analysis.

In *How Wild Can It Get? Managing Language Learning Tasks in Real Life Service Encounters*, Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Niina Lilja explore what happens when pedagogical practices attempt to connect the 'wild world' with the classroom. The authors draw on data from a language-learning task in which students of Finnish as L2 were supposed to carry out a real-life service encounter. Their main goal was to "analyze how the trajectory of a teacher-assigned task [...] creates occasions for developing interactional competence" (162). The task was organized in three phases: the planning (classroom), the actual service encounter ('in the wild'), and post-encounter reflections (classroom). The analysis shows how the events in the wild may engender further learning opportunities back in the classroom as the students share their experiences with their peers and teachers. Furthermore, the authors describe how a student pursues his individual learning project during all the phases of the activity by using his previous experiential knowledge of the 'material organization' of the planned encounter in order to design a context-fitting turn. Finally, they show how unforeseen contingencies create opportunities for the students to adapt their linguistic repertoire and, when back in the classroom, to reflect on possible causes and consequences of the troubles they had eventually encountered.

In *Building Socio-environmental Infrastructures for Learning*, John Hellermann, Steven L. Thorne, and Jamalieh Haley investigate learners' "methods for making unplanned use of resources from their immediate physical context" (194) while playing an augmented-reality (AR) game in an L2 (English, French, German, Hungarian, Japanese, or Spanish). In addition, they analyze the potential of "AR place-based task design" to promote learning opportunities. Before reporting on their analysis, the authors provide a detailed theoretical section that discusses the

concept of 'cognition' that underlies the whole edited volume, i.e. as "situated, embodied, enacted, extended and distributed" (195). The study draws on video-recorded data of language learners playing a game called *Chronoops*, in which the users receive instructions from the app and need to walk around the campus in order to find relevant locations to solve the app's task. At the chosen locations, they must produce video reports. The data excerpts analyzed show how learners collaboratively "brainstorm" to choose an appropriate item to be included in their reports, thereby "establish[ing] these semiotic resources as potential objects of learning in the wild" (194). Specifically, the authors are able to identify three practices that emerge from the intricate coordination of language, body, and environment, namely: "noticing while moving", "noticing while stationary", and noticing to "hold the group". The authors argue that the physical environment is, thus, used as a "meaning-making catalyst for language learning" (196), although the authors do not make explicit which specific interactional resources were potentially acquired. They conclude that AR place-based task design may promote learning in that the students use the material environment to produce unplanned formulations and to collaborate in order to accomplish the tasks assigned.

In *The Rally Course: Learners as Co-designers of Out-of-Classroom Language Learning Tasks*, Niina Lilja, Arja Piirainen-Marsh, Brendon Clark, and Nicholas B. Torretta introduce another 'CA-inspired approach' to L2 teaching: the Rally Course, which is designed as a weekly circuit for planning, executing, and reflecting on interactional encounters. The study reports how the rally was used in a Finnish course for B1-level adult learners in Tampere, Finland. After introducing the theoretical foundations of this novel approach, the authors describe it thoroughly, including picture samples of the materials used. They also present a case study showing how a student went through a week's cycle in the rally. In the case study, the authors are able to show how a student's own "real-life" needs guide her conduct at a bookstore as she draws on them to design meaningful turns in her interaction with the clerk. Furthermore, they show how the rehearsal in class is reflected in her conduct at the same time that she is able to adapt to unexpected contingencies. The authors argue that one of the merits of the rally as a language course is to make 'public' language learners' own reasoning when designing their encounters in the wild. By sharing their thought processes, learners are able to reflect on them collaboratively with their peers and teachers.

3. A sociologically-oriented approach to SLA

In Part IV, the epilogue by Johannes Wagner entitled *Towards an Epistemology of Second Language Learning in the Wild* proposes a sociologically-oriented approach to second language learning. In the final chapter of the book, Wagner contrasts his proposal with the psychologically-oriented epistemology in SLA, discusses the main theoretical and methodological principles of sociological inquiry in EM and CA and, to conclude, presents his proposal of a new epistemology for SLA, re-actualizing the call (Wagner 2015) for the creation of "social infrastructures" upon which an EMCA-inspired second language teaching would rely.

