Multilingual chance encounters
between unacquainted people in public space

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ABSTRACT

It is a common occurrence for people to spontaneously strike up a conversation with unknown others in public places. In such first-contact situations, one fundamental issue hovering over the early moments of interaction concerns language choice. Especially in multilingual environments, a generic practical problem for previously unacquainted people is having to find out what the available and adequate language options are for the encounter, and establishing *here and now* what shared linguistic resources they can rely on so that each party can communicate competently, for all practical purposes. Such impromptu public interactions, which have thus far largely evaded systematic interactional analysis, present a perspicuous site for investigating the practices through which language choice is locally negotiated and invite examination of how individuals mobilize their multiple linguistic and embodied resources as they engage in interaction. It is these moments of language contact, their characteristics and interactional organization, that are the focus of this dissertation.

Drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (EMCA), and making use of video recordings collected across a range of multilingual public places in French-, German-, and Italian-speaking Switzerland, the dissertation examines how multilingual chance encounters between previously unacquainted people are organized in naturally-occurring interaction. Chance encounters between people with differing linguistic competencies and preferences for language use are a quotidian part of public social life, and a closer look into their emergence provides an opportunity to highlight that, far from being pre-determined, language choice is a contingent, *in-situ* interactional achievement. The dissertation describes in detail some of the local practices through which coincidentally co-present persons who have never met before spontaneously move into interaction in a variety of public settings, display to

each other their preferences for language use and (lack of) linguistic competencies, recipient-design language choice, and request and offer help in the face of emerging language-related difficulties. The analyses report on how previously unknown individuals—during the nascent moments of their chance encounter—emergently discover the linguistic options they have for efficiently engaging in interaction, and interactionally negotiate a mode of language use that they deem adequate for whatever it is they are doing. These options can range from the choice of one shared language-of-interaction to the exclusion of others (Chapters 4 and 5); to multilingual modes of interaction in which speakers alternate languages during sequences of language negotiation (Chapter 5); to third-party mediated interactions involving *ad hoc* language brokers (Chapter 6); to conversations in which participants practice receptive multilingualism by each speaking a different language (Chapter 7).

Taken together, the dissertation has distinctive empirical and conceptual contributions to make to research both within and outside of EMCA. It contributes to a praxeological approach to language choice and multilingualism-in-interaction, and explores the intersections between research into multilingual practices, an EMCA approach to the sequential, embodied, and categorial organization of openings, and a Goffman-inspired take on interaction between "strangers" in public places.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1   INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

Public places represent a site of everyday sociality and linguistic diversity where people from many backgrounds come together and connect through spontaneous encounters, some more sustained and intimate, others more fleeting and transactional. People are now, in our world of globalization, mobility and diaspora, more likely than ever to bump into speakers of various languages in their everyday public interactions. One only needs to move through busy city streets, stroll through parks, use public transport, go to tourist landmarks, set foot in a store, shop at a market, or visit playgrounds to catch a glimpse of everyday linguistic diversity and realize how richly multilingual and multicultural public places are. Multilingual language use permeates daily social life and is omnipresent in contemporary public environments. Especially in urban public places, members of society can't help but be exposed to various co-existing languages, and they routinely find themselves interacting with unfamiliar people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

While it is a common occurrence for "strangers" to spontaneously strike up a conversation in multilingual public space—be it, for example, to request what Goffman (1963) called "free goods" (the kinds of things one can ask for in public, such as directions, the time, perhaps help with carrying a heavy grocery bag), pitch economic goods and services, or simply exchange a moment of sociability—, remarkably little is known about just *how* such everyday moments of language contact actually emerge and play out in detail, as they happen. It is this ordinary stuff of public social life that this dissertation seeks to explore, with a particular focus on everyday multilingualism in actual, real-time, *impromptu encounters between previously unacquainted people*. The early moments of contact with unknown individuals are a locus of important interactional work, as it is here that unacquainted people form a kind of first draft of

each other's (social-linguistic) identities. Besides enabling the interactants to indicate the nature of the encounter and gauge each other's current moods, these moments also provide occasions to display their linguistic preferences and competencies, and update their emergent understandings about each other. With this dissertation, I hope to provide novel insights into the micro-interactional organization of these important yet underexplored moments of language contact, as well as their consequentiality for how "strangers" organize the unfolding of their incipient encounter.

The present research contributes to, and has been conceptualized within the general framework of, the larger project *The First Five Words: Multilingual Cities in Switzerland and Belgium and the Grammar of Language Choice in Public Space* created and directed by Lorenza Mondada (funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) under grant 100012L_182296/1) and Elwys De Stefani (funded by the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO) under grant G0E1519N). It is not my purpose in these introductory pages to overview the broader aims and scope, and epistemological and methodological orientations of the *First Five Words* research project. Suffice it to say that it innovatively locates public space as a rich site for the study of a variety of themes and issues related to the locally situated organization of everyday interactions in public, or the micro-order of public life. It explores the intersections between a Goffmanian, micro-sociological take on interactions between "strangers" in public places, an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic (EMCA) approach to the sequential, embodied, and categorial organization of openings, and the study of ground-level moments of everyday multilingualism in society (De Stefani & Mondada, in prep.). Some sub-themes of interest include: the local interactional management of co-presence in public places; the work required to (refuse to) enter into jointly focused interaction; the members' concern of how to strike up a conversation with an unfamiliar person; methods of categorization of others and common-sense theorizing about appearances; mobility in complex outdoor open space

environments; public space as a forum for multilingualism and linguistic diversity; or openings as a locus of the *in-situ* negotiation of language choice in a first-contact context.

This dissertation will primarily focus on issues related to the two latter aspects of the above (non-exhaustive) list, although it will inevitably also address other issues surrounding these interrelated themes. Much has been written about everyday multilingualism, (urban) linguistic diversity, and the sociolinguistics of public spaces, and more recently there has been a burgeoning interest in multilingual phenomena as seen today in hypermobile and "superdiverse" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2007) spaces. While this research is topically relevant and addresses themes that feed into the account presented here, it often looks at the co-existence of multiple languages from more macro-level perspectives, draws on interviews or *post hoc* survey methodologies, or examines multilingual language use through a broader ethnographic lens. There have been some studies, however, particularly those influenced by John J. Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982), that have adopted a more micro-level approach and focused on situated interaction at a finer level of analytic granularity (see Chapter 2).

In line with this, in this dissertation I am concerned with the lived embodied reality of everyday multilingualism *in practice* and explore how language contact is dealt with locally, *in situ*, by unacquainted participants in *sequences of interaction*. This focus on micro-interactional multilingual[1] practices that members of society engage in means that I am not so much interested in a demolinguistic (mapping percentages of different linguistic backgrounds)

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[1] Throughout this study, the term *multilingual* will be used to mean "more than one language," without strictly differentiating between *bilingual* and *multilingual*. Accordingly, I will use *multilingual interaction* for any talk that contains elements from more than one language/variety. In line with a praxeological approach to understanding social interaction, when I refer to individuals the term *multilingual* implies not necessarily a habitual usage of more than one language/variety within everyday life; rather, it refers to their locally displayed ability to understand and interact in more than one language/variety, for all practical purposes—thus including individuals whose (productive and/or receptive) abilities in the involved languages may be limited.

Relatedly, the Council of Europe (2001) proposed to distinguish between a person's individual *plurilingualism* and societal/collective *multilingualism*. I do not make this distinction here. Other terminological choices will be discussed below.

or geolinguistic (examining the territorial distribution of different languages) approach to the multilingualisms of public space (see, e.g., Lüdi & Werlen, 2005; Weinreich, 2011 on Switzerland). I also won't delve into other related phenomena associated with multilingualism and linguistic diversity in public space, such as the study of public multilingual signage in *linguistic landscape* research (Gorter & Cenoz, 2023; though see Chapter 4 on members' *in-situ* orientations to the aural landscape of public space). Drawing on EMCA, or a praxeological approach to understanding social interaction, and making use of video recordings collected across a range of multilingual public places in French-, German-, and Italian-speaking Switzerland, I provide an empirical account of how multilingual chance encounters between previously unacquainted people are organized in naturally-occurring interaction. I describe in detail some of the situated practices through which coincidentally co-present persons who have never met before spontaneously engage in interaction in a variety of public settings; display to each other their linguistic preferences and (lack of) linguistic competencies; recipient-design language choice; negotiate a mode of language use that they deem adequate for whatever it is they are doing; and request and offer help in the face of emerging language-related difficulties.

In order to come to terms with these phenomena and adequately analyze them, a distinctive approach to data collection is needed that is able to deal with the challenges related to the capturability of naturally-occurring, non-prearranged, often relatively fleeting, *ad hoc* encounters between "strangers" in public open space (De Stefani & Mondada, in prep.). While the chance interactions that I am concerned with in this dissertation are likely profoundly familiar, getting at the phenomenon is anything but straightforward. Particularly in the face of the material, visual, and aural complexity of public open spaces—where stationary and mobile configurations of co-present people and nonhuman animals who are perceptually accessible to one another go about their everyday affairs in a mutually shared environment, and continuously notice, watch, and overhear others—, it is of central importance to preserve the overall ecology

of the individuals' activities; it is critical to capture the multimodal details of how individuals use and orient to their local surround as an "environment of mutual monitoring possibilities" (Goffman, 1964: 135), as these are consequential for how people design their entry into a face-to-face engagement in public space. So, the data used are audio-visual recordings of naturally-occurring interaction, involving a combination of fixed and mobile camera arrangements. To deal with these materials, the study draws on an interactional, EMCA approach that takes seriously the fundamentally multimodal character of human conduct by considering how individuals mobilize a range of verbal/vocal, embodied, and material resources to accomplish social action (Chapter 3).

Chance encounters between previously unacquainted, possibly linguistically diverse people are a perspicuous site for investigating the practices through which language choice is locally negotiated. Such impromptu public interactions thus invite questions like: How is it that a given "stranger encounter" ends up being conducted monolingually in French or English (as a *lingua franca*) or Italian or Standard German or Swiss German, etc., or multilingually in a combination of locally available language options? What are the practices through which previously unacquainted people indicate their linguistic preferences in the nascent moments of an encounter? How can they decline/resist locally displayed preferences to use a certain language and undertake to change a proposed language-of-interaction in the moment-by-moment sequential unfolding of an encounter? How do they adjust linguistic choices according to locally evolving notions of recipient design? What resources are available to them to repair and help secure intersubjectivity, and, ultimately, get things done in the absence of an obvious shared "language?"

The dissertation coheres around these interrelated research questions, which provide a framework for discussion about the key issues to be explored in the body of this work. The interactional account of multilingual chance encounters presented here aims to provide a fresh

perspective on various topics, bringing together and contributing to several areas of inquiry, including the study of language contact, multilingualism, and code-switching, particularly research into language choice and language negotiation in situated interaction; studies of face-to-face openings; and interaction in public places. This research also serves as a contribution to a growing body of interaction-oriented scholarship on encounters between "strangers." The present work articulates with these themes through a micro-analytic lens that emphasizes the moment-by-moment sequential, embodied, and categorial organization of social interaction.

The dissertation, which consists of eight chapters in total with findings represented in four empirical chapters, will proceed as follows:

Chapter 2 locates the present work within the broad canvas of studies of i) interaction in public places, ii) openings of co-present face-to-face interactions, and iii) multilingual practices, with an emphasis on the sequential organization of language choice in interaction and different "modes" of locally organizing multilingual encounters.

Chapter 3 introduces the fieldwork settings in which the video data for this study were collected. I also outline some of the core EMCA principles that guide this work, including methodological preliminaries regarding the collection, transcription, and analysis of data.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter 4, is concerned with *overhearing as an occasioned resource for recipient-designing language choice*. I show how individuals who are within earshot of one another aurally monitor co-present others and accountably exploit their sensory access to a previously-in-progress interaction for then implementing a recipient-oriented, linguistically fitted action when moving into jointly focused interaction.

Chapter 5 describes some of the ways in which previously unacquainted people *collaboratively negotiate the language(s) in which their impromptu interaction is to be conducted*. I explore in greater depth some moment-by-moment practices through which participants locally propose ("explicitly" or "embeddedly") the use of a certain language-of-

interaction, and how co-participants position themselves as aligning, or disaligning, with a given language proposal in the early moments of interaction. I show how multiple linguistic resources intersect with embodied resources in the production of social action and the interactional organization of openings, and illustrate how participants with limited competencies in the involved languages/varieties engage in token multilingualism as an everyday practice in present-day public environments.

Chapter 6 is about a basic recurrent problem that previously unacquainted persons face in impromptu encounters in multilingual public space: how to deal with the potential interactional trouble of not sharing a common language, or having limited shared linguistic resources with co-participants. I explore this issue by looking at how co-present third persons come to act as *ad hoc* interactional mediators, or *language brokers*, in an effort to facilitate understanding and coordinate participation between two or more previously unacquainted participants who turn out to be of unequal language competencies. The analysis is structured around methods of what I termed *self-initiated brokering*, on the one hand, and *other-initiated brokering*, on the other. Language brokering will be shown to entail a set of facilitatory mediating practices deployed by a third party, furnishing linguistically diverse people with a productive resource for methodically dealing with interactional moments in which mutual understanding is jeopardized due to the asymmetrically multilingual (exolingual) participant constellation.

Chapter 7 provides an empirical account of what *receptive multilingualism* might look like in situated interaction, developing the exploration of different "linguistic regimes" (Chapter 2) that encounters between unknown people may take. Through a single case analysis, I look closely at how previously unacquainted participants progressively negotiate a mode of interaction that sequentially develops into, and eventually stabilizes as, a pattern of "dual-receptive language alternation" (Greer, 2013a), with each focal participant primarily speaking

their individually preferred language(s) while relying on receptive knowledge of their co-participant's language(s) for establishing mutual understanding. In showing how participants shift between multiple linguistic regimes on a moment-by-moment basis and recipient-design their turns in a manner that makes them readily accessible to their co-participant, the chapter sketches out a possible EMCA-informed critique of the notion of receptive multilingualism, while at the same time bringing together the phenomena addressed separately in the three preceding chapters. Thus, the chapter also synthesizes some of the main themes that will emerge in the course of the empirical part of this dissertation.

I conclude in Chapter 8 with a discussion of the findings and some implications.

2 WHEN "STRANGERS" MEET: ENGAGING IN INTERACTION IN MULTILINGUAL PUBLIC SPACE – A LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will situate the present research in the extant literature. I will outline the main issues and themes of the dissertation, building on the following three areas of inquiry: interaction in public places (§2.1), openings (§2.2), and multilingualism (in public space), focusing in particular on studies of language choice and multilingual practices (§2.3 and §2.4). These issues have largely been investigated in isolation of each other, and the broader aim of the wider *First Five Words* project, of which this study is part, is to offer an articulation between them. Further literature that is relevant to the particular topics to be addressed in the empirical analyses will be reviewed in the individual chapters.

2.1 Interaction in public places

In this section, I will locate the present study within existing research on interaction in public places. I will outline relevant conceptual foundations from Goffman, address terminological concerns, and provide a brief, intentionally eclectic overview of existing EMCA research into interaction between unacquainted persons in public space, before zooming in more specifically on how people open interaction (§2.2).

An influential precursor for the research in this dissertation is Erving Goffman's micro-sociology of *behavior in public places* (Goffman, 1963). Interaction in (Western) public places animates an important part of Goffman's œuvre, and in his writings on the micro-order of public life, Goffman locates public space as a site of co-presence with "strangers" who constantly

attend to, monitor, and engage with their local surroundings. Goffman approached interaction in public places through the lens of the "social situation," which he defined as not just co-location in the same place, but "as an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself [*sic*] accessible to the naked senses of all the others who are 'present,' and similarly find them accessible to him [*sic*]" (1964: 135). It was this interest in *gatherings*, interactional arrangements in which people are co-present but not overtly sustaining co-participation, that broke new ground in the study of everyday public sociality. Significantly for the themes of this dissertation, Goffman's observations of interaction in public places led him to distinguish between *unfocused* and *focused* interaction (Goffman, 1963). By *unfocused interaction*, Goffman meant minimal displays of orientation and forms of interaction between individuals who are not (yet) "participants" to an encounter, but who are sustaining "civil inattention." This is perhaps most famously the case with unacquainted people passing on a busy sidewalk, who typically discreetly scan and momentarily glance at each other before withdrawing their attention from each other—in "a kind of dimming of lights" (Goffman, 1963: 84)—while coordinating their walking trajectories in an effort to avoid collisions. As the "slightest of interpersonal rituals" (ibid.), civil inattention allows unfamiliar individuals to acknowledge one another's presence without displaying and projecting any engagement in conversation or closer contact. In contrast, *focused interaction* is achieved by individuals who transition from "mere co-presence" into "full scale co-participation" (Goffman 1963: 102). They thus move beyond the mutual proffering of civil inattention and engage in an *encounter*, in which they sustain a "single focus of cognitive and visual attention—what is sensed as a single *mutual activity*" (Goffman, 1963: 89; emphasis in original).

Goffman's descriptions of public gatherings and the diverse practices in and through which co-presence is organized thus show acquainted and unacquainted people to be continuously concerned with and attending to what happens in their "microecological orbit"

(Goffman, 1964: 133) as they navigate public places. This crucially involves categorizations of co-present others, or what Goffman called the "dance of identification" (Goffman, 1961: 127). Because being amid unknown people is an inherent characteristic of city living (Simmel, 1908), urban public space is often seen as a "world of strangers" (Lofland, 1973). The notion of "stranger" has, of course, a rich intellectual history, tracing back to the seminal works of Simmel (1908) and Schütz (1944), and further developed by the Chicago School, with urban sociological and geographical studies offering comprehensive insights into collective life in the city (see Jackson et al., 2017; Lofland, 1973, 1998).

Goffman offers vivid descriptions of some of the familiar scenes of urban public space, focusing on interactions between individuals who could be labeled as "strangers." Relatedly, civil inattention has been described as one way of "doing being a stranger" (Hirschauer, 2005). Nevertheless, in a footnote referring to Harvey Sacks' lectures (Goffman, 1971: 7, fn. 5), Goffman flags the term "stranger" as problematic. He points out that a more accurate category would typically be "fellow user of a public place," referring not to just any unacquainted person—"for example, ordinarily not a policeman or a shop clerk" (ibid.). In other words, most often interactions in public places are not between just any random "strangers," but rather between particular categories of people. Goffman's unhappiness with the use of "stranger" as a generic "master categor[y]" (Watson, 2005: 201) to refer to unknown persons points to the importance of membership categorization (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Sacks, 1992), and begs the analytic question of how and when—or whether at all—members orient to the category "stranger" as locally relevant for their actions when navigating and interacting in public places. In the same vein, Lofland (1973) also recognizes some of the problems with the gloss "stranger" and notes that while they tend to be *personally* unknown, co-present individuals "know" one another *categorially*. Put another way, "[c]ommunication in public places is characteristically appearance dependent; that is, the individual relies on her or his estimation

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of another's discernible, visible form as a clue to what is, for the context, significant identity, and the individual understands that others will judge her or him in the same way" (Gardner, 1995: 3). Unfamiliar individuals in public spaces therefore remain unidentifiable to only a limited extent; they give off clues about who "they are," which allows people to draw categorial inferences about someone whom they do not know and see and hear for the first time. Individuals who are out and about perceive glimpses of one another based on, for example, how they move, inherent aspects like skin color, deliberate forms of identity construction, such as clothing choices or hairstyle, or a snippet of conversation overheard in passing (Chapter 4). This "categoric knowing" (Lofland, 1973) does not rest on biographical knowledge of others or a shared interactional history, but on categorizations that may be done on the basis of directly-available, visual and/or aural cues (see §2.2 for examples). These "tells" in the here-and-now, together with common-sense knowledge and (category-bound) assumptions about a space and the "usual" composition of individuals populating it, might help us candidately categorize, and possibly "place," unknown others. Thus, it is more adequate to conceive of public places not as a "world of strangers," but, to borrow from Robin Smith (2022: 105), as "a world of members." In line with this analytic orientation, I enclose the term "stranger" in quotation marks throughout the introductory parts of this study and the analysis, where, as we will see, a higher degree of granularity and more emically sensitive identity categorizations are required; I use the term as a shorthand in the vernacular or dictionary sense of "a person or thing that is unknown or with whom one is unacquainted" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) only for reasons of exposition.

Despite the rich tradition of the "stranger" and, more generally, interaction in public places, there have been relatively few EMCA-informed studies that address street life and encounters between unacquainted members of the public as a topic *per se*. And those that do exist—examples include Sacks' (1972) Goffmanesque account of police officers' assessments

of appearances in public space; his description of "pickups" (Sacks, 1992: I, 49–51, 101–103) and "tickets" to talk (Sacks, 1992: II, 195); Gardner (1995) and Duneier and Molotch (1999) on "public harassment" and "disquieting street encounters;" Carlin (2003) on the recognizability of pickpockets; or, more recently, Ablitt (2020) on "walking in on" people in public park space, to name but a few—tend to be primarily ethnographically based. Largely missing in this body of scholarship, however, are video studies of the endogenous organization of situated interaction between unacquainted members of the public.

Notable exceptions to this generalization are some EM and CA studies that in a sense pick up where Goffman leaves off and offer insight into the details of diverse aspects and moments of everyday public social life that remained hitherto understudied. For example, there has been some early work on members' locomotion[2] in public space: Ryave and Schenkein (1974), drawing on video recordings of "a public pavement travelled primarily by students" (1974: 265), documented some of the detailed navigational practices involved in "doing walking" as an ongoing practical accomplishment. In a similar vein, drawing on video data collected in various public settings in London and Paris (Lee & Watson, 1993), Watson (2005) described what he characterized as one of the "lost phenomena of public space" (2005: 210) in an account of how pedestrians move through public space in "flow-files." Mondada (2009), in an influential paper on the emergent co-accomplishment of a shared "interactional space," offered an analytic description of various practices of mobility whereby would-be interactants navigate their approach and reconfigure their bodies in (pre-)openings of pedestrians' itinerary requests in public space in France (see also De Stefani & Mondada, 2007 and De Stefani & Mondada, 2010, 2018 reviewed below). More recently, Mondada and Tekin (submitted) provided a detailed account of how a diverse range of users of a public place (pedestrians,

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[2] For overviews of EMCA research on mobility-in-interaction, see De Stefani (2014), De Stefani et al. (2019), Haddington et al. (2013).

bikers, market-goers, charity solicitors, etc.) exploit the projectability and recognizability of visible embodied movements and walking trajectories in public open space to coordinate their navigation, offering an articulation between the EMCA study of mobile trajectories and broader social scientific approaches to the notion of public space.

There has also been some EMCA work on interaction in public places using as research data videos downloaded from the video hosting website YouTube and other social media platforms. These platforms offer a wealth of online viral videos, made possible by the widespread use of smartphones, dash cams, security cameras, and the like, thus opening up avenues for the detailed study of spontaneous public interactions that have traditionally remained difficult to investigate.[3] For instance, Whitehead et al. (2018) examined the moment-by-moment sequential organization of violent, or potentially violent, interactions between individuals who share public space (cf. Duneier & Molotch, 1999; Gardner, 1995 on public space as a site of male privilege and troubled public interactions with "street people"). Joyce and Sterphone (2022) described situated practices bystanders deploy to intervene into public disputes in racist encounters. Relatedly, studies of interactions where individuals are being challenged in some way for speaking a language other than English in a variety of public settings in North America are presently emergent, drawing on the recently established *Corpus of Language Discrimination in Interaction* (Raymond et al., 2023). Kidwell and Reynolds (2022) offered a fine-grained analysis of the organization of "gaze following" and co-looking, as well as the "watchability" of certain events in public social life, such as street performances (cf. Carlin, 2014), public pranks, and street fights.

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[3] However, there are several limitations with the use of such "opportunistic third party video" (Jones & Raymond, 2012: 112) for analysis. These are typically related to the asymmetry of perspectives in this type of recordings, the unavailability of the larger participation framework, the "*in-medias-res* character" of the videos (where viewers often have no, or insufficient, access to what preceded an interactional phenomenon), etc. A discussion of this is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter (cf. Mondada, 2013 for recommendations for best practices for collecting video data).

Relying on actual video-taped interaction, these studies provide empirical accounts of the details of several distinct "stranger situations" (Lofland, 1973: 183) and common, yet often overlooked, scenes of public life, involving both the pleasures of public sociability as well as vulnerability and fear. But while these studies do offer insights into some of the ways in which people come into contact while sharing public space, their focus is not directly on how fellow users of a public place open interaction. I turn to this in the next section.

2.2   Openings

In this section,[4] I will review previous work on openings of social interaction. I will begin by providing a brief overview of early research on the moment-by-moment organization of opening sequences in telephone calls, focusing particularly on Schegloff's seminal explorations of landline openings (§2.2.1). This will provide a backdrop against which to consider the multimodal organization of co-present openings in §2.2.2, where I will outline previous research on how people move into face-to-face interaction. Finally, I will zoom in in more detail on openings between previously unacquainted individuals by looking at prior interactional studies focusing specifically on first-time encounters (§2.2.3).

Openings are perhaps one of the most well-researched objects of study in the short history of conversation analysis, and figured centrally in its emergence. They have been the subject of many classic studies in CA and continue to be a major area of interest. In the past five or so decades, a great deal of research has been generated exploring the sequential organization of the opening phase of social interaction in a diversity of contexts. In what follows, I will offer a brief, necessarily limited overview of the CA literature on openings to set the stage (for more comprehensive reviews, see D'Antoni et al., 2022; Mondada & Schmitt, 2010; Pillet-Shore, 2018).

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[4] Portions of this section appear in Hänggi (2022) and Hänggi and Schneerson (2023).

Beginnings of conversations have been of long-standing interest to sociologists, sociolinguists, and anthropologists alike, generating a wealth of literature on the ways in which people enter into social encounters. In this body of work, we observe a heterogeneity of approaches to and conceptualizations of openings, which have typically been examined through the lens of greetings—a prolific area of research that has produced a considerable amount of ethnographic and ethnological literature on their cultural variability (e.g., Basso, 1970; Duranti, 1992; Firth, 1972; Irvine, 1974; Youssouf et al., 1976; but see also Duranti, 1997a for a discussion of the universality of greetings). However, while greetings certainly figure importantly in any discussion of openings, my starting point is elsewhere. I limit my review to social interactional research that, based on audio and/or video recordings of actual interactions, takes a more granular approach to the study of the opening phase of encounters by examining their moment-by-moment sequential organization. In describing the verbal/vocal, embodied, and material resources that individuals mobilize in the nascent moments of interaction, this research allows us to see the delicate interactional work that may lead up to greetings (by no means mere rituals) and that goes into moving into a mutually ratified state of co-participation.

2.2.1 The organization of opening sequences: Early work on telephone calls

Openings have been an area of sustained interest and played a prominent role in much of early pioneering work in CA. Audio-recorded data of landline telephone conversations were used to describe the ways in which conversational openings are sequentially organized (Sacks, 1967; Schegloff, 1968, 1986). *The first five seconds* (Schegloff, 1967) of an incipient encounter were thus shown to be critical: it is in this sequential environment that individuals establish (non)availability, become participants to a jointly focused interaction, display who they are to each other by engaging in identificational and/or recognitional work (Schegloff, 1979), and

make relevant membership and relationship categories that "initially, candidatedly, signature the type of conversation that's taking place" (Sacks, 1992: II, 201). In his seminal explorations of openings of ordinary landline telephone conversations in American English, Schegloff (1967, 1968, 1979, 1986) identified four "core opening sequences" (Schegloff, 1986: 117) that participants routinely go through before reaching "anchor position," where the caller has the opportunity to articulate their reason-for-the-call and introduce a first topic. These opening sequences are organized as follows:

1. *Summons-answer* sequence
2. *Identification/recognition* sequence
3. *Greeting* sequence
4. *'Howareyou'* sequence