According to Wagner, the psychologically-oriented epistemology that has been hegemonic in the field has three pillars: "a bias towards written language [...], the organization of learning in classrooms, and a Cartesian model of knowledge" (253).

In contrast, the sociologically-oriented epistemology would be based on (254-5) (i) the recognition of the primacy of the spoken mode of language in social interaction; (ii) the acknowledgment of the connection between learning, on the one hand, and "participation in the life world" and "the personal history of each learner" (254) on the other; (iii) the acceptance of the need for classrooms "to feed on the everyday practices of the students" (255); and (iv) the recognition of social interactions as sources of "language material", especially through repair practices (255).

Wagner explains that EM and CA "study social order by engaging with consequential practices of real people in their life world" and working under the assumption of "the reflexivity of the documentary method" (261), which is the process of interpretation of actions by participants in the social world. Both approaches work with the analysis of "single instances of practices [...] to find out the logic behind it" (263). Their main differences are the weight given to ethnography in EM, which is not necessarily present in CA, and the "quantitative aim" of CA, which is not pursued in EM.

EMCA research on second language use has shown that L2 users (267)

can build new resources in specific environments for their here-and-now purposes [...] even though they might differ from standardized ways of talking and acting – but they indicate specific lacunae of knowledge where language teaching can intervene.

Building on those findings, the main advantage of the sociological approach, according to Wagner, is that it would "support and organize participation in the life world as part of the process of learning", enabling "life world experiences [to] partly drive language learning" (265). To achieve that, tools to support the identification (by analysts, teachers, and learners) of such ad hoc practices and the development of more efficient resources would need to be developed. More importantly, a social infrastructure would need to be created to support newcomers. Such an infrastructure would "includ[e] the locals and [take] planning and encouragement to make sure that they play along [...]" (268).

4. Discussion

The edited volume certainly meets the goals set by the editors of exploring the affordances of 'the wild' for language use/learning, the configuration of learning moments in everyday interaction, and, finally, the pedagogical possibilities supported by EMCA research on SLA. The EMCA methodology fits the goals of the volume, and it is overall appropriately employed, including the use of naturally-occurring data, which is audio or video-recorded and transcribed according to CA conventions. All the chapters rely on CA's sequential and micro-analysis, adopting participants' perspective in their meaning-making efforts. The volume also contributes to the expansion of SLA's database by analyzing data from a variety of settings, such as dinner-table interaction between exchange students and their host families, several types of service encounters (hotel, shops, café, hair salon), small talk with friends, and interaction during an augmented reality game.

Throughout the book one notices an effort to better define the field of studies of second language acquisition in the wild with regard to its epistemological, methodological, and programmatic dimensions. In the introduction, Eskildsen et al.

differentiate CA-SLA's approach from others that also treat interaction as central for language acquisition. In the Epilogue, the field is positioned in contrast to the psychologically-oriented approaches to SLA by means of the formulation of a sociologically-oriented epistemology. In addition, the Epilogue also presents an outlook that calls for the development of pedagogical tools and of social infrastructure for learning in the wild.

The empirical chapters, even when dealing with different research questions, reflect those concerns consistently too. For one, they show what EMCA's emic perspective can reveal about interactional competence, e.g., that it indexes and constructs different identities and social relations, that it is realized as part of a speaker's real-life efforts to act in the world, and that it is shaped by the other elements of the environment as they are treated as meaning-making resources by the participants. Furthermore, through the analysis of real-life interactions as well as of learner's own reflection on their interactional development, the different studies in the book make a compelling case of how their take on interactional competence calls for a new conception of cognition in SLA. It is not possible to account for what participants are able to do in interaction by understanding cognition as a feature of an individual's mind only. Instead, we also need to understand how co-participants, objects, and spatial configurations of the environment are mobilized by participants in their joint projects.