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Ex. 1) 121 (adapted from Schegloff 1986: 115)
0    ((ring))                                  Summons
1  R: Hello,                                   Answer
2  C: Hi. Susan?
3  R: Ye:s,                                    Identif./Recognition
4  C: This's Janet. Weinstein.
5  R: Janet!                                   Greeting
6  C: hhehh Susan.
7  R: How are you.                             'Howareyou'
8  C: I'm fine. How're you.
9  R: Fi:ne. Back from the wilds of C'lumbia.
10 C: Yeah. hhnhheh
11 R: Crazy.
12 C: hheh heh heh. 'hhh My mo:ther's having a First Topic
13    coming out party fer me...
```

Schegloff's work has been formative for nearly all subsequent research into call openings. Schegloff noted that although some openings may initially appear to deviate from the routine organization described above, they are in fact "variants engendered by a systematic sequential organization adapted and fitted by the parties to some particular circumstances" (Schegloff, 1979: 68). The organization of opening sequences as identified by Schegloff thus appears as a normative, more-or-less standard, "canonical" model, in which members

accomplish a recurrent set of "organizational jobs" (Schegloff, 1986: 116) and which they may adapt to particular tasks and the local praxeological context. This has been supported by later work on openings of institutional/service calls. In their investigations of the sequential trajectories of emergency call openings, Whalen and Zimmerman (1987), Wakin and Zimmerman (1999), and Cromdal et al. (2012) identified "reductions" and "specializations" of the "canonical" opening sequence reported by Schegloff, in that greetings and how-are-yous, for example, were shown to be omitted so as to prioritize the main business of the call (cf. Drew & Heritage, 1992).

Moreover, subsequent research examined conversational openings in a broader range of languages and speech communities, also looking into cross-linguistic/-cultural variation in the sequential organization of the early moments of phone calls (e.g., Hopper & Chen, 1996; Lindström, 1994; Luke & Pavlidou, 2002). A further set of studies investigated the organization of opening sequences in various other forms of technology-mediated interaction, like mobile phone calls (e.g., Arminen & Leinonen, 2006; Weilenmann, 2003), radio phone-ins (e.g., Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002; Hutchby, 1996), videoconferences in work settings (e.g., Licoppe & Dumoulin, 2010; Mondada, 2010), or video calls between family and friends (e.g., Gan et al., 2020; Licoppe, 2017).

Schegloff pioneered research into the organization of telephone call openings, not out of a particular fascination with the telephone itself, but because phone conversations presented an opportune, analytically convenient way to examine interaction (see also Sacks, 1984: 26). Heritage (1984a) writes that

> [t]he use of telephone calls as data was designed to eliminate the complexities of non-vocal behaviour from the analysis of interaction, while preserving a naturalistic environment of talk. In this way, the additional tasks of analysing non-vocal behaviour could be legitimately postponed in favour of an exclusive focus on the details of speech. (Heritage, 1984a: 240)

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While Schegloff's analysis still largely applies and stands the test of time in many ways, it comes as no surprise that due to the "complexities" of embodied behavior, face-to-face openings are organized somewhat differently and require more interactional work. In what follows, I will turn to previous multimodal research that took up the challenge of analyzing openings of face-to-face encounters.

2.2.2 Co-present face-to-face openings

While visual conduct is not accessible to interactants in phone conversations, and tends to be reduced to "talking head" configurations (Licoppe & Morel, 2012) in video calls, a fundamental, interactionally consequential difference between openings of technology-mediated interaction and openings of unmediated face-to-face interaction lies in the co-availability of a wide range of multimodal resources (gaze, facial expressions, gestures, postural orientations, the moving body, engagement with objects, and so forth). Thus, unlike phone conversations, which are well-bounded events that are characterized by relatively easily recognizable beginnings and closings, face-to-face openings are less straightforward and, therefore, organized rather differently. Goffman reminds us that the beginning of a conversation does not equate to the beginning of interaction, and in his descriptions of the micro-order of public life, he returned time and time again to the fact that *physical* co-presence is not yet *social* co-presence (Pillet-Shore, 2018). Interactional video analysis permits us to see the details of how a face-to-face encounter emerges moment by moment out of a situation of physical co-presence, and the multiple embodied resources that would-be interactants, preceding any verbal contact, mobilize to coordinate entry into interaction and co-establish a common interactional space (Mondada, 2009).

In early work using film and video data, Kendon and Ferber (1973) described how individuals make their way into social interaction. They offered an in-depth analysis of the

practices individuals deploy as they prepare to greet each other and coordinate entry into conversation. These include things like sighting and catching attention, "distant salutations" (head tosses, waves, eyebrow flashes) during the approach, and "close salutations" (smiles, head nods, body contact like handshakes or hugs). In line with this, a by-now considerable body of video-based interactional studies of incipient encounters shows that the step-by-step transition from unfocused into more focused interaction is a practical accomplishment that crucially involves various multimodal practices, such as sighting and establishing mutual gaze (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018; cf. Goffman, 1963; Simmel, 1908), summoning (Kidwell, 2018; Mondada, 2009; Oloff, 2010; Pillet-Shore, 2018; Tuncer & Licoppe, 2018), displaying (non)availability (Harjunpää et al., 2018; Heath, 1986; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008; Mondada, 2022a; Robinson, 1998), and practices of mobility related to the (dis)alignment and coordination of bodily trajectories during the approach (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018; Fox & Heinemann, 2020; González-Martínez et al., 2017; Hausendorf & Mondada, 2017; Hoey, 2023; Mondada, 2009, 2022a, 2022b; Mondada & Tekin, submitted; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014).

This preliminary stage gradually leading up to, and achieving the conditions for, a jointly focused interaction can be treated as the "pre-beginning" (Schegloff, 1979) or "pre-opening" (Mondada, 2010) of an encounter.[5] Conceptually, it has proven challenging, and perhaps not so productive, to define the boundaries of the pre-opening. Instead, as Mondada (2022a) shows, detailed video analysis of the moment-by-moment emergence of co-present (pre-)openings demonstrates how would-be interactants continuously monitor and micro-sequentially adjust to each other before the encounter proper. Forms of embodied micro-

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[5] A quick note on terminology: "Pre-beginning" and "pre-opening" appear to be used interchangeably sometimes (e.g., Kidwell, 2018; Schegloff, 1979 use "pre-beginning" to refer to the pre-opening practices discussed here). Although there are no universally accepted definitions of the two concepts in the CA literature, it is worth noting that the participants themselves may endogenously orient to a distinction between them, as demonstrated by Mondada's (2010) study of video conference calls. While the pre-opening phase involves preparatory conduct like positioning oneself, rearranging the material environment, and checking technical aspects like camera angles, the pre-beginning phase is characterized by informal talk, or "chit-chat," that precedes the actual start of the formal meeting. This creates a local, emic distinction between "pre-opening" and "pre-beginning."

sequentiality—i.e., continuous mutual adjustments (De Stefani, 2021; Mondada, 2018a, 2021a, 2022a)—, as seen for instance when individuals change the trajectory or pace of their walking during the approach, permit us to see how would-be interactants, well before the opening of jointly focused interaction, subtly but recognizably respond to each other as they *gradually* transition into closer contact (see also Schneerson, in prep. on how dog-walking parties bodily adjust to each other as they prepare their entry into more focused interaction).

The studies above also highlight the importance of membership categorization to the organization of the early moments of interaction. Individuals were shown to relevantly categorize their potential prospective co-participants and orient to the type of social relationship they have before an encounter is properly begun. This categorial work may be based on a person's recognition of a familiar individual with whom they share a common interactional history and about whom they have biographical knowledge, allowing for a recipient-designed entry into an encounter (D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; De Stefani, 2019; De Stefani & Mondada, 2010, 2018). Alternatively, mutual sensory access also allows for local, *ad hoc*, on-sight-and-hearing categorizations of unfamiliar people when preparing to engage in more focused interaction, thus instantiating would-be interactants' orientations to "inspectables" (Schegloff, 1979: 64) that are available, e.g., through visual appearance. This categorial work is therefore based on identification rather than recognition (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018). Importantly for us, and as the preceding discussion has suggested (§2.1), this shows that previously unacquainted people, often glossed as "strangers," are never truly anonymous, but orient to each other as identifiable categorially (Lofland, 1973; Mondada, 2002; Sacks, 1992; Watson, 2005). For instance, it was shown that the spatiality and mobility of certain users of a public place makes them recognizable *at a glance* (Jayyusi, 1984; Sudnow, 1972) as "passers-by," "charity solicitors," (Mondada, 2009, 2022a; Mondada & Tekin, submitted) or "street vendors" (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008). In a related vein, the availability

and recognizability of categories in public space is also tightly connected to overheard language samples (Hänggi, 2022; Chapter 4) or people's engagement with objects. We will see in Chapter 4, for example, how unacquainted individuals orient to and use *overhearables* in the local multilingual soundscape as a resource for recipient-designing their entry into interaction, thereby showing how individuals engage in on-sight-*and-hearing* categorizations of co-present others along linguistic lines. Chapter 5 will provide some illustration of how individuals orient to microphones as especially important material artefacts that make the category incumbency as "reporter" or "interviewer" glance-available, thus contributing to producing the accountability (both the public intelligibility and legitimacy) of the approach.

2.2.3 Openings in first-time encounters

As evident from this overview, a considerable body of interactional research has explored how people initiate interactions across a wide variety of different situated (institutional and ordinary) contexts. Yet, studies specifically devoted to examining how openings play out in actual encounters between previously unacquainted persons remain very rare.

To my knowledge, Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) were the first to focus specifically on face-to-face interaction between previously unacquainted participants from a CA perspective. Acquainted and unacquainted pairs of college students, who had been recruited from various introductory sociology classes on a US university campus, were placed in a lab room and instructed to engage in conversation and "get to know" one another, under the pretense of preparing for an upcoming experiment. The actual purpose of the study was, however, to analyze these "warm-up" conversations themselves.[6] The main focus of the research was to examine practices of topic initiation and self-presentation. The study reveals

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[6] For other early work drawing on semi-elicited data in a lab-like setting, see Cosnier and Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1987) on the *Mode – interactions sur un thème imposé* video corpus collected in 1982. The contributions in this volume are, however, not specifically concerned with how (un)acquaintedness becomes relevant to the interaction.

that while both acquainted and unacquainted dyads used "setting talk" (referencing the immediate environment; cf. Bergmann, 1990) to generate topical talk, acquainted dyads tended to introduce topics based on their shared prior experiences and familiar relationship, whereas unacquainted dyads relied on question-answer pairs ("pre-topical sequences" about, e.g., year in school, academic major, or home residence) in and through which they discovered and displayed category memberships and category-bound activities. Thus, Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) further demonstrated the importance of openings for (re)constituting and maintaining social relationships, and showed some of the ways in which participants orient to their (un)acquaintedness as consequential for their interaction.

In an investigation with a similar study design (involving semi-elicited data from encounters pre-arranged for research purposes), Rawls and Duck (2020: ch. 1) examined video recordings of interactions between previously unacquainted US college students who self-identified as Black and White. Rawls and Duck's analysis of Black and White "greetings and introductory talk" led them to distinguish "conflicting interaction order expectations," suggesting that

> [w]hile Maynard and Zimmerman (1984: 304–5) found that between White college students, a focus on the local setting was treated as a way of avoiding intimacy, we find the mirror opposite in a Black greeting sequence: *a focus on the here and now of the local setting is preferred* between African Americans. (Rawls & Duck, 2020: 45; emphasis in original)

They further note that White college students, by contrast, tended to elicit more category questions (of the type *what do you do?*, *where do you live?*, *what's your major?*, for example), whereas African Americans tended to volunteer, rather than explicitly ask for, such categorial information (Rawls & Duck, 2020: 45). According to the authors, these observations possibly point toward race being made relevant and playing a role in the opening phase of first-time interactions.

Building on Maynard and Zimmerman's work, Svennevig (1999) proposed a book-length CA-informed study of "getting-acquainted" interactions between Norwegian- and Swedish-speaking persons based on five audio-taped conversations. The study differs from Maynard and Zimmerman (1984) and Rawls and Duck (2020) in that it involves data of previously recruited participants who are brought together in a broader range of (non-laboratory) settings, such as a restaurant, bar, or private home, where they met for some "real-life purpose" (e.g., education or pursuing shared interests) and were likely to see one another also in the future (Svennevig, 1999: 88). Interested in the genesis of personal social relationships and expanding the focus beyond the initial stages of interaction, Svennevig provides a detailed description of "getting acquainted" as a recognizable conversational activity by focusing on the local organization of self-presentational sequences, topic introductions, and side sequences (in and through which shared contextual knowledge is negotiated).

Drawing on audio-recorded data of 30 speed dates between 30 to 45-year-old (heterosexual) single people at a real speed-dating event in the UK, Stokoe (2010) described the overall structural organization of the date and analyzed how relationship history talk is elicited, occasioned, and accounted for. Stokoe's (2010) study is directly relevant to the present discussion as speed dates provide a "perspicuous" (Garfinkel, 2002: 181) setting for the naturalistic study of (potentially) romantic first encounters, with the primary goal being to meet people for the first time.

The above studies all focus on dyadic first-time interactions. However, encounters between previously unacquainted parties may also be mediated by a known-in-common person. Pillet-Shore (2011) analyzed face-to-face openings in such multiperson first-time encounters by elucidating the interactional work involved in introducing newcomers. Using video recordings of diverse workplace and domestic interactions (e.g., at a parent-teacher conference, parties, residential get-togethers between college students) between English-speaking persons,

Pillet-Shore provides an account of introduction sequences and demonstrates how participants distinguish between three-party "mediator-initiated introductions" (cf. Chapter 6) and two-party "self-initiated introductions," showing participants to treat the former as "preferred" over the latter (Pillet-Shore, 2011: 90).

There is also an emerging body of work in pragmatics that has drawn on CA principles to examine talk-in-interaction between previously unacquainted people. Studies by Haugh and colleagues, for example, explored issues related to (im)politeness, affiliation, and the minimization of disagreement in first-time encounters (Flint et al., 2019; Haugh, 2015), the role of humor and laughter (Haugh, 2011; Haugh & Pillet-Shore, 2018), or teasing and jocular mocking (Haugh & Pillet-Shore, 2018), without focusing on openings *per se*. More recently, this research has been extended to include a broader range of languages in cross-/ intercultural studies of encounters between previously unknown participants (see the special issue in the *Journal of Pragmatics* introduced by Haugh & Sinkeviciute, 2021). These studies join a small set of previous CA investigations dedicated to multilingual first-time encounters (Greer, 2013a; Mori, 2003; cf. §2.4.2).

Overall, the majority of this prior work relating to face-to-face interactions between previously unacquainted people can be situated within an emergent strand of research on "first encounters" primarily interested in describing the larger activity glossable as "getting acquainted" in interaction. While these papers shed important light on some of the ways in and through which people who meet for the first time orient to and reflexively produce their non-intimate social relationships in situated interaction and "get to know" each other in one way or another, they differ importantly from the present study in at least three respects: first, they tend not to focus specifically on openings *per se*, but rather on more global characteristics of first-time encounters. Second, the data utilized in the literature reviewed above overwhelmingly involve previously unacquainted people coming together in some *private territory* or

institutional setting. And third, the data come from *non-chance encounters* that were either planned in advance (pre-arranged by the researcher—in which case they may be characterized as *semi-elicited*—or the participants) or involve the parties' anticipation of encountering specific individuals. Thus, the researchers do not base their observations on spontaneous, chance encounters, and the studies are limited in what they can say about the moment-by-moment emergence of the examined interactions. It is important to delimit these kinds of first-time interactions from incidental, often more fleeting encounters in some public (open) space, as they happen, for example, when "strangers" spontaneously strike up a conversation on the street, on public transportation, in a waiting room (D'Antoni, in prep.), while walking their dogs (Schneerson, in prep.), etc. While extant literature often refers to "first" or "initial" encounters, this terminology can be somewhat misleading at times and inadequate for the phenomenon under investigation, as "first" implies the likelihood of a "second" or subsequent meeting. This is not necessarily accurate in the present study. In our data, the transient and sporadic nature of these interactions often means that there may not be any follow-up encounter, and the individuals involved may never cross paths again. It is the emergence and organization of this kind of possibly one-off chance encounters between previously unacquainted people that the present study seeks to elucidate.

Such openings have thus far largely evaded systematic interactional analysis, not least because of the difficulty of video-recording aleatoric events of this sort (see Chapter 3). One notable exception is De Stefani and Mondada (2010, 2018), comparing the emergence of unplanned public encounters between acquainted and unacquainted people. Drawing on data collected in a variety of "public and semipublic" (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018: 249) places in France, Italy, and southern Switzerland (e.g., busy city streets, at a supermarket), their research highlights some of the distinct sequential, embodied, and categorial characteristics of openings of chance encounters, which are recognizably different from the early moments of interaction

observed in other settings. For example, their studies contribute to our understanding of the fundamental (micro-)sequential steps that are involved in entering into a jointly focused interaction by analyzing preliminary work such as practices of scanning, sighting, identifying and recognizing, approaching, stopping, which may eventually lead into verbal opening utterances, and the co-creation of the stationary interactional space and participation framework necessary for progressing into a more sustained encounter. Moreover, De Stefani and Mondada show how individuals relevantly categorize their potential prospective co-participants and demonstrably orient to the type of social relationship they have in both the encounter pre-opening as well as in the initial phase of the focused interaction. In terms of sequential organization, and importantly for the present purposes, their analyses provide empirical demonstration of how in chance encounters between unacquainted people, the approaching party systematically dispenses with greetings and how-are-yous, and articulates the reason-for-their-approach, or first topic, at first possible opportunity.[7] Through this getting-right-to-business, approaching parties show themselves to be concerned with issues of accountability, i.e., with indicating, right away, that their motive for approaching is legitimate and innocuous (cf. Goffman, 1963). This instantiates one way that participants display an orientation to their unacquaintedness as consequential for the entry into interaction.

In this variety of ways, De Stefani and Mondada's work acts as a central point of departure. Where the current study differs is in its focus on *multilingual* chance encounters. I turn to multilingualism (in public space) next.

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[7] This is consonant with Hopper and Drummond's (1992) descriptions of the sequential organization of North American telephone openings between "strangers" and "intimates."

2.3   Multilingual practices and the hybrid use of linguistic resources: A diversity of terms, approaches, and meanings

The two prior sections outlined relevant existing research surrounding openings of chance encounters between previously unknown individuals in some public space. When unacquainted members of the public spontaneously strike up a conversation, figuring out which language(s) to use can become a pressing issue for them—something that they have to address here and now, typically during the nascent moments of the encounter. The opening phase of such impromptu public interactions thus presents a key site for the investigation of how participants work out language choice *in situ*, and invites examination of how they mobilize their multiple linguistic and other multimodal resources as they engage in interaction. But before turning to a review of prior EMCA research on language choice in openings in particular and multilingualism-in-interaction in general (§2.4), to set the scene it will be useful to take a look at wider (socio)linguistic research related to the overarching topic of multilingual interaction in public places. While a comprehensive overview of the work done in this area falls outside the aims and scope of this dissertation, it is important to be explicit about how the present study is situated in relation to this literature. So, in what follows I will briefly sketch out, relate, and differentiate between, various multilingual practices and concepts that have been proposed in the extant literature, and then specify their relation to the phenomena under examination here, approached from an EMCA perspective.

The complexity and creativity of how people get along with their multiple linguistic resources in their daily lives has more recently inspired a host of scholarship on this multilingual reality. A plethora of concepts and terms have been put forth in the literature to tackle, in one way or another, "new" fluid linguistic practices in today's globalized and increasingly multilingual world. In the following, I will consider a broader range of research that is pertinent to the larger topic of multilingualism in public space. Specifically, I will focus

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on "superdiversity" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), "metrolingualism" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), and "translanguaging" (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Otheguy et al., 2015).[8] This more recent thinking about the fluidity and hybridity of language use shares some common underpinnings and supports a move away from terminology such as "code-switching" and "language mixing," as used in other traditions of research. The necessity of adopting "new" concepts is often posited in order to appropriately capture some of the specific features of multilingual practices that can be observed today in globalized, "superdiverse" spaces. This is due to purported inadequacies of previous theories of code-switching/-mixing and multilingualism, which are often said to carry essentialist assumptions about the distinctness and separability of individual languages/codes that would not allow to adequately account for various multilingual phenomena related to more fluid language practices.

The epistemological committment to not exoticizing the hybrid use of linguistic resources and treating dynamic (and not additive) multilingualism as not just a good thing, but as the norm of human social interaction, has much in common with the position adopted here (and is certainly in line with previous scholarship). However, as argued in more detail in Auer (2022), such approaches tend to adopt a grosser level of analytic granularity and encompass a wide array of distinct multilingual practices within broad concepts and frameworks, often overlooking nuanced, micro-level distinctions that interaction-oriented work on code-switching and similar multilingual practices has been accumulating over the past four or so decades.

The concern of this section is to provide some background on previous research into different multilingual practices, or the hybrid use of linguistic resources. I will first address

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[8] The approaches I consider here are foregrounded in light of the themes of this dissertation. They are by no means intended to exhaust the great variety of concepts and terms used in research from different traditions on bi-/multilingual speakers' fluid language practices. Other examples include "marques transcodiques" (Lüdi, 1987), "heteroglossia" (Bailey, 2007), "polylanguaging" (Jørgensen, 2008), "multicompetence" (Cook, 2008), "flexible bilingualism" (Blackledge & Creese, 2011), or "translingual practice" (Canagarajah, 2013).

some more recent approaches in (applied/educational) sociolinguistics that took up this challenge, and we will see that there are several affinities between them. Wary of static notions of what constitutes "a language," scholars positioning themselves within these areas of inquiry all seek to challenge earlier thinking on multilingual practices and embrace new terminology beyond code-switching, language mixing, and the like. I will then move on to consider said earlier research, focusing on the terms "code-switching," "crossing," and "language mixing." Following Auer (2022), I will argue that these concepts, which are characterized by a finer level of analytic granularity, are often simplified and at least partly misrepresented in more recent, "new" approaches to similar multilingual phenomena.

As this dissertation seeks to explore everyday multilingual practices in public space, one important starting point with obvious relevance to the themes of the present work is scholarship in urban sociolinguistics. Two somewhat related concepts that have emerged recently in the field are "superdiversity" and "metrolingualism." "Superdiversity," as coined originally by Vertovec (2007) and then taken up and expanded upon by other scholars, including Blommaert and Rampton (2011), refers to a particular form of diversity—"diversity within diversity"—that is increasingly being seen in urban populations (of European cities). At its core, the concept of superdiversity describes and constitutes a lens through which to view the radical diversity(ies) and increasing heterogeneity of urban populations, characterized by a multiplicity of languages/varieties, cultures, ethnicities, new media and technologies, and complex migration trajectories.

Along similar lines, "metrolingualism," as developed by Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), highlights the complex ways in which individuals interact with one another and produce new configurations of language use, with the difference that it foregrounds the dynamic nature of everyday language practices in relation to the city. It puts center stage the role of the city as a site of linguistic diversity, creativity, and contingent resourcefulness, where various

languages/varieties and linguistic resources are constantly in contact and are put to use in dynamic ways. Multilingualism is here not so much a matter of individual competence, but about how people flexibly draw on and get by with multiple communicative resources in their daily casual and commercial interactions and thus produce the diversity, mobility, and conviviality characteristic of urban spaces.

Scholarship on superdiversity and metrolingualism challenges us to think critically about how we approach diversity and difference when it comes to multilingual practices, questioning more traditional notions of language that are often based on monolithic and homogenous categories (cf. Duranti, 1997b: 72–83). It highlights the need for a more nuanced and fluid understanding of multilingual language use in urban spaces. Both notions call for a pluralistic, integrated, and interdisciplinary approach to the study of language in society that recognizes the value and diversity of different linguistic as well as embodied and material practices (for example, Blommaert & Rampton, 2011 and Pennycook & Otsujji, 2015 underscore the importance of ethnography, and acknowledge multimodality in their theoretical orientation).

These recent discussions of urban multilingualism(s) present sociolinguistic complexity as a relatively new occurrence, arising from the growing mobility and (super-)diversity of our time. Although not the focus of this dissertation, it is important to note, however, that such circumstances have been present for a long time in intensely multilingual (non-European) speech communities that are considered more "peripheral" (see the special issues on "indigenous multilingualisms" introduced by Vaughan & Singer, 2018; "typology of small-scale multilingualism" introduced by Pakendorf et al., 2021; Canagarajah, 2013). Overall, the concepts of superdiversity and metrolingualism invite reflection on the complex, dynamic, and multifaceted character of language use in urban contexts, providing productive starting points for the more granular, sequential-interactional take on local multilingual practices in public

space adopted here. However, for our purposes, and as we will see in what follows, these frameworks present much the same problems as "translanguaging," a term that came to widespread prominence more recently.

In several respects, the concept of "translanguaging" (e.g., García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Otheguy et al., 2015) aligns with the notion of metrolingualism and the recognition of superdiversity in contemporary urban spaces.[9] While translanguaging also recognizes the fluid and flexible nature of language use in complex real-world contexts, it is, however, much broader in scope; translanguaging is positioned as a new theory of multilingualism, and indeed of language more generally. Essentially, it questions traditional views of languages as internally uniform and neatly discrete systems that are deployed separately, and proposes that multilingual speakers, or "languagers," do not orient to and switch between individual autonomous languages, but "freely" and flexibly draw on a unified repertoire of linguistic features "that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (García & Li, 2014: 2).

Reconceptualizing multilingual practices as translanguaging offers a radically different epistemological alternative to more traditional understandings of multilingualism and the notion of language. The translanguaging perspective has some resonances with the approach adopted in this dissertation, such as the stated aim to take seriously the malleability of linguistic resources (their *indexicality*, in EMCA parlance). However, it often runs into problems when looking at actual data within micro-interactional frameworks in which multilingual practices are examined from the emic perspective of the participants themselves. While it is undeniable that "languages" are socio-political constructs (often associated with one-nation-one-language ideologies), these constructs are concrete entities for those who speak them. What counts as a

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[9] Translanguaging, as well as metrolingualism, share much with Jørgensen's concept of "polylanguaging" (e.g., 2008), which is primarily concerned with multilingual urban vernaculars of young people in Denmark. Polylanguaging will only be mentioned in passing here.

"language"—from the participant's point of view, and not that of the external analyst—, and whether multilingual speakers orient to the deployed languages as clearly distinct or not, is an empirical question. In the translanguaging literature, where the term is often used by researchers working on L2[10] classroom interaction, data excerpts of multilingual interactions showing a variety of multilingual practices are, however, all too often simply described as instances of translanguaging (see Auer, 2022 for exemplifications). A cursory glance at the current literature on the hybrid use of linguistic resources reveals how multilingual phenomena are described at different degrees of granularity, and how there is a tendency to use translanguaging as a broad umbrella term encompassing a variety of distinct multilingual practices. By grouping together diverse multilingual practices under one label, translanguaging studies—and the related emerging concepts mentioned above—run the risk of overlooking the intricate and nuanced differences that were identified in previous empirical research on practices like "code-switching," "crossing," or "language mixing." It is this body of work that I consider next.

"Code-switching" has come to mean different things in different disciplinary spaces (see, e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998 on the origin and development of the notion; Bullock & Toribio, 2009). The term—as well as the epistemological baggage it tends to carry (even if not initially conceived as such by many scholars)—has been critiqued widely in the literature, particularly in reference to the metaphor of "codes" and its connotations (like the encoding–decoding/sender–receiver model of communication, and the monolithic "code-view" of languages as stable and discrete individual systems that can be switched on and off). My aim

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[10] The proxy of *native* and *non-native* speaker/signer has been critiqued widely in prior literature (see, e.g., Birkeland et al., 2022; Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Lüdi & Py, 2003; Rampton, 2005). As an alternative, some scholars dispense with these labels in favor of *first* and *second language speakers* as they are argued to be "more neutral" (Wagner & Gardner, 2004: 16). In line with this, and due to the essentialist and idealized underpinnings of the *native–non-native* binary (with its associated monolingual language ideologies and deficit perspectives) as well as the problems with *ex negativo* definitions, I here use the terms *L1* and *L2* speakers/users, for all practical purposes. While I recognize that this terminological choice also has its limitations (such as the implied primacy to a linear order of language acquisition, emphasizing age), it has the advantage of referring to participants' attributes rather than social categories.

here is not to identify a "correct" meaning of code-switching, nor do I intend to give an overview of the critiques of the concept (see, e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Franceschini, 1998). Rather, given the multiplicity of ways in which the term has been applied and interpreted, it is important to briefly explicate my understanding and use of the concept, approached from the perspective of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (discussed more fully in §2.4).

At this point, it is sufficient to say that for the purposes of this dissertation, and in light of the data under examination here, I employ the terms *code-switching* and *language alternation* interchangeably to refer to the "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems *which participants perceive as such*" (Auer & Eastman, 2010: 86; emphasis added; see also Gumperz, 1982: 97). Emic in its epistemology, this definition refers to instances of language/variety alternation that are of endogenous relevance to the participants themselves in the moment-by-moment organization of conduct in interaction. This may include "named" languages, non-standardized (dialectal, stylized, etc.) varieties, or even prosodic "contextualization cues" (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Gumperz, 1982). In line with the EMCA approach to multilingual talk-in-interaction and its focus on reconstructing participants' own analyses of their interaction, the "codes" of code-switching, or the "languages" of language alternation (see also Gafaranga & Torras, 2001 who propose the notion of "medium"), are occasioned, locally oriented-to, interactionally achieved categories, rather than *a priori* constructs imposed by the external analyst or language authorities. Importantly, with regard to the issue of the blurring of language boundaries mentioned above, code-switching here "capitalizes on the perceived distinctiveness of the two codes in order to create interactional meaning and, by doing so, reflexively construes these different codes as different ways of speaking which may then eventually become enregistered as a 'language'" (Auer, 2022: 135). As we will see in the

empirical chapters of this dissertation, most saliently when participants alternate languages and use glottonyms in utterances like *sorry you speak English?*, *vous parlez français? j' préfère.* (§5.4); produce disclaimers such as *euh on parle pas ↑allemand,, äh kein spichen deutsch. no french., u:h sorry. i can't speak german.* (§5.5); or issue translation requests in occasioned moments of language brokering (Chapter 6), the relevance of the distinctness of the involved languages is observable from the endogenous orientations of the participants. There is clear evidence of the participants' demonstrable orientations to the strict separation of what they themselves consider "English" or "French" or "(Swiss) German", etc. Such simple though important examples (of classic, primarily participant-related code-switching in these cases) instantiate, to borrow Auer's (2022) phrase, "members' methods for 'doing languages'" (cf. Garfinkel, 1967). Participants themselves build on the contrast created in the juxtaposition of different languages/codes for interactional purposes, exploiting code-switching as a local contextualization cue that marks a change in some aspect of contextual framing. Participants can make sense of a code-switch by relating it to a speaker's individual linguistic competence and/or preference, or they may use it as a resource for (re)organizing the ongoing interaction (see below on the differentiation between "participant-related" and "discourse-related" alternation in Auer's terminology).

Drawing on Gumperz's theory of contextualization and Auer's conceptual apparatus, Rampton (1998, 2005) complemented and extended previous research into code-switching with his account of "language crossing." Crossing refers to a particular kind of code-switching that involves the (often minimal, token-like) stylized use of an ethnic out-group/minority variety "which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker" (Rampton, 1998: 291). In his analysis of adolescent friendship groups at a multi-ethnic middle school in London, Rampton examined occasioned practices of language crossing into Punjabi, stylized Asian English, and Creole. Rampton showed how adolescents often use language to cross social and ethnic

boundaries in interstitial interactional moments of "liminality," or "liminoidity" (Turner, 1982), where social norms are relaxed, such as in moments of self-talk, ritual abuse, flirtation, or during games. Stylized performative practices of language crossing figure centrally in the local peer group vernacular (cf. Dirim & Auer, 2004; Hewitt, 1986) as a way of momentarily moving across linguistic-ethnic boundaries and locally producing an identity that adolescents of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds have in common. Rampton's data provide a particularly vivid illustration of some of the ways in which participants may mobilize their multiple linguistic resources in flexible and locally situated ways to accomplish aspects of their identities, thus going beyond aprioristic, essentialist *we-code* vs. *they-code* models of identity in which code-switches are taken as straightforwardly reflecting pre-determined values and ethnolinguistic affiliation (see Auer, 2005; Sebba & Wootton, 1998).

While code-switching and crossing derive their interactional meaning from the exploitation of the local contrast and the perceived differences between the involved languages/varieties, there is ample work showing how two languages/varieties can be mixed to form a new autonomous (hybrid) code, indeed somewhat blurring the boundaries between the languages/varieties in contact (see Alfonzetti, 1992). Auer (1999, 2014) uses the term "language mixing" to refer to the frequent turn-internal/intrasentential juxtaposition of two languages/varieties. Here, code-switching loses its local pragmatic force as a contextualization cue: "The more frequently code-switching occurs, the less salient it becomes; as a consequence, the potential for using it in locally meaningful ways is diminished" (Auer, 1999: 12). Mixing therefore often does not seem to have local conversational functions and is not sequentially implicative like code-switching (in the sense that it does not involve a (re)negotiation of the language-of-interaction, for instance). Rather, with mixed registers participants appear to highlight their access to, and perform, a group identity (Auer, 1999: 9–10 notes that the fact that there are popular "folk" names for mixed styles accentuates their association with aspects

of identity; see, e.g., Franceschini, 1998 on "Italo-schwyz"). Overall, there is some overlap between mixing as documented in various speech communities and the blurring of language boundaries that sits at the heart of translanguaging studies. It should be pointed out, though, that there is ample evidence for the systematicity and orderliness of language mixing. Speakers do not draw on and alternate between *whatever* linguistic resources at their disposal, in some unstructured way; rather, they have a "grammar of mixing" (Auer, 2022: 146) that displays a high bi-/multilingual competence.

In sum, the aim of this capsule review was to give a sense of the heterogeneity of approaches to and conceptualizations of multilingual practices, and how they are described at different degrees of granularity in the literature. The distinctions highlighted here show some of the challenges when describing (and, by implication, analyzing) what is often glossed as multilingual speech. Language practices of multilinguals have received a startling amount of attention more recently in (applied/educational) sociolinguistics, and as the above (of course non-exhaustive) list of emerging terms and concepts illustrates, there is a broad concern to explore the hybrid use of linguistic resources in "superdiverse" spaces. Despite this increased concern, however, there remains much to be learned from earlier, pioneering approaches to the study of multilingual language use in interaction. Although the concepts of superdiversity and metrolingualism are topically relevant to some of the central themes of this dissertation and provide productive starting points for the study of mutlilingualism in public space, their methods of investigation differ significantly. They are, just like the term translanguaging that encompasses various multilingual practices, analytically limited in what they can say about the detailed ways in which multilingual practices are deployed in moment-to-moment interaction. Importantly, they tend not to specify the type of interaction and the *particular local sequential context* in which interactants mobilize their multiple linguistic resources. The present study, by contrast, sets out to explore multilingual language use within a particular local sequential

environment: the opening phase of interaction in unplanned encounters between previously unacquainted people.

While I do find some examples of hybridized multilingual utterances that could be considered to approximate (trans-)languaging phenomena (along the lines of what Mondada, 2018b characterized as "bricolage linguistique"), we will see that the participants accountably orient to the varieties they are using as constituting a particular language and are able to navigate between them, for all practical purposes. The conceptual framework of code-switching *sensu* Auer, and Rampton's account of language crossing, fit better with the kinds of data I am dealing with in this dissertation and the epistemological orientations of EMCA in that they prioritize members' own orientations and give fine-grained attention to how language alternation features in sequences of interaction. Although emerging approaches like translanguaging, superdiversity, and metrolingualism have generated important work on multilingual language use and language contact, they do not specify just how multilingual repertoires are used in situated interaction, and the sequential-interactional consequences this has for the unfolding of an encounter. I turn to this in the next section.

2.4   Multilingualism-in-interaction: An EMCA approach

This section introduces how multilingualism-in-interaction is approached from the perspective of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. My concern is to situate the overall topic within interaction-oriented studies and spotlight an EMCA approach to the issues of language choice and language negotiation (for a fuller treatment, see Auer, 1998; Gafaranga, 2016; Li, 2005; Mondada, 2007a; Musk & Cromdal, 2018). This will require me to address some epistemological considerations and analytic preliminaries relevant to the sequential organization of language alternation in interaction—namely, adjacency pair organization and language choice as a basic feature of turn design (§2.4.1). I will then move on to consider prior

work that is of particular value to the present dissertation in focusing on language choice in openings (§2.4.2). Finally, I will offer a description of different "linguistic regimes," or modes of language use in interaction, that are relevant to the issues addressed in the later empirical chapters (§2.4.3).

2.4.1 The EMCA sequential approach to code-switching

Drawing on early work into code-switching in the tradition of Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982), the sequential, CA-oriented approach to language alternation was pioneered by Peter Auer in the 1980s and 90s (e.g., Auer, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1988, 1990, 1995, 1998; for other early sequential CA-inspired work on multilingual interaction, see, e.g., Jordan & Fuller, 1975; Moerman, 1988; Valdés-Fallis, 1976). This social-interactional perspective focuses on the turn-by-turn, moment-by-moment organization of multilingual talk-in-interaction, in which the "meaning" of, or the interactional job(s) done through, code-switching are contingent on the *local, immediately surrounding, sequential context* in which language alternation occurs. From this perspective, language alternation provides multilingual participants with an endogenous resource, or "contextualization cue" (in addition to other verbal/vocal, embodied, and material resources; Auer, 1992; Gumperz, 1982), whereby they can accomplish practical social action. Consequently, the sequential-interactional approach to language alternation is grounded in a locally situated, praxeological perspective on language choice, which contrasts with more aprioristic and macro-societal, specular "language-reflects-society" conceptualizations (see Gafaranga, 2005).

Within an EMCA perspective on social interaction, language choice must be viewed as a contingent, *in-situ* accomplishment, realized sequentially and always locally negotiated "for another first time" (Garfinkel, 1967)—rather than exogenously pre-determined based on taken-for-granted notions of the world, formal policies, or prescriptive norms. Oftentimes, however,

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the availability and use of a shared language is "deeply presupposed" (Schegloff, 2002: 271) in everyday life—due to participants' reliance on shared interactional histories, knowledge of co-participants' linguistic biographies, or common-sense expectancies regarding setting-specific or societal norms of language use—such that processes of language negotiation slip by unmarked and tend to remain "invisible" (in the sense of not being saliently treated as a concern within talk by participants). It is this ordinary invisibility and often "tacit relevancy" (Schegloff, 2002: 271) of language choice that perhaps obscures the fact that language selection and the overall "language regime" (§2.4.3) of an encounter constitute a local achievement that is co-constructed by participants, who may not topicalize or otherwise explicitly orient to, language choice (although this is certainly not invariably the case; see especially Chapter 5). In the particular case of non-prearranged encounters between unacquainted people, in which individuals without a prior interactional history spontaneously engage with a person whom they have never met before and in which language choice may emerge as a pressing issue, the *participants themselves* have no *a priori* knowledge of each other's personal biographies and linguistic repertoires. From a members' perspective, "who the other is" is tied to the here-and-now, discovered moment by moment, displayed emergently, and updated continuously in the sequential unfolding of the interaction. Interactions between unknown people constitute a perspicuous site in this respect in that they enable us (as analysts) to have access to the social relationship *in statu nascendi*, throwing into relief how (linguistic-social) identities are interactionally accomplished and how linguistic competencies and preferences are progressively discovered in and through talk-in-interaction. Analysis of naturally bounded, self-contextualizing, impromptu encounters between "strangers" gives special emphasis to this emergentist perspective, highlighting that identity is not something participants *are*, but something they *do* locally in and through the early moments of interaction (Antaki & Widdcombe, 1998).

Importantly for the present discussion, inter-turn language alternation was shown to constitute a device for (re)negotiating the language-of-interaction. As Auer (1984a) writes:

> Every occurrence of code-switching (with the exception of those cases where the code-switching party switches back into the language of departure within his or her turn) puts in question the negotiated language of interaction. For this reason, matters of language negotiation are relevant throughout a conversation in which code-switching occurs. (Auer, 1984a: 77)

What underlies the above quote is that instances of alternational code-switching (vs. turn-internal, often single-word, insertions[11] within an other-language grammatical frame) are *sequentially implicative*.

To get a better grasp of the sequential implicativeness of language choice (Auer, 1984a, 1995), it is worth pausing here to briefly consider adjacency pair organization—the most basic unit of sequence construction (Schegloff, 2007)—and the centrality of interactants' positioning of adjacency pair actions. Roughly, the structure of an adjacency pair offers a normative framework for actions in which the recognizable production of a first action, a first-pair part (FPP), initiates a sequence by making an appropriate, type-fitted second action, a second-pair part (SPP), due next (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973); an initiating FPP sets up the conditional relevance (Schegloff, 1968) of a type-matched responding SPP. Thus, a greeting establishes a slot for a return-greeting, a question calls for an answer, a request makes due compliance or rejection, an invitation projects acceptance or rejection, etc. It is important to underscore that "firstness" and "secondness" do not simply refer to the temporal dimension of sequentiality (the order in which these actions occur); rather, initiating first-pair part actions have a normative sequential force in that they set up expectations for the type and design that responding second-pair part actions should take. The projective force and constraining nature

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[11] Previously referred to as "transfer" by Auer (1984a).

of FPPs is seen, for example, in questions: by asking a question, questioners, far from merely soliciting a response, set the topical and action agenda, communicate presuppositions, display epistemic stance, and indicate preferences (Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Raymond, 2003; Sacks, [1973] 1987; Schegloff, 2007). An FPP establishes a local expectation for the response and interactionally places normative constraints on the SPP.

Most relevant for the present purposes, one of the most basic expectations established by an initiating first-pair part action is language choice. In his early discussion of "preference-related code-switching," Auer (1984a) highlights the projective and normative sequential force of the linguistic design of first-positioned turns in multilingual talk-in-interaction:

> Preference-related code-switching occurs in more or less cohesive positions. I want to suggest that the two positions [initial and responsive] are not equally weighted when it comes to ascribing individualistic preferences to speakers. Specifically, it appears to be "easier" to switch according to one's language preference when cohesion is low, that is, when one has the initiative. On the other hand, one displays a stronger preference for the language not used by the preceding conversationalist when switching in highly cohesive, "responsive" loci. (Auer, 1984a: 52)

The fact that not all current turns exert the same influence, i.e., place the same expectations and constraints, on next turns—what Raymond (2023) calls the "hierarchical" dimension of sequentiality—thus provides multilingual interactants with a resource for indicating linguistic preferences. For instance, by disaligning with the language of the prior initiating action, respondents can reject that language while simultaneously inviting a change of the overall language-of-interaction, thereby displaying "a stronger preference for the language not used by the preceding conversationalist." Moreover, the observation that "it appears to be 'easier' to switch [...] when one has the initiative" suggests a structural dispreference for language-disalignment in "highly cohesive" responding second-pair part actions. Based on the bilingual German-Italian speech community he studied, Auer (1984a) proposed that there is a normative *preference for same-language talk* (later modified by Gafaranga, 1999 as the preference for

"same-medium" talk). Subsequent conversation analytic investigations of code-switching in various bi-/multilingual speech communities and environments pointed to evidence in support of a structural preference for maintaining the same language across turns-at-talk (e.g., Hazel, 2015; Mondada, 2018c; Nevile & Wagner, 2011; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002; Raymond, 2020; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002; but see, e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Greer, 2013a; Piccoli, 2016: 1333–1340). This is also consistent with the present observations, i.e., previously unacquainted participants will be shown to overwhelmingly orient to a one-language-at-a-time mode of interaction (though see Chapter 7 for alternative orientations).

Relatedly, scholars examining the sequential organization of language alternation observed how breaking with the interactional preference for aligning with the language of the preceding initiating action furnishes multilinguals with an agentive resource for social action. For instance, scholars studying language alternation in various bilingual speech communities observed that dispreferred responses are frequently code-switched, through which speakers disalign with both the action and language dimension of the recipient's project (see, e.g., Auer, 1984a on German-Italian; Li & Milroy, 1995 on Chinese-English). Raymond (2023), investigating the repertoire of options within the "bilingual answer possibility space" of L1 Spanish-English speakers, showed how participants exploit language-disalignment in their answers to polar questions as a device for marking epistemic agency.

It is against the background of the local preference for maintaining the same language across turns-at-talk that alternative choices of language in second/responsive position come to be treated as marked. The opening phase is a particularly consequential environment for the sequential organization of code-switching, as it is typically here that previously unacquainted people indicate their preferences for language use and negotiate an adequate language for the encounter through the design and positioning of their turns within the first few sequences of interaction. More on this in the next section.

2.4.2 Previous work on language choice in openings

While, as we saw above, there is a by-now extensive literature describing the sequential organization of openings (which figured centrally in the epistemogenesis of CA as a field), and code-switching in interaction, there has been relatively little overlap between these domains of research; little systematic analytic attention has been paid to openings in prior work on language choice, and little systematic analytic attention has been paid to language choice in prior work on openings, save for a few important exceptions reviewed below. It is at the intersection of these areas of inquiry that this dissertation situates itself, as it highlights the importance of openings for the sequential organization of code-switching.

When previously unacquainted individuals spontaneously strike up a conversation in multilingual public space, language choice constitutes one fundamental practical problem that they may face. A primary job of the participants in such first-contact situations is to negotiate an appropriate language in which the interaction is to be conducted—something that the unacquainted parties have to work out *in situ*, typically during the nascent moments of the encounter. The opening phase of such impromptu public interactions thus presents a perspicuous site for investigating the interactional work that goes into negotiating a common language, or "linguistic regime" (see below), that the participants deem adequate for all practical purposes.

In an early and well known example of research into openings as a locus of language negotiation, Heller (1978) described several negotiating strategies drawing on data from different institutional environments (clerk-patient and doctor-patient interactions at a hospital, patron-employee interactions at a restaurant) in bilingual French-English Montréal. Heller noted that explicit questions about linguistic preferences "ha[ve] become a conventionalized part of interaction among strangers, and often initiat[e] the interaction" (Heller, 1978: 594; cf.

Auer, 1984a: 46), which is not least because of Montréal's socio-political climate at the time. Another widespread language negotiation practice documented by Heller involves the use of the *bonjour, hello?* opening formula. On a more macro level, this routinized opening reflects linguistic inclusiveness and the societal co-existence of French and English in the Canadian dual-language context; as a micro-level interactional practice, the code-switched opening formula does important sequential work as its bilingual turn design presents the co-participant(s) with both languages and thereby does not project a local preference for one language over the other (cf. Heller, 1988 and Alfonzetti, 1992 on code-switching as a "strategy of neutrality;" Conrad & Elmiger, 2010).

In the same vein, Raymond (2020) demonstrated how hosts on a Los Angeles "Spanglish" radio station ordinarily design their opening utterances bilingually in code-switched Spanish-English, thereby interactionally offering up both languages as options and leaving it to the callers to propose the linguistic mode to be adopted (monolingual Spanish, monolingual English, or bilingual Spanish-English) through the linguistic design of their responses. Notably, in contrast to Heller's (1978) observations (see also Piccoli, 2016), Raymond (2020) further reports that there is not a single instance of overt topicalization of language choice as a way of opening up language negotiations in the dataset.

This supports previous findings by Hazel (2015: 153–154) on university front desk service encounters and Mondada (2018c) on counter interactions at railway stations and a border customs office that straightforwardly topicalizing the other's linguistic repertoire is a relatively uncommon interactional practice for negotiating the language in which an encounter is to be conducted, and that participants have a number of resources at their disposal to avoid explicit requests for language. For instance, Mondada (2018c) showed how unacquainted participants exploit greetings as an economic and efficient device for establishing the language-of-interaction in openings of multilingual service encounters. Only in specific sequential

environments, i.e., after a language-disaligned greeting sequence, unilateral greetings, or when the greeting exchange was absent altogether, did participants explicitly topicalize language, thereby demonstrating the consequentiality of greetings for language choice *ex negativo* (Mondada, 2018c: 21–26). Taken together, these studies show that language choice negotiation can, and does, often occur tacitly, that is, as an *embedded*, by-the-way occurrence—even among participants whose linguistic competencies and preferences for language use are entirely unknown to each other (see Chapter 5).

Overall, extant work on language choice negotiation in openings is characterized by a strong focus on institutional/service environments. One reason for this is that it is typically in institutional encounters in multilingual environments—where the interactants are often not familiar with each other's linguistic competencies and preferences—that we find language negotiation sequences. Studies of ordinary multilingual interaction, on the other hand, are often not based on observations of cases involving unacquainted people meeting for the first time. This means that they primarily focus on acquainted participants, for which the issue of language choice tends not to be a problem—by virtue of their shared interactional histories and knowledge of each other's linguistic biographies (though see Harjunpää, 2017, 2021a for hybrid cases in this respect, involving family and friends meeting up in group constellations that include newcomers).

It comes as no surprise that previous studies on institutional/service environments point to an overall trend for service providers to accommodate service recipients' locally displayed language preferences. Practices of linguistic adjustment can be seen as a way of doing "good customer service," or in some cases perhaps even constitute a professional duty (see Debois, in prep.; cf. Duchêne & Heller, 2012). In various institutional spaces, service providers such as hospital or company telephone operators (Heller, 1978; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002), barkeepers (Torras & Gafaranga, 2002), university front desk staff (Hazel, 2015), ticket counter

agents and border office personnel (Mondada, 2018c; Oloff, 2018), or radio hosts (Raymond, 2020) were thus shown to engage in "doing being plurilingual" (Mondada, 2004) and construct the institution's multilingual identity as locally "talked into being" (Heritage, 1984a: 290).

By focusing analysis on spontaneously emerging encounters in diverse public contexts (e.g., while conducting person-on-the-street interviews, street fundraising, or while hiking, walking a dog, etc.; see Chapter 3), this dissertation contributes to the existing literature with examples from both institutionally-specific *and* more casual, ordinary interaction. This invites reflection on the potentially different implications these types of encounters have for the organization of language choice. In the absence of clear-cut asymmetrical transactional entitlements, rights, and obligations tied to interaction in institutional environments, in which it is often the customer/service solicitor that is afforded the right to choose the language(s) of the encounter, how do participants orient to language negotiation in everyday casual conversation? This is one of the questions I will explore in Chapters 4 through 7, which will allow me to reflect on the relevance and procedural consequentiality (Schegloff, 1991) of aspects of the interactional setting and activity to the negotiation of language choice in chance encounters between previously unacquainted people.

I have up to now used the terms linguistic "regime," or "mode," several times in an unexplicated way, and at this point, it is important to clarify my own understanding and use of them. This will be of value for the later empirical chapters, where I will be concerned with the progressive discovery of, and moment-by-moment shifts between, different linguistic options that participants have for engaging in interaction.

2.4.3 Linguistic regimes: Different modes of language use

It has been established that language choice is not simply a matter of following *a priori* assumptions about language use or institutionally-prescribed language policies, but constitutes

an interactionally negotiated, contingent, on-the-spot achievement. The interactional organization of language choice and different configurations, or "modes," of language use are captured by the notion of "linguistic regime" (Mondada, 2012: 229)—a term that deserves some unpacking at this point.

As should be clear by now, the initial moments of an interaction between unknown people constitute a perspicuous locus for the negotiation of language choice. The early moments of an encounter allow previously unacquainted participants to gauge each other's language abilities, and are opportunities to display to each other their preferences for language use—in addition to all the other important interactional work accomplished within this structural locus of interaction (see §2.2). It is here that aspects of participants' identities, one of them being related to their linguistic competencies and preferences, can be brought to the fore and become consequential to the interaction. Analysis of the opening phase of these encounters demonstrates how people interacting for the first time progressively discover the linguistic options they have for effectively and efficiently engaging in interaction, based on their emergent understandings about each other. As will be shown in the later empirical chapters, these options can range from

    i.   the choice of one shared language-of-interaction to the exclusion of others (be that "my language," "your language," or "nobody's language"/*lingua franca*; see especially Chapters 4 and 5);

   ii.   to multilingual modes of interaction in which speakers alternate languages during sequences of language negotiation (Chapter 5);

  iii.   to third-party mediated interactions involving *ad hoc* language brokers (Chapter 6);

iv.   to conversations in which participants practice receptive multilingualism by each speaking a different, individually preferred language (Chapter 7), etc.[12]

In line with Mondada (2012), I here refer to these various configurations, or "modes" (cf. Grosjean, 1985),[13] of mono- and multilingual language use in interaction as *linguistic regimes*.

Linguistic regimes are not simply "out there," and it is important not to reify the concept as an analytic construct. As the preceding discussion has suggested (§2.4.1 and §2.4.2), which language(s) and overall linguistic configuration to opt for are matters for the participants themselves to determine *in situ*, often during the initial moments of an encounter based on samples of each other's language. Language regimes are locally negotiated and interactively achieved matters, displaying an endogenous definition of mono- or multilingualism that participants deem adequate for whatever it is they are doing. They are not static, once-and-for-all affairs, but something that can be dynamically reshaped, contingent on local communicative needs and participants' updated understandings about each other (Mondada, 2012). Thus, it is not uncommon to see interactants test out and renegotiate language regimes as they come to an emergent understanding about each other's linguistic competencies and preferences. As will be examined in some detail in Chapter 7, for example, previously unacquainted participants may

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[12] See, e.g., Backus et al. (2013) for a discussion of further linguistic regimes.
Although not the focus of this dissertation, let me note in passing a further language regime and interactional configuration that is often mentioned anecdotally as one of the members' solutions to the generic practical problem of language choice in spontaneous encounters between previously unacquainted people: the *ad hoc* use of mobile, real-time machine translation tools to facilitate interactions between participants who do not share a common language. Real-time translation applications, which can be easily installed on a smartphone or tablet, have become increasingly popular and have improved dramatically over the last few years, not least due to the growth of artificial intelligence (AI). AI-enabled real-time translation apps are often advertised as a convenient, handy and cost-effective option for people who, in the absence of a co-present language broker or perhaps professional interpreter, need to interact in a language they don't speak well enough for all practical purposes (such as in travel situations). While the available data do not allow me to address real-time mobile device-mediated "stranger encounters," this not uncommon yet largely unexplored phenomenon could be a particularly fruitful avenue for future research, about which conversation analysts would have a lot to say (cf. Oloff, 2021 on mobile device use in co-present face-to-face interaction).
[13] Auer (1999: 11, 2000: 141) too speaks of a multilingual "mode" when discussing language mixing, and the term also appears in, e.g., Müller (1989) and Mondada (2012) in discussions of translation/translatory "modes" of interaction.

initially display an orientation to a monolingual/one-language-at-a-time regime by explicitly topicalizing and asking about a possible shared language-of-interaction, before eventually ending up practicing receptive multilingualism as the most adequate-for-all-practical-purposes language regime, which itself can only be sustained with the help of co-present others during moments of spontaneous language brokering. The concept of language regime, as proposed here, captures the practices employed by participants within a multilingual participation framework that, in various ways, help organize the mode of language use in interaction. It brings together previous research into language choice and participation, and provides a more holistic, multimodal way of conceptualizing and studying how participants both locally negotiate the issue of language selection within sequences of interaction, and maintain and shift between various linguistic configurations within different (dyadic, triadic, multiperson) participation frameworks.

Different language regimes suggest different local definitions of multilingualism and diverse local solutions adopted by the participants to deal with some of the basic problems of language choice that they may face in chance encounters with unknown others. Each empirical chapter concentrates more or less exclusively on a particular (mono- or multilingual) mode of language use, thereby offering potential answers to the interrelated questions posed at the outset of this dissertation: How do previously unacquainted people decide in which language(s) their impromptu interaction is to be conducted? How do they adjust linguistic choices and arrive at locally adequate language regimes? What resources are available to them to repair and help secure intersubjectivity and, ultimately, get things done in the absence of an obvious shared language?

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter aimed to position the current study within the wider literature that surrounds some of the major issues related to multilingual chance encounters between previously unacquainted people in public space. Specifically, it outlined previous relevant research into interaction in public places (§2.1), openings (§2.2), and multilingualism (in public space), focusing in particular on studies of language choice and multilingual practices in interaction (§2.3 and §2.4). The dissertation coheres broadly around these three main topics, and we saw that while each of them has received a good deal of attention individually, there is a lack of integration between them in existing research.

The review of studies in §2.1 suggested that interaction in public places has not been extensively studied within EMCA. Although interaction in public places animates much of Goffman's pioneering work, and despite there being an important "stranger" literature, there is a need for research that explores the situated details of how unacquainted people sharing public space actually come to interact with one another. While the study of interactional practices in public space is a largely uncharted area of EMCA research, the review pointed to a small, albeit emerging, body of work that can be seen to reveal various ways in which co-present individuals navigate, interact in—"do"—everyday public social life.

§2.2 outlined prior work on the sequential-interactional organization of openings. I began by looking at Schegloff's seminal explorations of the "canonical" organization of opening sequences in phone conversations, briefly touched on more recent studies of openings in various other forms of technology-mediated conversation, and then considered multimodal conversation analytic research into how co-present individuals organize openings in various face-to-face settings. In showing some of the fundamental preliminary (micro-)sequential, embodied, and categorial practices that are involved in moving into interaction, video-based interactional studies highlight that co-present openings are considerably less straightforward,

differently organized, and remain perhaps even more challenging in public open space, where would-be interactants often sight each other from afar and come together in a more dilatory fashion. Significantly, these studies suggest that a strictly dichotomous distinction between "unfocused" and "focused" interaction cannot be maintained. As multimodal analysis makes clear, entering into co-present face-to-face interaction is an embodied interactional achievement that is accomplished *gradually*. It is not a simple black and white issue whether individuals have achieved "focused interaction" or not; rather, multimodal analysis permits us to see the micro-sequential work involved in progressing from *less focused* to *more focused* interaction (from "mere co-presence" to "full scale co-participation," to use Goffman's, 1963: 102 parlance). Relatedly, not only does Goffman's separation between unfocused and focused interaction blur, so too does the dividing line between the concepts of "pre-opening" and "opening" when examining the moment-by-moment emergence of encounters in public open space (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018). Finally, I narrowed the focus to interactional studies dealing specifically with first-time encounters. While they all provide important empirical insight into what it means to "get acquainted" in interaction and how participants orient to and reflexively produce their non-intimate social relationship during the early moments of interaction, most of these studies were either based on semi-experimental approaches in which "first encounters" were pre-arranged for research purposes or involved previously unacquainted people coming together in some private territory or institutional setting. There is clearly a need for naturalistic studies of incidental, often more fleeting, one-off encounters between individuals who share some public (open) space.

§2.3 shifted the focus to a broader range of research that is pertinent to the larger topic of multilingualism in public space and aimed to provide a sense of how the proliferation of concepts and terminology within multilingualism research highlights the field's burgeoning interest in capturing the multifaceted nature of language practices in today's globalized world.

The emerging concepts of "superdiversity," "metrolingualism," and "translanguaging" underscore the fluidity and hybridity in linguistic practices, signaling a shift away from more traditional notions such as "code-switching," "language mixing," and "language crossing." This can be seen as reflective of the growing linguistic complexity that characterizes contemporary "superdiverse" public spaces. While these approaches and frameworks are topically relevant to the current study, they differ significantly in their methodological and analytic orientations. I suggested that despite their theoretical appeal, they risk losing critical granularity; they often struggle when applied to micro-level interactional data and may inadvertently undermine the complexity they seek to highlight. Concepts such as "translanguaging" risk reducing distinct multilingual practices to a single umbrella term, potentially overlooking the nuances and intricacies that distinguish multilingual phenomena such as "code-switching," "crossing," or "language mixing." In particular, this more recent literature often fails to capture the participants' emic perspective (Auer, 2022). I came out strongly in favor of an EMCA approach to "code-switching" *sensu* Auer because it fits better with the data under consideration here and due to its epistemological orientations. It places a strong emphasis on detailing the moment-by-moment sequential organization of multilingual talk-in-interaction, and insists on how participants display their own understandings of language choice in situated interaction with others.

Finally, §2.4 shone the spotlight on an EMCA view of language choice and language alternation. I discussed in some more detail the sequential approach to code-switching, outlined recent investigations that are of particular value to the present study in focusing on language choice and language negotiation in openings, and briefly explicated my understanding and use of what has been glossed as "linguistic regimes," or "modes" of language use, in interaction.

By bringing these strands together within an EMCA framework, I hope to extend on prior work and give an innovative account of the moment-by-moment emergence and

organization of naturally-occurring multilingual chance encounters between unfamiliar people sharing public space. Based on the literature review, there are several (interrelated) research *desiderata* that emerge. I will restrict myself to three:

i. *Language choice and negotiation in a first-contact context*: Research on multilingualism has largely neglected to examine the sequential and embodied organization of how languages are chosen and negotiated during the initial moments of contact between previously unacquainted people. The present work not only facilitates the documentation of actual, real-time language contact in public places, but also explores how unknown individuals mutually identify and categorize each other upon first seeing and hearing each other, and how this impacts initial language choices. Relatedly, it aims toward a deeper understanding of how multilingual resources combine with embodied resources in these openings, thereby more broadly contributing to the articulation between multilingualism research and the study of multimodality.

ii. *Naturalistic studies of chance encounters*: The existing literature overwhelmingly relies on pre-arranged or semi-experimental non-chance "first encounters" where individuals come together in some private territory or institutional setting. There is a need for naturalistic studies that capture the details of (often relatively fleeting, possibly singular) chance encounters in public open space, between previously unacquainted persons who might not see each other again.

iii. *Video-recording aleatoric events in public open space*: One of the key reasons for the absence of systematic interactional analysis of multilingual chance encounters in public open space in the existing literature relates to the difficulty of video-recording such aleatoric events. Exploring ways to capture and analyze such events is essential for advancing research in this area.

It is to this last point, as well as to a more detailed look at the data utilized in the present study,

that I now turn.

3 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is an analysis of multilingual interactions as they occur spontaneously between previously unacquainted people in public space. The naturalistic study of such contingent and unforeseeable events of everyday public social life is anything but a straightforward matter. It requires a distinctive video-based, multimodal approach to adequately document and analyze the relevant details of these chance encounters, as they emerge moment by moment out of situations of co-presence in complex public environments. Thus, in what follows, I will be concerned with a description of the audio and video recordings that constitute the data for the present work, and will cover the necessary methodological preliminaries for the ensuing analysis. I will first provide some background on the different sites in which fieldwork was conducted, outlining the rationale behind choosing the examined settings and activities (§3.1). I will then move on to a discussion of methodological concerns regarding data collection, where I will also address issues and challenges that arise when doing fieldwork in public space and outline considerations for the consent process (§3.2). Next, I will briefly discuss transcriptional and presentational choices that I made regarding the multilingual data (§3.3). Finally, I will illustrate the EMCA approach to examining data by describing how I went from "unmotivated" looking (Sacks, 1984: 27) at the recordings during the early phase of research, to the analysis of a single case (Chapter 7) that was the launching pad for my investigation into the specific phenomena to be presented as collections of cases in Chapters 4 through 6 (§3.4).

3.1   The fieldwork settings

The data for the analyses to be reported here consist of approximately 40 hours of naturally-occurring video-recorded interaction collected across a range of multilingual public places in French-, German-, and Italian-speaking Switzerland.[14] Multi-site fieldwork took place on various occasions from September 2019 to December 2021 and was undertaken as a team within the broader research project *The First Five Words: Multilingual Cities in Switzerland and Belgium and the Grammar of Language Choice in Public Space* created and directed by Lorenza Mondada (funded by the SNSF under grant 100012L_182296/1) and Elwys De Stefani (funded by the FWO under grant G0E1519N). For further discussion of the general framework of the project, its methodology, the wider video corpus, and reports of other findings from the project, see De Stefani and Mondada (in prep.).

The data comprise a substantial part of the project's larger corpus, encompassing multiple datasets and covering several hundreds of spontaneous, non-prearranged encounters between "strangers" that took place in a variety of primarily public open space environments. These range from urban public spaces, such as busy city streets in which charity solicitors engage in street fundraising and radio reporters conduct person-on-the-street interviews, to an outdoor chess playground where people (watch others) play, to a traditional city river ferry used by tourists and locals alike, to recreational parks and hiking trails in rural and mountain areas (see Table 3.1). In looking at a plurality of public spaces that are important touristic locations and/or cosmopolitan centers, which in some cases are officially bi-/multilingual or form part of a larger cross-border region (e.g., located at the meeting point of France – Germany – Switzerland),[15] these public environments provide fertile ground for exploring language contact as it happens.

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[14] With the exception of the *FR_STL_MARCHE_VEGAN* and *FR_MH_FUNGHI* datasets, which were collected in the Alsace region of northeastern France, right at the border to Switzerland and Germany (see Table 3.1).

[15] For vivid empirical illustration of this, see Chapter 5, which will predominantly focus on the *CH_BS_DIALOG* dataset. The linguistic and demographic makeup of the *Dreiländereck* make it a particularly intriguing site for

The following table lists the situations in which the data utilized in this dissertation were collected:

Table 3.1 *Synoptic overview of the video corpus*
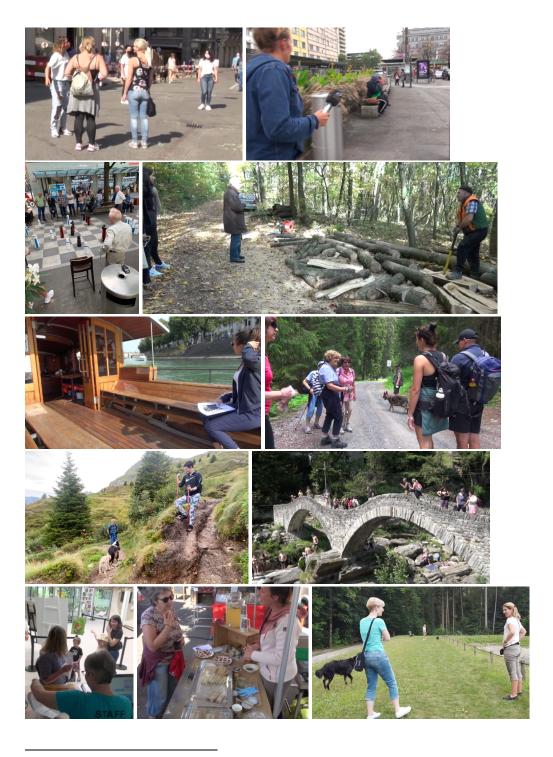
Social setting/activity	Location	Cameras and additional microphones	Length of recording	Languages spoken
CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911 Charity solicitors ("dialogers") street fundraising	Basel, Switzerland	3 views (1 mobile) + 3 mics	3.5 hours	Swiss German,[16] Standard German, French, English
CH_BIE_MICTROT_MICCH_20191015 CH_BIE_MICTROT_MICFR_20191015 CH_BIE_MICTROT_MICCH_20191022 CH_BIE_MICTROT_MICFR_20191022 Person-on-the-street interviews conducted by a local radio station	Bienne / Biel, Switzerland	1 view (mobile) + 1 mic	2 hours	French, Swiss German, Standard German, English, Italian
CH_BE_CHESS_20200714 CH_BE_CHESS_20200716 CH_BE_CHESS_20200723 Outdoor chess playground	Bern, Switzerland	4 views + 4 mics	9 hours	Swiss German, Standard German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese,

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examining moments of language contact. The *Dreiländereck* in the Basel area refers to the tri-border region where France, Germany, and Switzerland meet. Due to the confluence of these three countries in this region, it is commonplace to hear Swiss German, Standard German, and French spoken in daily public social life—in addition to a range of migration or heritage languages (including the national language Italian; see Franceschini, 2002 on the everyday use of Italian in service encounters in the Gundeldingen district of Basel) and English as a *lingua franca*–, making it a multilingual hub (see Lüdi, 2007a). This has consequences for the charity solicitors, as the demolinguistic profile of the region complexifies the notion of "local" and its language-boundedness somewhat. While the charity solicitors in the present study work for an organization that specifically targets German-speaking Switzerland, the charity workers are, as the empirical chapters will illustrate, not all monolingual speakers of (Swiss) German; they speak and understand at least a small amount of French and English.

[16] It should be noted here that the glottonym *Swiss German* ("Schwyzertütsch") serves as an umbrella term for all the Alemannic varieties spoken in Switzerland (Alemannic varieties are also spoken in neighboring regions of Austria, France, and Germany). In practice, people do not speak *Swiss German* but rather use specific regional dialects like Basel German ("Baseldütsch"), Bernese German ("Bärndütsch"), Zürich German ("Züritütsch"), etc. These various dialects are overwhelmingly mutually intelligible.

				Russian, Azerbaijani
FR_MH_FUNGHI_20201031 Mushroom foraging	Alsatian woods, France	1 view (mobile) + 1 mic	1 hour	French, Italian, Swiss German, Standard German
CH_BS_FÄHRI_20200721 CH_BS_FÄHRI_20200811 City river passenger ferry	Basel, Switzerland	4 views + 1 mic	6 hours	Swiss German, Standard German, French, Italian, English
CH_GR_HIKE_20200725 Hiking trip with family/friends	Arosa, Switzerland	1 view (mobile) + 1 mic	1 hour	Swiss German, Standard German, Italian
CH_BRE_HIKE_20200801 Hiking trip with family/friends	Bregaglia, Switzerland	1 view (mobile) + 1 mic	1 hour	Italian, Swiss German, Standard German, French
CH_TI_SALTI_20200727 Popular outdoor recreation site, bridge-jumping	Ticino (Valle Verzasca), Switzerland	1 view + 1 mic	1 hour	Italian, Swiss German, Standard German, English, French
CH_FRB_PAPILLON_20190914 Ticket counter interactions in a tropical butterfly garden	Fribourg / Freiburg, Switzerland	3 views + 2 mics	3.5 hours	French, Swiss German, Standard German, English
FR_STL_MARCHE_VEGAN_20190921 Sales interactions at a market stall	St. Louis, France	2 views + 2 mics	3.5 hours	French, Swiss German, Standard German, English

CH_DOGW Dog-walk encounters[17]	Various locations, German-speaking Switzerland	1 view (mobile) + 1 mic	5 hours	Swiss German, Standard German, English, Finnish

[17] See Schneerson (in prep.) for a detailed description of this dataset.

Figures (left to right, top to bottom)
3.1 Street fundraising, Basel   3.2 Street interview (vox pop), Bienne / Biel
3.3 Outdoor chess playground, Bern   3.4 Mushroom foraging, Alsace
3.5 Passenger ferry, Basel   3.6 Hiking trip, Arosa
3.7 Hiking trip, Bregaglia   3.8 Ponte dei Salti, Valle Verzasca
3.9 Ticket counter, Fribourg / Freiburg   3.10 Market stall, St. Louis
3.11 Dog walk, Schaffhausen

The picture that emerges from this synoptic overview of the naturalistic video data is that the present corpus is relatively versatile, characterized by a diverse range of both ordinary and more institutionally-specific encounters. While multilingual practices can, of course, not be divorced from the local praxeological context and activtiy—with its "settinged" particulars—in which they are embedded, the materials are intended to describe members' practices that are deployed in a range of situations by a range of participants. Analysis will not focus exclusively on a specific setting or speech community.[18] As the empirical chapters will demonstrate, the focal phenomena are observable across the different settings and are, therefore, not bound to any particular situated context.

Although the data may at first glance seem very eclectic in terms of activities, public settings, and participant categories, they share important commonalities. They can be divided into two rough types of chance encounters between unacquainted people (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018):

1) those that are initiated unilaterally by one party asymmetrically monitoring the other, and

2) those that are initiated somewhat simultaneously by both parties and emerge more symmetrically.

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[18] The reader will see, however, that the analyses to be reported in Chapter 5 largely draw on the *CH_BS_DIALOG* dataset.

Exemplifying the former type of chance encounters, and perhaps falling near the middle in the continuum from task-oriented institutional talk to everyday casual interaction, the person-on-the-street interviews and the street fundraising activity show public interactions that are initiated unilaterally by one party who approaches and attempts to intercept passers-bys/potential co-participants in asymmetrical ways to launch an interactional project—in these cases to conduct vox pops or sales pitches (see §3.2 for a description of how we approached video-recording the street fundraising activity in the *CH_BS_DIALOG* dataset; see also Mondada, 2022a).

Examples of the latter type include situations in which members of the public who go about the same activity are brought together around a common focus of attention in the immediate local surround. This can provide a framework for individuals to engage with incidentally co-present others *via* their surroundings. Such opportunities for interaction can take on various forms and may be occasioned by, for example, a physical object such as an art installation, statue, fountain, etc.; an interesting sight or spectacle like street perfomers, chess aficionados playing on a public square (Fig. 3.3), the view on a ferry (Fig. 3.5), or daring people jumping off a 14-meter-high stone bridge into a mountain river (Fig. 3.8); public disasters and tragedies (Sacks, 1992: II, 191–195); [19] or, perhaps most famously, children (Goffman, 1963: 126) and dogs (Robins et al., 1991; Schneerson, in prep.; Fig. 3.11) as the sources of contact *par excellence*. So, the idea here is that attention-worthy public events, objects, and other "bridging device[s]" (Goffman, 1963: 126) in the immediate environment can occasion specific

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[19] The Covid-19 pandemic offers an all-too-familiar recent example in which we could observe what Sacks (1992: II, 188) characterized as the "integrative function of public tragedy." The pandemic obviously fundamentally affected the ways people interact in, experience, and produce public space (see, e.g., Mondada & Svensson, 2023; Mondada et al., 2020a, 2020b). Several datasets of the present corpus were collected in the time of Covid-19 (although often during relatively dormant periods in the summer), showing people to wear facemasks in public. While these are important considerations—which also heavily impacted and derailed fieldwork in the larger project—, the data demonstrate that issues related to mask-wearing and physical distancing rules are *occasional but not omnirelevant* relevancies in situated interaction.

interactional arrangements in gatherings, and give previously unacquainted people something in common, a "something for us" (Sacks, 1992: II, 563), in the here-and-now to potentially base an interaction around. In this way, they may act as catalysts for "stranger encounters." This resonates with Goffman's (1963: 124) observations on the importance of needing a reason to engage with unacquainted others, and Sacks' (1992: II, 195) notion of "ticketed" entries into interaction—two important themes that will accompany us throughout the present study, illustrated more fully in the empirical chapters. The described scenes also fit, in some way or another, into what William Whyte (1980) would call "triangulation," which he loosely defined as the "process by which some external stimulus provides a linkage between people and prompts strangers to talk to each other [...]" (1980: 94).

While architectural features of public places can (designedly) invite configurations of co-presence and interactions with others on the scene (cf. Hausendorf & Schmitt, 2022 on "architecture-for-interaction")—which acted as a springboard for ideas about how to approach fieldwork and find suitable situations—, none of this is to suggest a spatial determinism of sorts, where material space is presented as directly shaping action and conduct. Rather, it is important to see space—with its possibilities and constraints—reflexively, as action-shaping and action-shaped; to have both an "interactional conceptualization of [public] space" and a "spatial conceptualization of interaction [in public]" (Mondada, 2014a).

Importantly, the particular approach to data collection taken here differs from earlier naturalistic interactional research into "first encounters" (see Chapter 2) in that the data do not involve interactions that were pre-arranged and/or set up by the researcher(s) in semi-experimental, lab-like settings, where *previously recruited* individuals come together for *non-chance encounters*. To say this is not to imply that the ecological validity of previous findings is limited. The insights offered by these studies are deeply important and constitute key reference points for the present research. But due to the nature of their data, these earlier studies

are limited in what they can say about the moment-by-moment emergence of the interactions. The present data, by contrast, show multilingual chance encounters between previously unacquainted persons (who might not see each other again), examining in detail how incidentally co-present people spontaneously strike up a conversation in some public (open) space, and paying particular attention to the nascent moments of interaction.

The number of cases in my collections likely downplays the abundance of the everyday practices examined here; the collections to be presented in Chapters 4 through 7 are relatively small by contemporary standards. While a small(er) sample size does by no means prevent us from getting at the systematicity and methodicity of the endogenous organization of interactional phenomena (cf. Schegloff, 1993), it illustrates an important reality about the present research: serendipitous naturally-occurring, casual, multilingual encounters in public open space are hard-to-access events. The everyday interactions that I am concerned with may be both profoundly familiar and immediately recognizable to the reader. Yet they have thus far largely evaded systematic interactional video analysis. No doubt, one of the main reasons for this is methodological, relating to the "capturability" of the object of analytic attention in naturally-occurring interaction. The aleatoric events analyzed here are less readily observable and, as a consequence, more challenging to document systematically, than more recurrent and routinized types of public interactions that facilitate the systematic documentation of methodic practices in relatively large(r) corpora (see, e.g., Fox, Mondada & Sorjonen, 2023 on various research projects that based their studies on shop encounter data; Mondada, 2021b on the *int-counter* corpus constituted by commercial encounters in gourmet shops in 15 cities across Europe; Mondada, 2018c and Oloff, 2018 on the *Multilingual Interactions am Zoll* project/corpus; Hausendorf & Mondada, 2017 on the *Am Schalter – Au guichet – Allo sportello* project/corpus).

In addition to locating several perspicuous settings and activities that have the potential to draw people together naturally, this calls for a particular approach to collecting data in order to facilitate the documentation of the overarching phenomenon of interest. In what follows, I will describe and exemplify the naturalistic approach to data collection taken in the larger project by presenting the recording set-ups used in two research sites. This will also allow me to address specific issues and challenges associated with the collection of video materials drawn from these kinds of public environments.

3.2   Collecting data

Conversation analysts work primarily with recordings of naturally-occurring interactions, as opposed to those that are induced experimentally, recalled, or imagined (Mondada, 2013). While early pioneering research drew heavily on audio recordings of telephone conversations for practical, methodologically convenient reasons (Sacks, 1967; Schegloff, 1967; though see, e.g., C. Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981; M. H. Goodwin, 1980; Heath, 1986; Sacks & Schegloff, [1975] 2002 for early work based on video-recorded interactions), advancements in video recording technologies opened up new opportunities for capturing and preserving the indexical and endogenous properties of naturally-occurring interaction in complex settings and activities, allowing to give greater prominence to multimodal aspects (Heath et al., 2010; Mondada, 2006, 2013, in press a). Fundamentally, "naturally-occurring interaction" here describes interactions that were not deliberately created for research purposes and were not provoked by the researchers; these interactions would have taken place regardless of whether or not researchers were present to observe or document them. Using audio-visual recordings of real-life events allows for examinations of the complexities and nuances that characterize moment-by-moment conduct within interaction. These details of interaction would be unattainable through field notes, *post hoc* reports, researchers' intuitions, or memories of interactions (Sacks, 1984).

Audio and video recordings offer the benefit of being played repeatedly and in slow motion, allowing for the transcription and analysis of the fine-grained, locally relevant details of the temporal and sequential unfolding of interaction.

Recording data is merely one component of the comprehensive process of data collection, which initiates well before the entry into the fieldsite. Prior to recording any data, it is crucial to get acquainted with the research site, establish contact with the participants, gain trust, build rapport, and obtain, if possible, informed consent from institutional representatives. These preliminary steps are undertaken as part of the preparation for data collection, which necessitates a specific type of fieldwork. This is critical for understanding the context-specific, situated activities in which the participants are engaged, and gain a vernacular grasp of the setting to be examined and constitutive activities. It is here that ethnography plays a crucial role in deciding what to record, and where to place recording devices.

In the present study, data collection was carried out using (a combination of) fixed and mobile, hand-held cameras. For some recordings, only one camera was used. But typically, the video set-ups involved two to four cameras, offering complementary views on the scene (see Table 3.1). In most cases, the cameras were paired with wireless lavalier microphones that were either worn by focal participants or placed strategically without being intrusive. The video and audio recordings were subsequently synchronized using the video editing software Final Cut Pro. To obtain satisfactory sound quality levels in complex outdoor environments—an issue that caused us some headache during the fieldwork process—, some sites necessitated the use of supplementary audio devices (with integrated windscreen). One method consisted of placing several microphones in different fixed locations such that entire segments of a public place could be covered. This multi-source *zoning* set-up (see below) allowed for some flexibility as it enabled us to concentrate on particular locations within an identified zone by drawing on and combining different audio and video sources, as the situation and analytic foci required. Figure

3.12, showing the recording set-up used for the *CH_BE_CHESS* dataset, provides an example of what I call the *zoning* (or "quadrillage;" Mondada, personal communication, December 14, 2021) approach to data collection in public space:
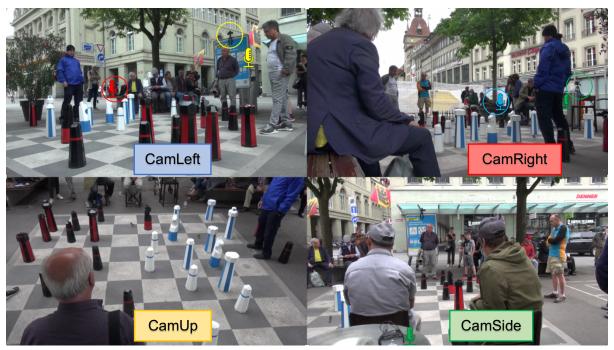
Fig 3.12 Multi-source synchronized recordings *CH_BE_CHESS* dataset

The outdoor chess playground provides a perspicuous site for the analysis of impromptu interactions between unacquainted people in public space. Situated centrally—right next to one of the city's main touristic attractions and five minutes walking distance from the central station—, surrounded by four big, shade-providing trees, and affording plenty of sitting space next to the playing field, the recreational outdoor site invites people to come together and is a locus of public sociability. The chess playground, exemplifying what Whyte (1980) would call an external "triangulation" stimulus, can become a catalyst for spontaneous encounters between a diverse range of people—"regulars" (D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Laurier, 2013), previously unacquainted chess aficionados, passers-by, tourists, locals on their lunchbreak, etc.—who congregate, play, and watch people (play). As can be seen in Figure 3.12, the public

space is "staffed" by members (Garfinkel, 2002) whose attentional focus is largely on the chess-playing activity. This mode of co-presence also involves bystanders engaging in "byplay" (M. H. Goodwin, 1990), side comments, teasing, or heckling. In an effort to appropriately capture the emergence of encounters in such complex interactional arrangements and gatherings—which necessitates taking account of the multimodal details of pre-openings and other possible preliminaries to jointly focused interactions—, we used four synched fixed cameras (mounted on tripod stands on the ground and on a signpost via a flexible "GorillaPod;" see "CamUp" for a quasi-bird's eye view of the game) and four synched microphones (placed close to the public benches and other front-row seats on the "sidelines" of the game). This allowed for a more global view of the site, with good-enough audio coverage of the playing activity, on the one hand, and the sideline byplay and bystander interactions, on the other.

To exemplify the zoning approach to data collection in public space further, consider the following multi-source arrangement used in the *CH_BS_DIALOG* dataset:
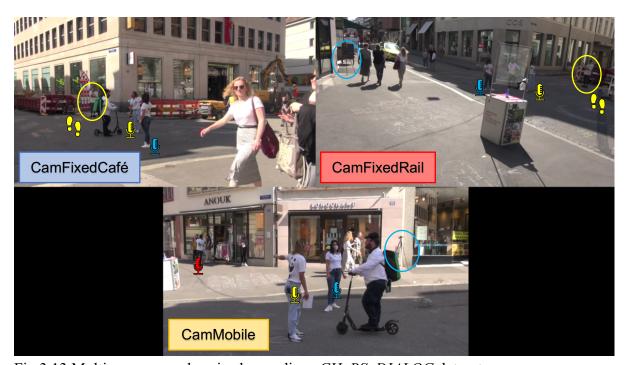
Fig 3.13 Multi-source synchronized recordings *CH_BS_DIALOG* dataset

While we opted for a stationary-only arrangement in the *CH_BE_CHESS* fieldsite, the recording set-up of the *CH_BS_DIALOG* terrain involved a combination of both fixed and mobile cameras. As can be seen in Figure 3.13, the two fixed cameras, positioned in a complementary way (mounted on a tripod stand and on a rail), cover both directions of the pedestrian street. This offers a more global view of the local ecology of the participants' activities, the distribution of individuals' bodies in space, and their mobile trajectories. Such larger camera perspectives are critical for doing justice to the particular spatiality and mobility of charity workers and examining how incipient encounters emerge out of this particular mode of co-presence in public space, permitting, for example, the analysis of issues related to embodied responsiveness and micro-sequential adjustments in would-be participants' walking trajectories and how encounters are aborted before they could properly begin (Mondada, 2022a). Additionally, we used one mobile camera in an effort to adjust to the details of mobile encounters. This provided some flexibility in that it made it possible to specifically target individual encounters and zoom in on moving individuals or mobile "withs" (Mondada, 2023; cf. Goffman, 1971) in the busy public place. The audio sources were also mobile as each dialoger was equipped with a wireless lavalier microphone. Thus, we were able to obtain fairly good sound of the hundreds of encounters in which the charity workers were involved (although this arrangement did not permit us to have audio coverage of encounters where no dialoger was present).

These descriptions should be enough to illustrate that the documentability, or capturability, of incidental, relatively fleeting encounters between unknown people in public open space invites reflection about a range of conceptual, methodological, and practical challenges with which the researcher must cope. In what follows, I will briefly compare the above-mentioned *zoning* approach with the method of *participant shadowing*, discussing some of the potentialities and constraints of these methodological tools for data collection.

Participant shadowing refers to the close following of people, documenting their everyday, naturally accountable activities through video recordings made with mobile, hand-held cameras. This way of video-recording allows for a higher degree of flexibility and adaptability in the documentation of aleatoric events and their contingencies (with no pre-defined, spatially bound beginning and end), permitting researchers to overcome stationary reductionism and take seriously the dynamic reconfiguration of bodies, interactional spaces, and participation frameworks in and for interaction. Participant shadowing thereby proves to be an especially useful methodological resource for capturing the moment-to-moment emergence of incipient encounters. Shadowing does have its limitations, however. For instance, shadowing participants and recording the dynamic convergence of mobile configurations of people confront camera operators/shadowers with the practical problem of having to see and anticipate what will happen next, highlighting how camera work always instantiates an on-line, reflexive proto-analysis of social life. While practical and methodological implications of this have been discussed in more detail in previous work (Mondada, 2006, 2013, 2014b; Mondada et al., 2022), it is important to mention that in mobile video recordings of highly dynamic and contingent activities such as the ones documented in the present corpus, it might not always be possible to capture and preserve all locally relevant multimodal details and temporal granularities of situated action. Given that the shadowee is typically filmed from behind, facial expressions and gaze conduct become partially invisible (although head movements can be used as a proxy for gaze shifts in some cases). Furthermore, being there *in situ* and following participants with a camera enables co-present onlookers/oncomers to interpret the scene at a glance and engage in on-sight categorization that associates the shadower and the shadowee(s) as a mobile "with," thus possibly raising questions about the videographer's participation and its consequentiality for how the nascent moments of emergent chance encounters are organized.

Zoning, as outlined previously, involves the use of multiple fixed cameras and audio sources that cover a given space, or zone, in and across which people navigate and which has the potential to draw people together. By contrast with shadowing, zoning allows for a more global view of the scene and affords different camera angles on a single same event, orienting to covering the entire participation framework. Moreover, the above-mentioned issue of potential on-sight categorization of a filmer–filmed/shadower–shadowee relational pair can be bypassed somewhat by permitting the researcher to capture activities *in absentia*. Depending on the local praxeological context, this approach to video-recording everyday public life additionally has the potential to be relatively more efficient in the documentation of chance encounters as it allows for the simultaneous recording of several encounters occurring at the same place (vs. a singular focus on the activities of one person, whose temporality is privileged). A conceptual and practical problem of zoning, however, resides in the fact that it is grounded in a vision based on the segmentation of material space, rather than on the endogenous activities members are engaging in. This territorial understanding and spatial boundedness thus not only makes it impossible to document events outside the pre-defined zone, but also risks not to be able to capture the entire temporal unfolding and local historicity of a social interaction taking place within its boundaries (possibly having to work with only snapshots of a given interaction).

Adopting the most suitable and locally relevant methodological approach and technological set-up is contingent upon the possibilities and constraints of the built space/material environment as well as analytic foci. While videoing mobile (outdoor) activities and mobile configurations of people is inherently complex and requires practical work that cannot be reduced to the approaches described here (see Mondada, 2014b; Mondada et al., 2022), the ensuing analyses exemplify that one is well-equipped with a combination of both

participant shadowing and zoning to efficaciously deal with the contingencies of doing fieldwork in public places.

Fieldwork in public space not only invites reflection on the practical problems regarding technological arrangements for data collection, but also raises important questions about how to approach the process for obtaining informed consent from the video-recorded persons. Because the aim is to investigate impromptu interactions in public open space, it would be impractical to ask would-be participants to provide informed consent *prior to* the recording. Such an approach would pose serious analytic problems for the present study, as this would significantly alter the organization of the early moments of interaction, severely impacting the naturalness of the data and making it impossible to get at the phenomenon. However, as the above figures illustrate, the cameras were always set up in discrete but visible locations. The data for the study were never collected using hidden cameras, for both ethical and technical reasons, and the participants were aware that they were being video-recorded. To ensure visibility of the research activity in the respective settings, posters were used and flyers handed out (available in multiple languages, such as English, French, German, Italian) where it was explained to participants that they were being video-recorded for the purposes of documenting everyday life in public space. All recorded individuals were intercepted after the interaction took place, to provide more specific information on the purpose of the research, the voluntary nature of participation in the study, the ease of withdrawal from the study, how the data will be used and handled in accordance with ethical guidelines, and to secure informed consent (the consent form is included in the Appendix). Informed (written and/or video-recorded) consent for research usage of the data was provided by all participants shown in the transcripts, and all data were pseudonymized. Video segments featuring individuals who chose not to participate in the study were not used. It is worth noting that the overwhelming majority

of video-recorded people were very positive in their responses to the research project, as the work helps valorize the sociability that defines a lot of the recorded spaces and situations.

3.3   Transcribing data

Transcripts are an essential analytic and presentational tool. Transcripts, however, should not be seen as a replacement for the raw data (which themselves are a practical and situated achievement grounded in local camera work, a "good enough" document of what transpired and on which to base analysis; Sacks, 1984: 26). A well-prepared transcript, when used alongside the original recording, can assist the analyst in gaining a better understanding of the endogenous, (micro-)sequential organization of interactional phenomena (Jefferson, 1985; Mondada, 2018a). Excerpts, along with screenshots from video footage, provide a sense of the data and can be used as a resource for publications and presentations. This allows readers to see for themselves and critically evaluate the validity of analytic claims.

Transcription is never a neutral activity, though. All transcripts are necessarily and inescapably selective, reflecting different theoretical orientations and analytic commitments (Duranti, 2006; Mondada, 2000; Ochs, 1979). Within EMCA, this selectivity is intimately linked to the notion of emic relevance (Schegloff, 1991). That is, rather than attempting the impossible task of trying to pick up and catalog all the details of an interaction (which would come close to *coding*), *transcribing* here aims at focusing on the aspects to which the *participants themselves* demonstrably orient as relevant for whatever it is they are doing (Mondada, 2018a).

Creating transcripts involves multiple stages, and they are developed based on the target phenomenon. Transcription is an iterative and reflexive process, informed by repeated scrutiny of the data, the specific analytic foci, and by the comments of other analysts in collaborative data sessions. A practical way of going about it is to vary the degree of granularity when

transcribing, using working transcripts during the initial stages of research and reserving more comprehensive and detailed transcription for the particular phenomenon of interest. Concretely, this meant that after an initial broad verbal transcription of the data (done collectively by the project members), I began to focus more specifically on excerpts that were of potential interest to me—namely, chance encounters in which issues of language choice became a relevant concern for the participants in some way or another. These were then re-transcribed in greater detail, following the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson for verbal/vocal conduct (Jefferson, 2004), and Lorenza Mondada's conventions for embodied conduct (Mondada, 2018a, in press b; see the Appendix for a description of the transcription conventions). I mainly used Audacity and QuickTime Player 7 Pro for transcribing the audio-video recordings.

The organization of a transcript is heavily influenced by issues related to granularity, readability, and the phenomenon of interest (this is particularly true for transcripts including multimodal annotations, which can vary tremendously depending on the analytic foci). Most relevantly for us, the textualization of multilingual talk-in-interaction magnifies the decision-making behind the transcription process. The way multilingual data are presented in transcripts through certain orthographical and typographical choices often reveals analytical biases regarding possible *categorizations* or labelings of languages/varieties used by the participant(s) and tacit assumptions about what a (distinctly identifiable) language is (Mondada, 2000, 2018d). For example, it is common usage in multilingualism research to use coded fonts (e.g., plain vs. *italic* vs. **bold**) in an effort to visually differentiate between languages/varieties in a transcript. Though consequential, the reasons surrounding these choices are often not explicitly discussed by the analyst(s). This typographical coding and highlighting (cf. C. Goodwin, 1994) of the hybrid use of linguistic resources in the transcription—including multilingual phenomena such as code-switching and language mixing—is already a way of identifying, reifying, and possibly stereotyping (Jefferson, 1996) language use, which can sometimes be an

a priori construct in itself that leaves no room for indeterminancy and ambiguity as a members' resource. Importantly for the present work, whether or not the locally deployed languages/varieties are distinct, from the members' point of view, is an empirical question. Thus, in line with EMCA's emic perspective on social interaction, I refrained from typographically highlighting/coding languages/varieties, describing the participants' language use in the analysis rather than visually flagging languages/varieties in the transcript.

Another important aspect relates to phonetic transcription. Particularly in the case of multilingual encounters that possibly involve previously unacquainted L2 speakers, it is critical to try to do adequate justice to the participants' *in-situ* pronunciation of their utterances, as these can be extremely consequential for the unfolding of incipient interactions (cf. Debois, in prep. for a discussion of the transcription of linguistically indeterminate and near-homophonous greeting tokens). For example, the way a first turn is realized provides the recipient with a minimal language sample on the basis of which they might "place" the unacquainted other and gauge where they "come from." As the empirical chapters will illustrate, such on-hearing categorization is intimately tied to, and consequential for, competence/preference ascriptions that may influence subsequent language choice. Thus, in an effort to capture locally relevant, salient features of participants' pronunciation, I used the International Phonetics Alphabet (IPA) symbols only where necessary. These phonetic representations are not incorporated into the transcripts (where standard CA conventions are used), however, but provided in the analysis for reader-friendliness and consistency.

With regard to the translation from the original languages to English in the transcripts, I attempted to be as faithful as possible to a literal translation without it becoming opaque to the reader (grammatical "anomalies" in the interlinear English translation are intended to correspond to phenomena in the original language). Whenever grammatical aspects of the talk were crucial for understanding the detail and nuance of whatever it is the participants are doing,

they are elucidated in the analysis rather than providing a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss of the original throughout the transcript.

3.4   Analyzing data

After collecting, transcribing, and preparing the data, how is data analysis approached in the CA research process? The CA approach to analysis is vehemently data-driven and inductive. Most analyses of a candidate phenomenon for investigation characteristically begin with an "unmotivated" observation of something in the data corpus (Sacks, 1984). This means that phenomena of potential interest emerge from and are discovered in the data, by examining them in a "bottom-up" fashion:

> When we start out with a piece of data, the question of what we are going to end up with, what kind of findings it will give, should not be a consideration. We sit down with a piece of data, make a bunch of observations, and see where they will go [...]. Treating some actual conversation in an unmotivated way, that is, giving some consideration to whatever can be found in any particular conversation we happen to have our hands on, subjecting it to investigation in any direction that can be produced from it, can have strong payoffs. (Sacks, 1984: 27)

Thus, in contrast with a hypothetico-deductive ("top-down") approach, data are approached without having an *a priori* hypothesis or preconceived agenda in mind. While EMCA consistently employs a bottom-up approach to analysis, starting out with a broad research question is still possible, though, and the research will naturally be contingent on the general interests of the researcher (who, of course, brings some intellectual baggage to the task). In the present case, for example, I viewed all multilingual interactions as of potential interest throughout the data collection stage of the research project. As I began to re-transcribe and analyze the recordings, I gave special attention to chance encounters where unacquainted participants mobilized their multiple linguistic resources and language choice became relevant in some way or another during the early moments of interaction, even though the precise

practices and aspects of interaction to concentrate on were not predetermined at the beginning of the investigation.

I thus started out with the *analysis of a single episode* of interaction (Schegloff, 1987) via relatively unmotivated looking. In the present case, it was due to the chance encounter to be reported in Chapter 7 that I began to take a more serious interest in several candidate phenomena—what would later be glossed as overhearing as a resource for recipient-designing language choice (Chapter 4), practices of explicit language negotiation (Chapter 5), stepping in as an *ad hoc* language broker/interactional mediator (Chapter 6), receptive multilingualism-in-interaction (Chapter 7). These phenomena caught my attention as somehow being interesting, and I noticed that they were more or less recurrent in my corpus but not systematically accounted for by prior interactional research. This then became my point of departure into the making of *collections* (Robinson et al., in press; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). I searched the corpus for as many instances of the target phenomena as possible—or candidate cases that at least share some "family resemblances" (Wittgenstein, 1953)—and then systematically analyzed each case individually on its own terms while at the same time working to describe and curate the cases as a collection. The aim of this way of approaching data is to get at the orderly practices through which a diverse range of participants, recurrently and across different environments, accomplish social actions, by taking into account both the indexicality as well as systematicity of action (for in-depth descriptions of CA's analytic mentality, see Heritage, 1984a; Robinson et al., in press; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013).

This exemplifies how nearly every aspect of interaction can be examined, at different degrees of granularity, and none should be dismissed immediately as inconsequential. Although some might be inclined to view certain fleeting details of interaction as seemingly trivial and insignificant, EMCA researchers operate under the assumption that all aspects of interaction

exhibit at least potentially orderly and systematic properties that are relevant to the participants themselves (Sacks, 1984).

Thus, there are virtually infinite possible details that are of potential relevance to the endogenous organization of interaction. While verbal/vocal practices are a pervasive vehicle for accomplishing social action, they are by no means the sole or necessarily the primordial resources that participants mobilize for organizing action and making it publicly accountable. As a significant body of multimodal conversation analytic research has shown over the past decades (e.g., Deppermann, 2013; C. Goodwin, 2018; Mondada, 2014c, 2016, 2018a, 2021b, in press a; Nevile, 2015; Streeck et al., 2011), a large variety of verbal/vocal, embodied, and material resources—language, gaze, facial expressions, gestures, postural orientations, the moving body, engagement with objects, and so forth—are fundamentally involved in the sequential and temporal organization of social interaction and the local management of intersubjectivity. Methodologically, multimodality invites reflection on and poses some analytic challenges for collection building and systematizing findings (Mondada, 2018a). Mondada (2022c) notes that

> multimodal details are possibly infinite, although only a limited range of them are considered as relevant and oriented to by the participants; they constitute complex multimodal Gestalts clustering various embodied and linguistic features unfolding within intertwined (related but not isochronic) temporalities; these Gestalts are locally assembled by the participants in a way that is contingent on the local material environment and that shows the continuity between the specific formats of embodied conduct and their ecology. (Mondada, 2022c: 317–318)

The indexicality and adaptability of *complex multimodal Gestalts* (Mondada, 2014c) does not imply, however, that they are not orderly and have no emic validity. As De Stefani (2022) puts it:

> They [complex multimodal Gestalts] are, of course, not just recurrent, uniform reproductions of the "same" multimodal arrangement. They are sensitive to the local

and sequential environment at hand, and they are highly adaptable—with regard to their temporal deployment, the coordination of the different modalities, and their manifestation in space. And they are recognizable, for interactants, as such. (De Stefani, 2022: 5)

A comprehensive overview of the multimodal conversation analytic approach to social interaction falls outside the scope of this dissertation. But these theoretical and methodological preliminaries are valuable for the later empirical chapters, where we can observe the gestaltic multimodal makeup of several actions involved in the local organization of multilingual interaction. It is with this integrated, holistic understanding of multimodality and the systematicity and methodicity of social action that I approached the analysis of the present data, in this way also contributing to the articulation between multilingualism research and the study of multimodality.

This chapter briefly outlined some key issues relevant to collecting, transcribing, and analyzing the data for this study. The analyses in the following four empirical chapters will document the findings of this dissertation. Each chapter will investigate a particular phenomenon implicated in the moment-by-moment organization of multilingual chance encounters in public open space, and the chapters are structured in an order that reflects the temporal-sequential trajectory of the opening phase of interaction. Chapter 4 addresses how incidentally co-present individuals accountably engage in pre-opening overhearing and subsequently (pre-)adjust their initial language choice accordingly. Chapter 5 investigates some of the ways in which unacquainted participants negotiate a shared language-of-interaction in and through the first turns of their jointly focused encounter. Chapter 6 is about how individuals who turn out to be of unequal language competencies deal with language-related interactional trouble by focusing on how co-present third persons come to act as *ad hoc* language brokers. And the single case analysis in Chapter 7 concerns the progressive negotiation of a "dual-receptive" (Greer, 2013a) mode of language alternation while at the same time aiming to bring

together the phenomena addressed separately in the three preceding chapters, thus also synthesizing some of the main themes that will emerge in the course of the empirical part of this dissertation.

4 RECIPIENT-DESIGNING LANGUAGE CHOICE VIA OVERHEARING

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter,[20] I will address the question of how unacquainted people sharing public space decide on a language to use by focusing on *overhearing as a resource for recipient design*. The analysis shows how co-present individuals may take advantage of overhearing language samples from conversations in the immediate surround to calibrate their initial language choice when spontaneously moving into jointly focused interaction with a previously unknown person. The study identifies sensory access to co-present people within a shared "perceptual field" (Duranti, 1997a: 67) as an interactional resource unfamiliars may exploit for bringing off a recipient-designed entry into interaction within public environments of incidentally occasioned co-presence. Would-be interactants are shown to engage in overhearing and display a recipient-sensitive orientation to tailoring their first words to previously unknown co-participants' perceived linguistic repertoire during the early moments of interaction. Predominantly through their choice of language/variety for their first actions, but also through visible embodied "engagement displays" (C. Goodwin, 1981: ch. 3), co-present individuals may publicly (and thus, observably) show themselves to be oriented to overhearing-based recipient-design considerations. People thereby exhibit their ongoing attention to what I call the local *multilingual soundscape*, which invites reflection on members' *in-situ* orientations to the aural landscape of public space. Thus it is argued that individuals' initial language choices can be sensitive and fitted to information gleaned from overhearing other-language talk in the

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[20] An earlier version of this chapter was published in *Research on Language and Social Interaction* as Hänggi (2022).

local surround. Moreover, by highlighting the consequentiality of overhearing for engaging in everyday first-contact situations in a shared public space, audio-visual monitoring comes more centrally into view as a method for doing categorial work prior to moving into a mutually ratified state of co-participation.

In what follows, I will begin by providing a brief overview of prior work on the notion of overhearing, with a focus on social interactional research (§4.2). The majority of the chapter will then be dedicated to the detailed analysis of how co-present individuals use overhearing as an occasioned resource for recipient-designing their initial language choice when spontaneously striking up a conversation in a shared public space (§4.3). I will conclude by discussing some implications of the analysis and outlining potential avenues for future research (§4.4).

4.2   Background

In this section, I will briefly review the literature on the notion of overhearing in social interaction to establish how this study builds on previous investigations of the phenomenon. Beginning with Goffman's conceptualization of participation and then moving to a select body of research in workplace studies that employed a more granular approach to participation dynamics, the section opens with a discussion of how overhearing is critical to the situated organization of co-presence and co-participation in gatherings and multiperson interaction (§2.1). §2.2 then zooms in on previous interactional studies of multilingualism that highlighted the role of overhearing as providing participants with an important resource for engaging in everyday activities and organizing interaction.

4.2.1 Conceptualizations of overhearing

Erving Goffman's (1963, 1971, 1981) seminal characterization of the conditions of co-presence and co-participation in urban public spaces provides powerful conceptual tools for the detailed investigation of this chapter's focal phenomenon. Grounded in the Goffmanian (1981) model of participation, this chapter sets out to operationalize the analytic category *overhearer* from a members' perspective. In *Forms of talk*, Goffman (1981: 3) writes that "[w]hen a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it." In Goffman's regimes of co-presence, one such "participation status" is that of *overhearers*, who, in contrast to mutually "ratified" participants to a larger ongoing encounter, are ostensibly uninvolved, "unratified" people outside of a sustained focused conversation. Here, I am concerned with these "adventitious participants" (Goffman, 1981: 132) by examining how co-present but unaddressed individuals/bystanders use their aural and visual access to an ongoing interaction as an occasioned resource for engaging with unfamiliar persons in a recipient-designed fashion.

Close examination of participation dynamics of such social "gatherings" (Goffman, 1964: 135), which comprise "unengaged participants bound by unfocused interaction" (ibid.), allows for an *in vivo* glimpse into the "social situation" as more than mere physical co-location in the same place, but as an "environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself [*sic*] accessible to the naked senses of all others who are 'present,' and similarly find them accessible to him [*sic*]" (ibid.). Goffman's definition thus takes into account the possibility of more peripheral modes of participation through which co-present individuals who are not (yet) focal "participants" display minimal mutual orientation and discretely monitor one another, thereby sustaining "civil inattention." I will argue that overhearing is central to how co-present individuals not only organize the monitoring of each another, but also for engaging with each other in recipient-designed ways.

Peripheral forms of co-presence and co-participation, involving both incidental overhearing and more proactive eavesdropping, were also conceptualized in proxemic terms (Ciolek & Kendon, 1980). Consonant with Goffman, Ciolek and Kendon (1980) described how "peripherality" (Hindmarsh, 2010; see also Greer & Ogawa, 2021; Harjunpää, 2021a) is not to be equated with passivity or inattentiveness. Using the term "c-space," they defined the spatial zone outside an "F-formation" (Kendon, 1990) as an "area where people are being monitored and consciously perceived and reacted to, though at a much subtler level" (Ciolek & Kendon, 1980: 262). This public area, according to Ciolek and Kendon, functions as a "sorting room" (ibid.) over which individuals maintain "careful visual and acoustical surveillance" (ibid.: 266), thereby "establishing preparatory behavior interdependencies with the outsiders" (ibid.: 264). The empirical materials to be analyzed below enable us to see how co-present individuals not only display their real-time orientations to what Ciolek and Kendon characterized as the "c-space" by engaging in pre-opening (audio-visual) monitoring work, but also publicly demonstrate their monitoring of the local surround in and through the subsequent delivery of overhearing-based, linguistically fitted actions when transitioning into focused interaction.

While the phenomenon of overhearing has attracted relatively little systematic attention in social scientific research overall, it was discussed—with varying emphasis—in a set of interactional studies on multiactivity organizational environments.[21] In a range of complex professional settings, such as trading rooms (Heath et al., 1995), airports (M. H. Goodwin, 1996), news rooms, police operation rooms, traffic control centers, or operating theaters (Heath et al., 2002), participants were shown to exploit overhearing as a way of "peripherally monitoring" (Heath et al., 1995) co-present coworkers' actions for coordinating and accomplishing work-relevant tasks. As this body of research illustrates, overhearing the local

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[21] Although the present focus is on naturalistic, social interactional research, an experimental study that deserves mention is Gampe et al.'s (2012) work suggesting that 18-month-olds learn new words through overhearing adults' interactions.

surround is part of different kinds of workers' set of professional practices and repertoire of resources through which they get their work done. In the same vein, participants to quotidian practical activities, too, competently engage in overhearing as a members' method (Garfinkel, 1967) when striking up a conversation with a "stranger," revealing an orientation to recipient-design concerns within the nascent moments of interaction.

4.2.2 Overhearing as an orientation to metalinguistic considerations

In the literature on multilingual interaction, the role of overhearing has also been largely underappreciated. This is somewhat surprising given Jordan and Fuller's (1975) early conversation analytic work on *lingua franca* encounters, in which they reported on how overhearing provides co-present persons with a resource whereby they may gain entry into an ongoing interaction. Looking at Spanish *lingua franca* talk between L1 Maya and English speakers in Yucatan, Mexico, Jordan and Fuller (1975: 17) found that "the mere overhearing of a common-language expression embedded in other-language talk constitutes adequate grounds and resources for constructing an entrance device." In situations where semantic content is largely unavailable to co-present overhearers, Jordan and Fuller observed further that participants can repeat or metalinguistically topicalize some feature of the unintelligible other-language talk, thereby not only publicly demonstrating their prior overhearing, but also using it for a "ticketed" (Sacks, 1992: II, 195) entry into an ongoing interaction. This, Jordan and Fuller (1975: 18) argued, constitutes a specialized resource in multilingual (exolingual) interaction.

Drawing on interview data and participant observation of Catalan-Castilian bilingualism in Barcelona, Woolard (2007) interrogated the transportability of identities (Zimmerman, 1998) by arguing that "people's ethnic identities are formulated and oriented-to in interaction not only by participants in encounters but also by bystanders" and maintaining

"that 'face-to-side' and 'face-to-back' communication is as relevant to the establishment of social identity as is the 'face-to-face'" (2007: 202). It is against this backdrop that she addressed how ostensibly uninvolved overhearers can be made relevant as "intended overhearers" (2007: 201; see also Levinson, 1988 on "non-participant reception roles"). This is in line with studies addressing how participants can implicate co-present bystanders as targeted co-recipients of their talk by producing publicly accessible, recipient-oriented initiating actions that are recognizably *designed to be overheard* (Fisher, 1976; Gardner, 1980: 338–339; Goffman, 1981: 97–98;[22] Harjunpää, 2017: 210–221; Kang, 1998; Levinson, 1988: 193–196; Mondémé, 2018; cf. Heritage, 1985).

Relatedly, Skårup (2004) demonstrated how interactants within an asymmetrically multilingual participation framework do inclusion through "brokering" (Chapter 6). That is, participants were shown to make a recipient-designed language choice that is disaligned with the preceding language-of-interaction, thus orienting to offering a non-understanding, currently non-contributing, overhearer an opportunity for participation.

Finally, Mondada (2018c) yielded important insights into how overhearing and recipient design are co-organized in multilingual openings. Mondada (2018c: 17–18) described how overhearing can be accountably oriented to as an economic and efficient device for dealing with basic problems of language choice in the early moments of multilingual service encounters at customs offices and federal railway stations in Switzerland. Thus, in addition to visually orienting to material artefacts in the local ecology (such as customs declaration forms), counter

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[22] Interestingly for the themes of this chapter and this dissertation, Goffman here takes up the CA notion of "recipient design" and relates it to matters of language choice in his reflections on "self-talk" produced to be overheard:

Of course, in any case we will have taken the time to encode our vocalization in the conventional lexicon of our language (which is, incidentally, *likely to be the local one*), a feat that is instantaneously accomplished even sometimes by *bilinguals who in addition must generally select their imprecations from the language of their witnesses*. (Goffman, 1981: 98; emphasis added)

It would be interesting to know whether or not bilingual children who self-talk *select the code likely to be employed by the others in their presence*. (ibid.: fn. 14; emphasis added)

officers were shown to exploit overhearing prospective customers' conversations with other customers waiting in line to infer their ostensible language preference(s) and engage in recipient-designed pre-adjustments for their first turn-at-talk. The current study builds on this observation by systematically examining how overhearing can be demonstrably drawn upon as an especially productive resource in ordinary first-contact situations so as to engage with unfamiliars in recipient-oriented, linguistically fitted ways.

4.3   Analysis

In what follows, I will explore the relation between overhearing and its being employed as an occasioned resource for recipient design in chance encounters between previously unacquainted people. It will be argued that individuals' prior overhearing becomes observable in and through their alternation to a different language/variety in the opening phase of the focused encounter. In this way, they bring off recipient accommodation and show themselves to be attentive to the local multilingual soundscape.

I will begin by presenting two instances where co-present individuals demonstrably orient to their prior overhearing when implementing return-greetings (Ex. 1) and an initiating greeting (Ex. 2) within what turns out to be the first and only adjacency pair of fleeting focused interactions (cf. Mondada, 2022a). Subsequent cases are relatively less fleeting and illustrate how co-present people engage in more sustained audio-visual monitoring of would-be interactants. These cases show overhearers to exploit their access to ongoing interactions as a device for accomplishing a variety of recipient-designed actions in various sequential locations within the larger opening phase of the interaction (Ex. 4.3–4.6). Lastly, I will present a case in which overhearing becomes retrospectively discernible, but co-present others are addressed in a language different from the one overheard (Ex. 4.7).

The analysis will demonstrate that incidentally co-present people who are within earshot of one another accountably display, and exploit, their "overhearership" via recipient-oriented initial linguistic choices. Attending to *language samples as overhearables* in the immediate surround thus furnishes a resource for orienting to unknown others' perceived linguistic preferences, the adjustment to which instantiates a basic form of recipient design when opening an encounter.

4.3.1 Overhearing as a device for greeting

Examples 4.1 and 4.2 show "greetings-only" (Sacks, 1992: II, 193) interactions in a hiking setting. In the example below, a French-speaking family of three (Rosa, Ray, and Marc) passes by Ava and Ben, two Swiss German-speaking hikers who are having a break on a bench. The region in which the encounter takes place is a southern alpine valley located in a trilingual canton in Switzerland, where Italian, German, and Romansh are spoken (the area here is predominantly Italian-speaking). The piece of data exemplifies how incidentally co-present people may take advantage of overhearing other-language talk to do sociability *en passant*. We will see that Ava and Ben demonstrably orient to the unfamiliar passers-by's overheard language—their presumed/inferred preference—in the exchange of "passing greetings" (Goffman, 1963: 132).

Ex. 4.1) CH_BRE_HIKE_20200801_break_00.03.32