Kim, thi Nguyen, and Pekarek Doehler & Berger build on results of previous studies which argue that the development of interactional competence should be understood in terms of two dimensions (Pekarek Doehler 2018): (i) the diversification of resources available to achieve similar interactional functions and (ii) the speaker's ability to maintain intersubjectivity and promote the progressivity of the interaction. Specifically, the three chapters focus on change or stabilization observed on specific resources employed by the speakers.

The collections of learning behaviors and practices presented by Eskildsen and Greer are projects to be praised, not only for their ability to make the learning of specific items or structures observable but also for the possibility they create for the investigation of the social construction of learnables and learning moments as they emerge in interaction. In this context, noticings by novices and their subsequent treatment by the co-participants are particularly relevant. Although the authors adopt an EMCA approach on the interactional organization of learning 'moments', one still notices some fuzziness with regard to the distinction between an individual's learning trajectory and learning as a social, sequentially organized accomplishment. This is present, for instance, in Greer's considerations on page 145, when he analyses how a noticing by an exchange student at his guest family's dinner table becomes part of a teaching sequence (145):

Although it may be difficult to argue that learning has taken place here, Dad's explanation is definitely a form of teaching, which suggests that Dad himself is orienting to Shin's noticing of the word *sliver* as an opportunity for learning.

This fuzziness has been present in CA-SLA literature for a long time (Larsen-Freeman 2004; Wagner 2004), and still needs to be addressed by further research.

Lilja et al. and Piirainen-Marsh & Lilja propose the reconfiguration of the language classroom by means of the employment of new resources that allow participants to actively design their learning paths and reflect on their interactional performance. The course formats proposed by the authors indeed support learners'

process of becoming more competent members of the community by creating safe environments for language use that still contain the complexly interwoven contingencies of real-life interactions. Hellermann et al., on the other hand, show how an augmented reality game can support the integration of co-participants, the space, objects, the body, and, of course, linguistic resources in learning. It would be interesting to see the authors' reflections on how this activity can support the novice's integration into the community or the development of their methods for the accomplishment of the interactional tasks laid out in the introduction.

Finally, Wagner presents a compelling synthesis of the work done in CA-SLA in the last decades – although no reference is made to the empirical chapters in the book. Starting from the initial exploratory studies that challenged the psychologically-oriented language-learning framework (Firth & Wagner 1997), EM and CA for SLA, are moving closer to a reformulation of the second language classroom. This movement is possible due to the vast body of research that relies on the close analysis of the intricacies of institutional and now also of ordinary interaction in L2. The call for altering the infrastructure for language learning, integrating the larger community, is indeed a logical one, considering how interactional competence reflects changes in participation in the social world. Nevertheless, the assessment of the deficiencies of the current classroom format, and of the possible impact of new practices to justify such a revolution in teaching and learning will surely present itself as an important challenge and is not mentioned in the volume.

This edited volume is to be recommended for students interested in conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, interactional linguistics, and second language acquisition, as well as those interested in social approaches to cognition. For one, it presents empirical studies that draw on actual language use and advance current objectives of EMCA, Interactional Linguistic (e.g. multimodality) and SLA (e.g. interactional competence) research. Secondly, it focuses on L2 use in non-instructional settings and proposes forms of application of EMCA findings to language teaching. More generally, it establishes a clearer outline of the area of studies of L2 learning/use 'in the wild' within the larger SLA field.

All in all, the chapters in this volume reflect the full potential of the EMCA approach for the study of second language acquisition. This approach enables the investigation of the intricacy of the elements that shape the complex ecology of social interactions as they are oriented to by interactants, taking into account that linguistic forms cannot be isolated from their sequential organization or from the material set up of an encounter. Moreover, CA's participant orientation premise reveals how learner/expert identities, learning moments, and learnables are co-constructed in social interaction. Finally, the book shows how EM/CA-SLA results can be materialized in learning-teaching materials and practices in the second language classroom and in the community.

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