```
01 RAY    hm?
          hm
   ava    >>stationary-->>
   ben    >>stationary-->>
   ros    >>walks fwd-->>
02        (0.2)
03 MAR    la tour que j'ai eu mal au [pied,
          the tower where my foot hurt
04 RAY                               [ah: oui oui.=t'étais v'nu en bus
                                      ah  yes yes  you had come by bus
05        avec maman.
          with mom
06        (0.5)△(0.2)
   ros        △gaze twd bench-->
07 MAR    avec [les (      ),
```

```
            with  the  (          )
08 RAY      [sous la pluie.△#
              in   the rain
   ros                       ->△
   fig                    #fig.4.1
09      (0.2)
10 RAY  j' crois que c'était not' pre+mière marche qu'on a faite.
        I  think that  was   our  first    hike   we did
   ava                              +gaze twd ROS-->>
11      (0.9)
12 MAR  ouais.
        yeah
13      (0.6)*(0.2)*(0.4)
   ben       *.....*gaze twd ROS-->>
14 RAY  △et toi?△
         and you
   ros  △.......△gaze twd AVA, BEN-->
15      (0.5)
16 ROS → [hallo,
          hello
17 MAR  [ma première [année,
        my   first   year
18 AVA →              [bonjour.
                       good morning
19 BEN →              [↑bonj△our,△
                       good morning
   ros                    ->△,,,,△
```


4.1

As the family is passing by Ava and Ben, who have spoken Swiss German with each other in distantly prior talk (not reproduced) and have silently admired the landscape for some time, Marc and Ray reminisce about an earlier hike in French (l. 1–14). Rosa is the first to pass by Ava and Ben. After having briefly gazed toward the bench while approaching from the back (l. 6–8, Fig. 4.1), she again shifts her gaze toward Ava and Ben when she walks into their visual field (l. 14). Her gaze meets that of Ava and Ben, who have been looking toward Rosa for some

time (l. 10, 13) and thereby produce an "engagement display" (C. Goodwin, 1981: ch. 3) that visibly instantiates their current orientation to, and monitoring of, the passer-by. Upon establishing mutual gaze, Rosa issues a greeting (l. 16). She greets Ava and Ben in (Swiss) German (*hallo*), thereby orienting to, and reflexively constituting, the use of one of the "local" languages as normative. Interestingly, Ava and Ben disalign with Rosa's language choice; they reciprocate the initial Swiss German greeting in French (*bonjour*; l. 18, 19).

Having never met Rosa before, how are we to analyze Ava and Ben's language alternation in second/responsive position? *Why that, in that language, right now* (Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005)? I argue that they show themselves to use their prior overhearing as an interactional resource for recipient design: in producing the French-language return greetings, they recognizably display an orientation to aligning with, and thereby adjusting to, Rosa's *perceived language preference*, while also categorizing Rosa as a co-incumbent of the same party as Ray and Marc. The talk's permeability to overhearing, before the actual opening of the focused encounter, gives Ava and Ben asymmetrical access to the linguistic repertoire of the passers-by, which they manifest retroactively by implementing a linguistically fitted, recipient-oriented action. The code-switched second-pair parts (SPPs), along with the prior embodied engagement displays, thus observably exhibit their prior overhearing and real-time analysis of the talk of the passers-by.

The excerpt thus shows a fleeting encounter between unacquainted people who engage in language negotiation within the first few moments of transiently meeting one another in public space. We observe how overhearing permits the respondents to override the immediate sequential context as the guide for language choice (cf. Auer, 1995), and switch languages within the greeting adjacency pair sequence. This tokenistic switching displays metalinguistic and multilingual orientations, while also enacting a welcoming stance and symbolically celebrating (Swiss) multilingualism-in-interaction.

Example 4.1 provided some demonstration of how overhearing can be mobilized, in an occasioned way, as a resource for recipient design in second/responsive position. By contrast, attending to other-language talk within the perceptual field may also be exploited for implementing the same action in a sequence-initiating environment. Excerpt 4.2 offers a case in point. Taken from the same dataset, it shows how two hikers, Ruth and Léon, spontaneously engage in jointly focused interaction when passing by each other on a narrow path. Their dogs, Rocky and Lou, thereby act as catalysts for the "stranger" encounter.

Ex. 4.2) CH_BRE_HIKE_20200731_dogs

```
01        (0.3)
   rut    >>stands still-->>
   roc    >>approaches-->
02 RUT    chunnsch cho luege >rocky,<
          you come have a look Rocky
03        (0.4)
04 RUT    due lang+*sam.
          go   slowly
                  +gaze twd ROC-->
   leo             *gaze twd ROC-->
05        (1.5)
06 LEO    ↑sa†lu:t,•#
           hello
             †stops-->
   roc           ->•sniffs LOU-->
   fig             #fig.4.2
07        (0.4)
08 LEO    ∅[↑(c'est un beau chien),]
            (that's a beautiful dog)
09 RUT     [HHHH               ] hh* (0.2) +he[h .h
10 LEO →                                     [£hoi,£#*∅
                                              hi
   lou    ∅turns twd ROC-----------------------------∅sniffs ROC-->>
   leo                         ->*gaze twd RUT------*,,,-->
   rut                          ->+gaze twd LEO-->
   fig                                  #fig.4.3
11        (0.2)+(0.3)
   rut      ->+gaze twd ROC-->>
12 RUT    hal*lo,
          hello
   leo     ->*gaze down twd LOU-->>
13        (1.3)†(1.1)
   leo       ->†walks on-->>
14 LEO    c'est ↑bien• nouveau,
          that's rather new
   roc            ->•
```

Preparing for the imminent encounter, Ruth addresses the perceptual directive *chunnsch cho luege >rocky,</*"you come have a look Rocky" in Swiss German to her dog (l. 2), who is excitedly descending the hiking path (l. 1). Rocky's approach is being monitored by both Léon and Ruth, who commands him to "go slowly" in Swiss German (l. 4). These pre-opening "public-yet-directed displays" (Goffman, 1971: 125) not only accountably construct Rocky and Ruth as a "with" (Goffman, 1971), but also provide Léon with an overhearable first language sample of his potential prospective co-participant(s). Swiss German thus becomes observable as Ruth and Rocky's language-of-interaction. When Rocky comes to a halt and engages in sniffing at Lou right in front of Léon, Léon addresses the dog with the French greeting token ↑*salu:t,* in a higher-pitched dog-talk register (see Mondémé, 2018) along with sustained gaze at him (l. 6, Fig. 4.2). After a short silence, Léon goes on to give a French-language positive assessment about Rocky (l. 8). This co-occurs with laughter from Ruth (l. 9). It is only after having greeted Rocky and given a compliment about the dog in French that Léon gazes up toward Ruth and delivers the German-language greeting *hoi* with smiley-voice (l. 10, Fig. 4.3). Again: how are we to analyze this language alternation in this sequential-interactional locus? Similar to Example 4.1, alternating language choice coincides with, and reflexively shapes, a new participation framework, while simultaneously displaying an orientation to accommodating the co-participant's ostensible language preference: addressee change from Rocky to Ruth is accompanied by an inter-turn code-switch from French to Swiss German.

Notably, the categorization of Ruth as a Swiss German-speaker intertwines with the categorization of her as a human, as León code-switches when shifting from talking to the dog to talking to the dog's guardian. Léon thus does not orient to Swiss German as Rocky's preferred language. Léon's attending to Ruth's Swiss German pre-opening talk is put on display when he proffers Swiss German as a possible language-of-interaction. Prior overhearing becomes observable in that the choice of language locally manifests Léon's emergent understanding of his interactant's perceived linguistic repertoire.

Immediately after greeting Ruth, Léon begins to withdraw his gaze and brings it toward Lou. Ruth too begins to redirect her gaze toward Rocky, which locally enacts the dog-centeredness of the encounter, before delivering the (Swiss) German return-greeting _hallo_ (l. 10–12). She thus aligns with the language proffered by Léon in initial position. With Rocky and Lou as their common foci of attention, the dog owners continue to observe the encounter between the new canine friends before Léon eventually walks on (l. 13) and produces higher-pitched, dog-directed talk, switching back to French (l. 14).

The linguistic design of Léon's first-pair part (FPP) greeting when addressing the human co-participant thus renders his prior overhearing retrospectively discernible. His departing from French-language dog-directed talk via a tokenistic switch to Swiss German works to bring off addressee change and recipient accommodation. The piece of data demonstrates that the permeability of talking to the dog makes (parts of) persons' linguistic repertoire publicly accessible to incidentally co-present others (possibly produced to be overheard; cf. Mondémé, 2018), and the overhearing thereof furnishes would-be interactants with an occasioned resource for recipient design, i.e., for making an initial language choice that is designed as being fitted to a would-be interactant's perceived linguistic preference.

4.3.2 Overhearing as a device for resuming service

Thus far we have dealt with how unacquainted interactants accountably engage in *pre-opening* overhearing and subsequently (pre-)adjust their initial language choice accordingly. While in Ex. 4.1 and 4.2 incidentally co-present individuals show themselves to have overheard publicly available other-language talk before the actual opening of the focused social encounter, Ex. 4.3 demonstrates that also currently unaddressed, non-focal participants can make overhearing-based language adjustments when the opening phase of a focused interaction is already underway. The example is drawn from the first few moments of a ticket counter interaction between a ticket agent (AGE) and a customer (CUS2) in a tropical butterfly garden in a bilingual French- and German-speaking city in Switzerland.

Ex. 4.3) CH_FRB_PAPILLON_20190914_02.17.15

```
01        (0.7)
02 CUS1   merci.•
          thanks
             •leaves counter-->>
03        (1.6)†(0.8)
   cus2       †steps twd counter, holding tickets-->
04 CUS2   ↑>bonjour,<
          good morning
05 AGE    bonjour.
          good morning
06        (.)†(0.2)†(0.2)
   cus2    ->†reaches counter†places tickets on counter-->
07 CUS2   alors ‡voilà:,†‡
          so    here you go
   age         ‡........‡takes tickets, scans them, skims through-->
   cus2              ->†
08 ALI    *MOM †LO[OK,†
09 AGE          [mer↑ci.#
                 thank you
   ali    *points to butterfly-->
   cus2        †......†turns twd ALI-->
   fig                   #fig.4.4
10 CUS2   (   ) Ali[son-
11 ALI           [look,
12        (0.3)
13 ALI    (watch)
14        (0.5)
15 CUS2   ah yeah.=it's hu:ge that one.*
   ali                             ->*
16        (0.4)
17 CUS2   it's a †big one.†
             ->†,,,,,,,,†turns to face AGE-->
18        (2.8)
19 AGE →  o:kay,
20        (1.1)
```

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```
21 AGE → you‡ have two adults† and one child [heh?
22 CUS2                                       [two adults and one child.=and
   age    ->‡looks up, gaze twd CUS-->>
   cus2                     ->†
23         he's under four.
24 AGE    [o:kay.
25 CUS2   [so he's- (2.1) exempt I guess. hhh heh heh

          ((transaction continues in English))
```


4.4

As the previous customer (CUS1) leaves the counter (l. 2), the next customer approaches the

transaction point (l. 3) and greets the ticket agent in French (↑>*bonjour,*<, l. 4). With this, she

displays an orientation to the larger-scale normativity of deploying a local language (which in

turn has also been adopted as the language-of-interaction in the previous transaction, see l. 2).

The ticket agent then reciprocates the greeting with *bonjour* (l. 5), thereby aligning with the

customer's language choice and establishing French as the projected language-of-interaction

(Mondada, 2018c). After having come to a stationary position, the customer places her tickets

on the counter and says *alors voilà:,*/"so here you go" (l. 7). The ticket agent grabs the

documents and thanks the customer with *mer↑ci* (l. 7–9), perpetuating French as the language

of the encounter. At line 8, the customer's daughter, Alison (ALI), can be seen to interrupt the

transactional activity by loudly and excitedly exclaiming *MOM LOOK,* after having sighted a

butterfly flitting about, requesting her Mom's visual engagement. Adopting a body torque posture (Fig. 4.4; Schegloff, 1998), Mom follows her daughter's excited perceptual directives (l. 11, 13) and eventually produces two affiliative assessments in English (l. 15, 17). The bulk of the occasioned parent-child interaction occurs as the ticket agent is scanning and skimming through the customer's tickets (l. 7–22, Fig. 4.4).

Notably, when the ticket agent resumes service and takes the floor after having checked the documents, she too switches to English (*o:kay*, l. 19; *you have two adults and one child heh?*, l. 21), departing from the previously deployed language-of-interaction French. The ticket agent's language alternation in this sequential environment accountably demonstrates her prior overhearing of the customer's inserted English-language talk with her daughter, and effectively proposes English as a possible language for the encounter. The code-switch displays an orientation to accommodating the customer's perceived language preference, showing how unaddressed recipients can monitor their co-participants' publicly available talk and consequently shape their own utterances according to the locally emergent notions of recipient design they have about the unacquainted other (cf. C. Goodwin, 1981). From this point on, the customer service interaction is conducted in English.

4.3.3 Overhearing as a device for initiating topical talk

Excerpt 4.4 below provides further demonstration of how incidentally co-present individuals can take advantage of overhearing for implementing a recipient-designed, and "ticketed," entry into interaction with unknown others. Here, however, the "adventitious participant" shows himself to exploit access to the overheard conversation in order to generate further on-topic talk, while language choice works to specify his addressee. The encounter takes place on a small passenger ferry in German-speaking Switzerland. As is typical of public transportation, the narrow spatio-material environment results in close physical proximity between

passengers, which can give rise to the phenomenon of "coerced eavesdropping" (Ling, 2004:

140). In the excerpt below, Chris exploits this opportunistically as a device to segue into

focused interaction with two co-passengers, Anna and Bea, who are sitting to Chris' left.

Ex. 4.4) CH_BS_FÄHRI_20200721_02.52.03

```
01 CHR    i like it.
02        (1.0)
03 CHR    °t-° to go (0.3) as a (sighting) to ferry.
04        (0.2)
05 DIA    mhm,
06        (0.6)
07 CHR    so a:: (1.0) beautiful moment.
08        (1.4)
09 CHR    absolut.
10        (0.7)
11 DIA    yes.
12        (17.0)*(.)
   ann          *...-->
13 ANN    gsehsch dört de st*and >döt ähne,<
          you see there that stall over there
                              ->*points into distance-->
14        (.)•(0.2)*#
   chr       •turns twd ANN-->
   ann           ->*,,,-->
   fig            #fig.4.5
15 ANN    °ds isch s-° das* ist das kaffee mobil• von der mi•tte.
           that's th-  that is  the Kaffee Mobil  of      Mitte
                           ->*
   chr                                 ->•,,,,,,,,,,,•lks distance-->
16 BEA    >ah stimmt.< in diese::[:r
           ah right     in this
17 ANN                          [allee.=sie ist (als erste) mit so einem
                                 alley  she came (as the first) with such a
18        ding• gekommen (0.2)#so:•ehm: (.)•(0.2) >so eine< (0.5) so ne bar,
          thing              like uh         like a      like a bar
   chr      ->•turns twd ANN------•,,,,,,,,•looks into distance-->
   fig                    #fig.4.6ab
19        (0.2)
20 BEA    mhm.
21        (4.2)•(0.2)
   chr       ->•turns twd ANN-->
22 CHR →  †>isch das<† ds #kaffee mo†bil vo de† mi#tti?
           is that   the  Kaffee Mobil  of     Mitte
          †.........†points twd ANN†,,,,,,,,†points into distance-->
   fig                  #fig.4.7              #fig.4.8
23 ANN    jä.=†•
          yeah
   chr      ->†,,,-->
   chr      ->•,,,-->
24 CHR    =ah ja?†•
           ah yes
               ->†
             ->•looks into distance-->
25        (1.2) • (1.0) • (0.5)
   chr       ->•turns A•looks into distance-->>
26 CHR    mh.
```

4.5

4.6a

4.6b

As the passengers are being transported to the opposite river bank, Chris positively assesses the ferry experience, with which Diana aligns minimally (l. 1–11). Their language-of-interaction is English as a *lingua franca*.

After an extended period of non-talk (l. 12), the two passengers sitting beside Chris and Diana also engage in conversation: Anna addresses Bea with an "environmental noticing" (Sacks, 1992: II, 87–97) about a "stall" (l. 13) that can be seen in the unfolding landscape. The perceptual directive *gsehsch dört de stand >döt ähne,</*"you see there that stall over there" co-occurs with a deictic pointing gesture (l. 13) and orients to establishing a common attentional focus with Bea. With this, Anna proffers the material feature as a "talkable" (Schegloff, 1986: 116), which is afforded by, and indexically tied to, the local surround. Right before Anna begins to withdraw her pointing gesture, Chris turns toward her (l. 14, Fig. 4.5). His postural and facial orientation toward the co-passengers instantiates an engagement display that embodiedly

renders Chris' overhearing publicly observable. Having secured a framework of mutual orientation with Bea, Anna then engages in producing an informing about her noticing (l. 15). While her turn at line 13 is delivered in Swiss German, she self-repairs her language choice at line 15 by abandoning the turn-in-progress in Swiss German (°*ds isch s-*°/"that's th-", produced sotto voce) and restarting it in Standard German (*das ist das kaffee mobil von der mitte*/"that is the Kaffee Mobil of Mitte"). From later talk we learn that Anna's mid-turn code-switch likely is participant-related, as Bea displays an individualistic preference for Standard German at line 16. Chris, who has manifestly been attending to the ongoing interaction, bodily reorients and begins to look in the direction indicated in Anna's pointing just as she has delivered the focal information of her turn-constructional unit (*kaffee mobil*, l. 15). Chris momentarily reorients himself posturally and facially toward the co-passengers (l. 18, Fig. 4.6ab) before again shifting his gaze into distance, toward the aforementioned "stall" that constitutes the focal element of Anna and Bea's ongoing topical talk. Chris thereby produces a further engagement display, embodiedly exhibiting his attentiveness to (over-)hearable and seeable information that is publicly available within the local perceptual field. After Bea's receipt token (l. 20), the sequence is possibly complete, and a lapse emerges (l. 21).

4.7

4.8

It is in this sequential context that Chris turns toward Anna and breaks the silence by addressing her (l. 22), further displaying his on-line monitoring of the co-passengers' talk by self-selecting in a lapse environment. Simultaneously with the initiation of his speaking turn, Chris also begins to bring up his left hand before eventually pointing toward Anna (Fig. 4.7). This turn-initial pointing, and the concomitant postural shift, constitute embodied turn-entry devices that display incipient speakership (Mondada, 2007b) and solicit Anna to attend in the emergent, gestalt-like constitution of a new interactional space. The index point is subsequently withdrawn and emergently altered so as to provide a locational gesture very similar to the one produced previously by Anna (Fig. 4.8; cf. Fig. 4.5). This again exhibits Chris' careful attention to not only Anna and Bea's talk, but also their embodied conduct.

At the verbal level, Chris' encounter-initiating "pickup" (Sacks, 1992: I, 49–51, 101–103) >*isch das*< *ds kaffee mobil vo de mitti?*/"is that the Kaffee Mobil of Mitte?" skip-ties (Sacks, 1992: I, 718) to Anna's prior talk (*das ist das kaffee mobil von der mitte*, l. 15) by recycling its lexico-syntactic format and reformulating it interrogatively in Swiss German. In addition to the indexical *das*/"that" and the concurrent locational gesture deictically referring to the "stall," Chris' tying to distantly prior talk, then, further demonstrates his overhearing. Of note is that Chris' self-selection only comes after a lapse, substantially displaced from line 15

100

(vs. targeting a transition-relevance place immediately after the initial mention of the *kaffee mobil*), which indicates its possible inappropriateness. Chris' language choice of Swiss German constitutes an additional interactional resource, or "contextualization cue" (Gumperz, 1982)—laminating onto gaze, the postural shift, and the pre-initial pointing gesture—, for creating a new interactional space and generating recipiency from Anna in its serving as a recipient-designed "addressee specification" (Gumperz, 1982: 77). Chris' *pro-forma* request for confirmation—a pre of some sorts—is then immediately blocked by Anna, who responds minimally with the Swiss German response token *jä*/"yeah"(l. 23). Anna thereby refuses to engage in a (more sustained) conversation, treating Chris' "pickup" as an unsolicited intrusion. In this way, the interactants locally and reflexively establish the delicacy of joining in as an uninvolved bystander, displaying their orientation to what Goffman (1971: 40) called a "conversational preserve," a "right [...] to have their circle protected from entrance and overhearing by others."

While Examples 4.1–4.3 show how overhearing becomes retrospectively discernible primarily in and through language choice, Chris' opening turn here shows an instance of overhearing-based recipient design beyond linguistic fittedness/language choice. The way the encounter-initiating turn is formatted—i.e., through skip-tying—demonstrates its being designedly reactive to, and built parasitically on, distantly prior, overheard talk. As can be seen from the excerpt above, "adventitious participants" can thus exploit overhearing both on topical grounds as well as for specifying recipients via language choice.

4.3.4 Overhearing as a device for negotiating recipiency

Mondada's (2009) study of how pedestrians engage in itinerary requests in urban public space highlighted the importance of participants' *ad hoc* categorization work when seeking out a potential itinerary provider. Locally relevant membership categories of potential prospective

co-participants have to be verbalized and negotiated among the approaching party, and the "practical epistemology" (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990) on which they ground their decision to approach their "targets" consequently becomes more transparent and available for us (as analysts). In the same vein, Excerpt 4.5 provides an example of how overhearing can be made explicit as an oriented-to resource for work-relevant categorization in a pre-opening environment. The transcript shows two charity solicitors, or so-called "dialogers" (DIA1 and DIA2), engaging in a "professional overhearing" of sorts (cf. C. Goodwin, 1994) in the context of a street fundraising activity. They approach pedestrians in a city-center shopping area in German-speaking Switzerland to persuade them to donate to an internationally known NGO. The excerpt starts with DIA1 delivering an encounter-closing evaluative assessment in Swiss German (l. 1) after having unsuccessfully approached a passing-by couple.

Ex. 4.5) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_11.13.23

```
01 DIA1   scha:d.
          too bad
          >>gaze twd prior PAS-->
   dia2   >>gaze twd approaching PAS-->
   pas    >>walk on street-->>
02        (0.6)†(.)∅(0.4)†#(2.5)*†(0.2)*†(0.6)
   dia1      ->†,,,,,,,,,,†gaze fw†......†gaze twd DIA2-->
   dia2          ∅walks fwd-->
   dia2                    ->*......*gaze twd DIA1-->
   fig                  #fig.4.9ab
03 SIM    das sind alles tourischte.
          those are all   tourists
04        (0.2)*
   dia2      ->*...-->
05 DIA1   häh?*
          huh
   dia2     ->*gaze twd approaching PAS-->
06        (0.2)
07 DIA2   sin †alles* tou*†rischte.*
          are  all    tourists
   dia1      ->†..........†gaze twd approaching PAS-->>
   dia2          ->*....*gaze DIA1*faces fwd-->
08        (0.6)*
   dia2      ->*
09 DIA1   *häsch*∅ scho gfrögt gha?
          have you already asked
   dia2   *.....*gaze twd app PAS-->>
   dia2       ->∅
10        (0.5)
11 DIA2   nei.=abr das gsehsch und das ghörsch.
          no   but you see that and you hear that
12 PAS2   (       ) pour·[quoi?
          (       ) why
13 PAS1             ·[c'est parce que- [(ah oui c'était trop* xx) mai]s
```

```
                           it's  because-    (ah yes it was  too   xx) but
14 PAS2                                     [c'est peut-êt' exigeant (euh)]
                                             it's  maybe  demanding  uh
   dia1                    •walks twd PAS-->>
   dia2                                                        ->*
15 PAS2   △ah ouais?△
           ah yeah
   dia1   △.........△points twd PAS-->
16 DIA1→  petite quest#ion,
          little question
   fig                   #fig.4.10ab
17        (0.3)
18 PAS1   non.‡△[not‡  today.]=△#
          no
19 PAS2        [>non merci.<]=
                 no  thanks
   pas1    ‡.....‡'no' gesture-->>
   dia1    ->△,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,△
   fig                      #fig.4.11
20 PAS   =((collective laughter))
```


4.9a   4.9b

When DIA1 withdraws her gaze from the unsuccessfully-approached passers-by, she faces forward and scans the local ecology. Meanwhile, DIA2 has been focusing her attention on an approaching group of passers-by for some time (l. 1–2, Fig. 4.9ab). She walks toward DIA1 and then addresses her in Swiss German with *das sind alles tourischte*/"those are all tourists" (l. 3), which she repeats in what is oriented to as a hearing problem after DIA1's repair initiation (l. 5–7). DIA2's postural and visual orientation deictically point out the referents of her turn, who DIA1 is able to identify unproblematically by following DIA2's gaze (l. 5–7). In the local praxeological context, DIA2's candidate categorial identification is not a mere noticing; being a "tourist" or not is consequential for work-organizational reasons as only "local" people—those with a bank account in Switzerland—may legally become potential donors.

At line 9, DIA1 can be seen to treat the situation as one of categorial ambiguity and initiates another repair sequence: the query *häsch scho gfrögt gha?*/"have you already asked?"

orients to establishing DIA1's epistemic access to the knowledge claim (Pomerantz, 1980). The example thus provides some illustration of the negotiability of identity and the impossibility of cleanly reading categories onto the bodies of many previously unacquainted people. The format, moreover, displays an orientation to DIA1 as the one who should engage with the potential targets, as part of her current activity. DIA2 then answers negatively and rushes to immediately append a speculative account through which she justifies her hesitancy to approach the passers-by (l. 11). She explicitly refers to overhearing and constructs the account as specifically perception-based, thereby framing her category ascription as readily recognizable: the perception verbs *gsehsch*/"you see" and *ghörsch*/"you hear" construct her assertion as grounded in the immediate visual/on-sight and aural/on-hearing availability of the candidate category. DIA2's scanning the scene makes explicit how pre-opening categorization work can be predicated upon unknown others' co-occurring perceptual features, including visible as well as hearable attributes, which are made relevant as identity-implicative and category-bound. For DIA2, visual appearance and speaking French (see lines 12–15) in an officially German-speaking city in Switzerland are categorizable as "recognizably tourist." This category ascription is practically consequential in that it would preclude an encounter as only "locals" can legally become potential donors. Both visual *and* aural inspection thus highlight the consequentiality of passers-by's "transportable identities," i.e., the "latent identities that 'tag along' with individuals" and are "assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization" (Zimmerman, 1998: 90–91). As DIA2's display of practical epistemology exemplifies, overhearing language samples as "inspectables" locally manifests itself as highly consequential for situated categorization.

4.10a 4.10b

DIA1 nonetheless decides to engage with the group of passers-by (l. 14). The French-language "pre-pre" (l. 16; Schegloff, 2007: 44–47) and her pointing gesture toward the group (Fig. 4.10ab) work as attention-getting devices and solicit the passers-by to attend. It is here that we observe how recipient-designed language choice, i.e., switching from pre-opening Swiss German to encounter-initiating French, retrospectively renders the dialogers' overhearing observable.

4.11

The pre-pre, however, is met with blocking responses (l. 18–19). The passer-by walking at the front of the group (PAS1) produces a minimal negative response *non* in French (note the prosodic stress), and then offers the increment *not today* (l. 18) which serves to mitigate the dispreferred declining response. The passer-by times her alternation to English—which here seems to be used instrumentally for "doing non-localness," thus showing the contingencies of language choice in this particular setting (see Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis)—to coincide

with a dismissive gesture (l. 19, Fig. 4.11). This is overlapped with a rushed *non merci* (l. 19) by another member of the group (PAS2), further mitigating the refusal. The passers-by maintain their steady pace and keep walking. The straightforwardness of the SPPs are fitted to the group's unaltered walking trajectory and, along with PAS1's explicit embodied refusal (see Mondada, 2022a), draw laughter from the group (l. 20).

The street fundraising activity offers a glimpse into some of the ways in which members engage in common-sense theorizing about appearances and produce locally relevant identity categories. It constitutes a perspicuous setting for the study of inferential categorial work, revealing members' orientations to who they take "the other" to be, in and for this occasion. The categorial practices of identification involved in these encounters are guided by passers-by's directly-available indicators of identity, such as the language/variety they are currently speaking or visual cues like physical appearance or ways of dressing. By focusing on the category-bound attributes co-present individuals may make relevant when spontaneously engaging with a previously unknown person, we see, then, how they can take advantage of overhearing language samples in the local soundscape so as to assign "strangers" a candidate linguistic identity and approach them in a recipient-designed fashion.

4.3.5 Overhearing as a device for inviting response

In Example 4.6 below, the consequentiality of overhearing becomes manifest through the exploitation of mutual sensory access when an individual engages in talk that is recognizably *produced to be overheard* by a co-present third person. Through this sort of "split-addressivity" (Linell, 1998: 106–107; see also Günthner, 1996 on "laterale Adressierung"), individuals within a common perceptual field may use their physical co-presence as a resource for inviting participation from a "targeted overhearer" (Levinson, 1988) without explicitly soliciting it (and

if there is no appropriate second/responsive action, it implies no snubbing on the part of this targeted recipient).

The data are taken from video recordings of an urban public chess playground in German-speaking Switzerland. The excerpt[23] begins after the acquainted René (RENE) and Gian (GIAN) have greeted each other and engaged in some interstitial weather talk (l. 6–8). René speaks Swiss German and Gian L2 German. Gian then delivers a noticing of a video camera set up in the immediate environment, and begins to inquire about the recording activity. Note that Luka (LUKA) is off camera, preparing the recording equipment behind the device.

Ex. 4.6) CH_BE_CHESS_20200716_game2_00.05.05

```
06 GIAN   (re:ge kunnt).
          (rain's coming)
07        (0.2)
08 RENE   isch agnähm heh?
          it's pleasant right
09        (1.1)•(.)
   gian        •turns twd cam-->
10 GIAN   mhm.
11        (.)+(0.3)+(.)
   gian      +.....+points twd cam-->
12 GIAN   wer† ist das?†#
          who  is  that
   rene      †.........†gaze twd cam-->
   fig                  #fig.4.12ab
13        (0.2)+(0.6)+(1.0)•(.)†(0.5)†•(0.2)
   gian      ->+,,,,,+
   gian                  ->•,,,,,,,,,,,•turns twd cam/LUKA-->>
   rene                      ->†,,,,,†
14 GIAN   macht# foto?
          makes  photo
   fig        #fig.13ab
```


4.12ab   4.13ab

```
15        †(0.4)†(0.7)
   rene   †.....†gaze twd LUKA-->>
16 LUKA→  eh: we- wir filmen. (0.2)∅(0.2)∅(.) the::
              we're filming
   gian                          ∅nods-∅
17        (0.2)
```

```
18 GIAN  (das) spiel?
       (the) game
19      (0.2)
20 LUKA  ja.
       yes
```

When Gian asks *wer ist das?*/"who is that?", he has a torqued body posture oriented toward the camera, simultaneously pointing in the same direction (l. 9–12, Fig. 4.12ab). This allows René to identify Luka (out of shot), who is setting up the video camera behind the device, as the likely referent of the indexical *das*. No response is forthcoming (l. 13), and after a sizable silence Gian issues the candidate answer question (Pomerantz, 1988) *macht foto?*/"makes photo?" (l. 14). The grammatical formats of both requests for information (third-person (non-standard, l. 14) interrogative morphosyntax) do not openly solicit recipiency from Luka in being *about*, vs. directly addressed *to*, the co-present bystander. However, their "recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry" (Stivers & Rossano, 2010)—i.e., Luka is implicated in Gian's talk given that the questions target Luka's epistemic domain—and the embodied delivery (postural orientation, pointing gesture, and gaze; see Fig. 4.12ab and 4.13ab) implicitly invite, but not normatively request, Luka, who is proxemically close within the perceptual field, to provide some response. Notice also that *foto* is delivered with more emphasis in the second request for information. Next, René also shifts his gaze toward Luka (l. 15), rather than to Gian, thereby suggesting that Luka is the appropriate respondent to the question.

Thus, we observe how both Gian and René bodily orient to Luka as the primary, though ostensibly uninvolved, recipient of the talk. Gian's sequence-initiating queries suggest a form of dual addressivity, selecting René as an "intermediary" but orienting to Luka as the "targeted overhearer" (Levinson, 1988; cf. Kang, 1998). Put another way, Gian can be seen to speak through René—the "surrogate recipient"—to really address his words to Luka (cf. Sacks, 1992: II, 99–100 on "doing X to A by doing Y to B"). This crucially involves Gian's engagement display, which here functions as a bodily-visual elicitation technique (C. Goodwin, 1981; Heath, 1984) that may be deployed as a less direct and potentially less delicate alternative to

addressing unknown others in a more "coercive" manner (cf. Goffman, 1971: 125 on speaking through third parties, such as young children). Thus, Gian and René are eventually able to generate responsiveness from the recognizably targeted overhearer (l. 16).

Luka displays his understanding that Gian's talk in fact invites participation from him: his taking the floor and producing the responsive second action (l. 16) not only shows him to be receptive to Gian's engagement display, but it also exhibits his prior overhearing in terms of language choice, and the sequential implicativeness thereof: while the 1.1-second silence at line 15 might be interpreted by Gian and René as resistance to respond, and the turn-initial delay token *eh:* possibly marks upcoming problems in production, Luka nonetheless produces an intra-turn switch from English to Standard German. With this, he displays an orientation to the interactional preference for aligning with the language of the preceding first action (Auer, 1995; see Chapter 2). However, after his turn-internal language revision, Luka increments the turn after 0.5 seconds with an elongated *the::*. While the increment itself indicates the onset of a word search, the language alternation back to English suggests that the underlying motivation for abandoning German is competence-related. Yet, despite his recognizably limited productive proficiency in Standard German, Luka's initial recipient-oriented language choice (his aligning with the just-prior language, German) offers evidence of his monitoring René's and Gian's talk prior to his entry into jointly focused interaction.

4.3.6 Addressing others in a language different from the one overheard

The trajectory of my argument to this point has been that people can reference overheard language samples in order to fine-tune recipient design as they address co-present others and formulate their actions toward them. The previous exemplars all show individuals displaying their adjustment to co-present others' perceived language preference by taking up the overheard language when moving into interactional engagement. This, however, is certainly not

invariably the case. Consider the final Example 4.7 below, in which prior overhearing becomes retrospectively discernible, but the speaker's initial language choice is disaligned with the overheard language.

The recording takes place in a popular tourist landmark in the Italian-speaking south of Switzerland. Daring people congregate on a 14-meter-high stone bridge and use it as a springboard for diving into a mountain river beneath. Would-be jumpers often exchange words of encouragement and/or inquire about assistance before they (attempt to) jump off the bridge. The transcript shows Aron (ARO) seeking help from co-present others as he is getting ready for the jump.

Ex. 4.7) CH_TI_SALTI_20200727_00.26.01

```
01 CAS    WART NO ‡ZWEI MINUTE.=‡
          wait two more minutes
   aro    >>g down‡slightly turns to face CAS‡gaze downward-->
02 DIR    =hhh heh heh die filme's.
                       they're filming it
03        (0.4)
04 CAS    (h)ja ich schwö:r.
           yeah I  swear

          ((5 lines omitted: heckler yells something unintelligible))

10        (1.7)•(0.5)+(0.2)†(0.4)
   aro       ->•turns twd his right-->
   bil            +gaze twd ARO-->
   cas                 †gaze twd ARO-->
11 ARO →  c- can •you .h #'elp me please?
                ->•opens up right arm-->
   fig                 #fig.4.14
12        (0.3)
13 BIL    △°yes.°
          △one step fwd-->
14        (.)△•(1.6)•(2.3)
   bil     ->△
   aro       ->•leans onto BIL's shoulder, climbs up•
15 ARO    .h hhh
16        •(0.3)•Ø©(0.3)#•(0.4)•Ø(0.3)©
   aro    •.....•'no'gest•,,,,,•
   aro          Østeps down----Ø
   aro           ©smiles------------©
   fig                 #fig.4.15
17 ARO    HHH:
18        (0.9)+(0.6)†(0.4)
   bil      ->+
   cas          ->†
19 CAS    hhh heh heh
20        (0.2)‡
   aro      ->‡gaze downward-->
21 BIL    °kobe couldn't •did it.°
   aro                   •slightly turns twd BIL-->
```

```
22        (0.2)
23 ARO    yea:h it's so difficult.

          ((11 lines omitted: BIL addresses CAS, in Swiss German, and tells him
          about his previous jump))

35        (9.2)·(.)
   aro    >>gaze downward, twd onlookers-->
   aro        ->•thumbs up-->
36 ARO →  #vado?•
           do I go
              ->•
   fig    #fig.4.16
37        (4.0)
38 ARO    HHH::‡: (.)+(.) okay let's do it,
               ->‡turns to face BIL-->>
   bil             +gaze twd ARO-->
39        (.)+(0.4)
   bil     ->+
40 BIL    °£yes£.°
41 ARO    okay.
```

4.14

When Bill (BIL), Caspar (CAS), and Dirk (DIR) arrive on the top of the bridge, Aron is already present at the jumping spot. Aron's postural orientation, with his left leg placed on the edge of the bridge (Fig. 4.14), bodily displays his preparedness to jump. A glimpse of the public observability of the scene is offered when Caspar loudly addresses spectators (l. 1), who seem to be filming the spectacle (l. 2), in the crowd of onlookers beneath the bridge. This is visibly oriented to by Aron, who slightly turns toward Caspar as he utters *ZWEI MINUTE* (l. 1). Caspar and Dirk's talk is in Swiss German, and hence not in the local language of this Italian-speaking region of Switzerland. Eventually, Aron bodily orients to his right (l. 10) and addresses the fellow would-be jumpers with a request for help. He does so in English (*c- can you .h 'elp me please?*, l. 11). Note the hitches in the production of the turn, a first possible sign of English

not being his habitual language.[24] Almost concomitantly, he brings up his right arm (l. 11, Fig. 4.14), which bodily projects the kind of "help" he is soliciting. Bill, who is positioned nearest to Aron, demonstrates his understanding by deploying the English-language compliance token °*yes.*° (l. 13). With this, he aligns with the first-position language choice. Simultaneously, he makes the proxemic adjustment (l. 13–14) so as to support Aron, who is stepping on the edge of the bridge (l. 14).

Once he has stepped on the edge of the bridge, Aron, however, then displays that he is not ready to jump by producing a *no* gesture and stepping down, while smiling (l. 16, Fig. 4.15). A lapse develops (l. 18), and Caspar eventually breaks the silence with a chuckle (l. 19). This is followed by a quiet comment from Bill in L2 English (°*kobe couldn't did it.*°,[25] l. 21), which is met by Aron's account *yea:h it's <u>so</u> difficult* (l. 23). After hesitating for a while, Aron gathers the courage for a second attempt at jumping. Before jumping, however, he addresses acquainted onlookers beneath the bridge in what appears to be an orientation to coordinating with filming spectators (l. 36, Fig. 4.16; note the thumbs-up gesture). Notably, he does so in Italian

---

[24] While the transcript does not do adequate justice to Aron's actual *in-situ* pronunciation of the turn, the non-aspirate realization of "help" (*'elp*) already shows signs of Italian being his L1.

[25] Bill's recognitional person reference likely refers to the late Kobe Bryant (1978–2020), widely regarded as one of the greatest basketball players of all time. Bill's turn is thus hearable as orienting to Aron's physical appearance (given his athletic build and skin tone), or "transportable identity" (Zimmerman, 1998).

(*vado?*/"do I go?"). Aron then goes on to again address Bill with a code-switch to the locally negotiated *lingua franca*, English (l. 38). In the next turn, Bill delivers the compliance token °£*yes*.£° with smiley-voice (l. 40) and proceeds to assist Aron.

When transitioning from co-presence to interactional engagement, English is thus proposed, and acquiesced to, as the language-of-interaction between Aron and the other would-be jumpers. By contrast with the prior examples, Excerpt 4.7 shows an instance of a participant addressing co-present others in a language *different from the one overheard*. Aron's encounter-initiating, participant-related use of English shows signs of his prior overhearing, while simultaneously implying ascriptions of linguistic incompetence: on the one hand, by not matching Bill, Casper, and Dirk's overheard—and presumably preferred—language choice, Swiss German, Aron possibly displays that he does not feel sufficiently confident in his German-language skills. On the other hand, though, Aron's disaligned language choice displays an assumption that adopting *lingua franca* English is preferred over resorting to the local language, Italian—a language that not only turns out to be in Aron's repertoire, but also appears to be his preferred language choice (as we learn from line 36). Through this, he tacitly categorizes Bill, Casper, and Dirk as not having sufficient-for-all-practical-purposes language abilities in Italian. In lieu of imposing Italian, which Aron *could* have elected to use, prior overhearing permits him to discard the local language as the (possibly normatively expected) guide for language choice, and make inferences about co-present others' potential linguistic-social identity (i.e., "placing" them as Swiss German-speaking or -dominant tourists). This in turn enables him to adjust to his co-participants' perceived linguistic preferences and facilitate the (ostensibly) non-Italian-speaking Swiss Germans' participation, here by resorting to *lingua franca* English as a locally oriented-to *passe-partout* solution in a tourism context. Though this language choice is different from the one overheard initially, it still instantiates a form of recipient design.

4.4   Conclusion

This chapter provided an empirical exploration of the previously underexamined members'
practice of overhearing (Goffman, 1981) and its consequentiality for how people organize their
entry into a face-to-face engagement in public space. It was shown that individuals who happen
to populate, and share sensory access to, the same environment can take advantage of their co-
proximity and the resultant permeability of participation boundaries to (pre-)adjust their first
words when spontaneously engaging with co-present others. Referencing overheard language
instantiates a basic form of alignment with would-be interactants. Overhearing permits
individuals to orient to co-present others' perceived linguistic preferences and fine-tune
recipient design prior to moving into interactional engagement—even when initial language
choice is disaligned with the previously overheard language (Ex. 4.7).

    With regard to the accountability of overhearing, analysis demonstrated that
overhearing reveals itself predominantly retroactively, via the "next-turn proof procedure"
(Sacks et al., 1974), but also *in situ*, via overhearers' visible embodied "engagement displays"
(C. Goodwin, 1981: ch. 3) and/or explicit formulations (Ex. 4.5). The analysis therefore
highlights the need to take account of the moments preceding the opening *sensu stricto* and
look into individuals' multimodal conduct before mutually focused engagement in the
encounter.

    In the examined multilingual chance encounters, incidentally co-present people who
had no *a priori* knowledge of one another's linguistic repertoire were shown to exploit their
sensory access to overheard language samples as a resource in the service of bringing off a
recipient-designed action. Unacquainted recipients were shown to respond to an initiating first-
pair part action in the language in which they were addressed. Through this, the participants
relatively smoothly settled on a language-of-interaction in and through the first minimal (two-

turn) adjacency pair sequence of their encounter (but cf. Ex. 4.3) and co-constructed the incipient interaction as monolingual. On-the-spot assessments through overhearing help tailoring language selection to particular recipients' perceived linguistic preferences, *without* needing to engage in overt metalinguistic topicalization of preferences for language use in the early moments of interaction (cf. Heller, 1978). This shows that while aspects of language choice and language negotiation often bubble to the interactional surface and are given explicit attention when "strangers" spontaneously strike up a conversation in a linguistically heterogeneous environment (see Chapter 5), unacquainted people may also enter into interaction simply by starting to use a language that they deem fit for the particular situation. Relatedly, the analysis illustrated that not only does overhearing co-present others guide initial language choice, but the local language(s) spoken in the region also play a role. By adopting a local language for their opening utterances, participants reveal that they are also guided by the normativity of using (one of) the local language(s) in their attempt to appropriately design their opening for this recipient on this occasion (this normativity, however, does not hover above or is external to the actual situation, but is actively, locally and reflexively produced by the members; cf. Myers-Scotton, 1988 on the "unmarked code" of a setting).

Moreover, by examining how participants themselves accountably orient to, and exploit, their being overhearers, the study is in line with an important body of previous interactional work that highlighted the moment-by-moment fluidity of participation (e.g., C. Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), while simultaneously demonstrating that the boundary between "focused" and "unfocused" interaction is fundamentally porous (D'Antoni et al., 2022; De Stefani & Mondada, 2018; Mondada, 2009). Additionally, by investigating how individuals mobilize a range of embodied and multiple linguistic resources to accomplish an overhearing-based shift into jointly focused interaction, the present chapter contributes to recent interactional scholarship on the relation between embodied participation and

multilingualism-in-interaction (e.g., Greer & Ogawa, 2021; Harjunpää, 2021a; Mondada, 2012, 2018c, 2018c, in prep.; Oloff, 2018).

The research presented in this chapter demonstrated how co-present people display themselves to be attentive to *overhearables* in the local *multilingual soundscape*, and reveal their real-time analysis of who they consider their recipient to be, at this moment, along linguistic lines. It thus invites reflection on members' *in-situ* orientations to the aural landscape of public space, a relatively unexplored area of study (but see Merlino et al., 2023) that feeds into *linguistic landscape* research, which has been primarily concerned with visual aspects of "superdiverse" public places (Gorter & Cenoz, 2023).

By showing how people orient to social information "given off" (Goffman, 1963) by other co-present individuals in a gathering, and draw categorial inferences based on overhearing other-language talk—attended to as an aurally available "inspectable" (Schegloff, 1979: 64)—, the chapter contributes to the discussion of how language choice relates to membership categorization (e.g., Auer, 1998; Cashman, 2005; Debois, in prep.; Mondada, 2004; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002). More specifically, the study serves as a contribution to the previous literature by expanding the notion of "on-sight" (Paoletti, 1998) to on-sight-*and-hearing* categorization, demonstrating the consequentiality thereof for how co-present people open a face-to-face interaction.

More broadly, the analysis presented here throws some empirical light on the inferential categorial work done routinely by fellow users of a public place. It described how inferences are drawn from inspectables mundanely (aurally and visually) available to co-present people witnessing some scene in a shared environment. Especially the dialogers' street fundraising provides a productive site for the empirical analysis of some of the ways in which members assess appearances on the fly and ascribe categories in the category-rich arena that is public space (Sacks, 1972). Making appropriate situational inferences instantiates a form of

"professional vision" (C. Goodwin, 1994), and the present work helps elucidate how overhearing figures into members' methods of inference-making and categorization.

This study presented a praxeological take on overhearing with a focus on how it can provide previously unacquainted people with a resource for recipient-designing initial language choice when moving into interaction. This, however, is barely a small tip of the iceberg of the ways in which prior overhearing contributes to action formation and shapes practices of engaging with others. While matters of language choice readily lend themselves to analysis of the accountability and consequentiality of overhearing, there are many other, yet less explicit, ways in which overhearing enters into the composition of social action. Precisely what those are is an area deserving of future research.

There are several other opportunities for research that could build on the findings reported here. For example, future work might specifically target cases in which there appears to be a "cross-cutting" (Schegloff, 2007: 76) of prioritizations for orienting to *on-sight* or *on-hearing* categorizations.[26] In several instances that were reported to me anecdotally (not video-recorded and thus not available for examination), individuals appeared to prioritize co-present others' physical appearance (the recipients being visibly from a different racial background in all cases), rather than the language they had previously overheard, as a guide for initial language choice. More concretely, this typically involved the use and maintenance of (*lingua franca*) English instead of (one of) the local language(s) spoken in the area. A collection of cases suggesting this sort of "cross-cutting" would make a fascinating complement to and extension of the present analysis.

Relatedly, future research might delve into greater detail with regard to other categorial practices of identification and recognition in public space (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018). To organize the social world they live in, members of society ongoingly and commonsensically

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[26] Thank you to an anonymous *ROLSI* reviewer for suggesting this.

categorize others as a certain type of person. We have only begun to get to grips with issues related to immediate, at-a-glance, on-sight (see, for a start, D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Jayyusi, 1984; Mondada, 2022a; Sudnow, 1972) and on-hearing categorization. For example, looking more specifically into "overseeing" (Mondada, 2023; the "visual equivalent" of *overhearing*) as a local embodied practice, or more sustained forms of "doing looking" (sometimes glossed as "people-watching;" Lofland, 1998), would provide a further avenue for exploration into how members recognizably use, orient to, and produce (the sociability of) public space.

5 SOME PRACTICES FOR NEGOTIATING LANGUAGE

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we saw how individuals who share public space use their prior overhearing as a resource for tailoring language choice to the perceived linguistic preference(s) of unknown co-present others. The findings suggested that overhearing allows would-be interactants to make recipient-designed pre-adjustments of language choice, without needing to explicitly topicalize preferences for language use in the early moments of interaction. However, while overhearing can provide individuals with an economic and efficient resource for dealing with the basic practical problem of language choice before the actual opening of jointly focused interaction, it is routinely during the opening phase proper that previously unacquainted participants attend to the issue of language choice. The first few turns-at-talk are an important locus for co-establishing a shared language-of-interaction. Openings of chance encounters between previously unacquainted people present an opportune site for examining some of the moment-by-moment practices through wich language choice is locally negotiated in a first-contact context, and a closer look into their emergence and organization provides an opportunity to highlight that, far from being pre-determined (by, e.g., prescriptive, extrasituational norms or formal policies), language choice is a contingent "interactional achievement" (Schegloff, 1986) that is co-constructed *in situ*, in the first few turns of the conversation—and possibly eventually renegotiated in and through moment-by-moment interaction.

In this chapter, I will zoom in on how previously unacquainted members of the public collaboratively negotiate the language in which their impromptu interaction is to be conducted. Specifically, I am concerned with some of the practices through which individuals locally

propose ("explicitly" or "embeddedly") the use of a certain language-of-interaction, and how co-participants position themselves as aligning, or disaligning, with a given language proposal in the turn-by-turn negotiation of language choice. Analysis illuminates not only how language choice is co-accomplished in the incipient stage of a conversation, but also more generally throws empirical light on how individuals mobilize their multiple linguistic and embodied resources to coordinate entry into jointly focused interaction with "fellow users of a public place" (Sacks, cited in Goffman, 1971: 7, fn. 5). Thus, through this, the present chapter expands upon and deepens our understanding of language choice and language negotiation in incipient multilingual encounters, and contributes to the study of the sequential organization of face-to-face openings.

In what follows, I will first provide a brief background on prior multilingualism research into code-switching and language negotiation, with a focus on social-interactional work (§5.2). Most of the chapter will then be dedicated to examining a set of practices of *explicit language negotiation* (§5.4 and §5.5). The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of practices of *embedded language negotiation*, and the possible consequentiality of aspects of the interactional setting to the moment-by-moment negotiation of language choice in openings (§5.6).

5.2   Background: Preliminaries on language negotiation in interaction

As outlined in Chapter 2, the linguistic design of initiating actions sets up sequential expectations for the language to be adopted in the responding action, and previous investigations of language alternation showed that switching in responsive sequential loci can accomplish multiple interactional jobs. Most relevantly for us, alternating language in second/responsive position is one way of flagging up linguistic preferences. Respondents can reject a first-position language choice and propose an alternative language simply by starting

to use that alternative language, leaving it to the co-participant to see the turn as a bid for a switch of the "base language" (Auer, 1995, 2000) of interaction. Such "preference-related switching" is often found in sequences of *language negotiation* (Auer, 1984a, 1995) during openings, wherein participants interactionally establish the language in which their encounter is to be conducted. A schematic pattern of language negotiation sequences is shown below (where letters stand for speakers, and numbers for languages/varieties; adapted from Auer, 1995: 125):

A1 B2 A1 B2 A1//B1 A1 B1 A1

We observe that "language negotiation" here encompasses a stretch of talk-in-interaction in which participants A and B engage in inter-turn code-switching and do not converge on a common language/variety for some time. The negotiation is resolved when one participant, B in the schema above, begins to align with—and thus accept—A's proposed language 1, thereby establishing it as the language-of-interaction, at least temporarily.

In the data under consideration here, such instances of code-switching within language negotiation sequences are first and foremost preference-related (Auer, 1995) in that they are motivated by speakers' linguistic competencies (but see, e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Heller, 1978 on preference-related switching that is socio-politically motivated). Through this, speakers may indicate that they do not feel sufficiently comfortable using the language proposed by their co-participants and resort to a language in which they have greater (productive) competencies. Especially during the nascent moments of interactions between unacquainted people, in which participants begin to discover more about each other, language negotiation sequences imply continuous, on-line, back-and-forth evaluations of the other's linguistic competencies. Participants make preference ascriptions as they monitor one another's

speech production, and may eventually adjust their choice of language to the assessed linguistic abilities of the other. Convergence of language choice can instantiate, then, a form of accommodation to the other's perceived language skills, taking on a recipient-oriented competence-related meaning.

While language negotiation can be carried out explicitly, overt metalinguistic topicalizations of language choice were observed to occur rather infrequently for establishing the language-of-interaction outside educational/classroom settings (e.g., Hazel, 2015; Mondada, 2018c; Raymond, 2020; but see Heller, 1978). As Auer (1984a) points out:

> One could expect bilingual participants to settle language negotiations on a metalinguistic level, i.e. by uttering their wishes or proposals, insisting on them, or revising them. Although such explicit negotiations occur, *they seem to be typical of special occasions (such as first meetings between strangers)*. (Auer, 1984a: 46; emphasis added)

As analysis will demonstrate, language choice can certainly be oriented to as a salient matter and become an explicit topic of discussion in the opening phase of a "first meeting between strangers" (§5.4, 5.5), but this need not invariably be the case (§5.6). Participants who are not familiar with each other's linguistic competencies and preferences will be shown to engage in language negotiation both through metacommunicative practices of "formulating" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970), including overt topicalization of language choice, as well as through more implicit, inference-rich practices of language alternation that crucially depend on their positioning within a sequence of interaction.

5.3   Analysis: Starting points

The ensuing analyses present a range of practices through which previously unacquainted members of the public indicate their preference(s) for language use and negotiate a shared

language-of-interaction in the incipient stage of their focused encounter. Adopting a sequential and praxeological approach to language choice, I will explore the interactional work that goes into co-establishing a shared language that the participants deem adequate for all practical purposes. I will illustrate some of the linguistic and embodied practices through which individuals enter into interaction and propose the use of a certain language-of-interaction, as well as how co-interactants position themselves as aligning, or disaligning, with a given language proposal in the turn-by-turn negotiation of language choice. Analysis of this set of practices, occurring within different sequential environments, reveals some of the ways in which interactants display, claim, and ascribe language competencies and preferences on a moment-by-moment basis as they emergently discover the (non)availability of relevant linguistic resources and assess unknown others' linguistic repertoire during the early moments of interaction.

The analyses are organized around a continuum of cases of *explicit* and *embedded* language negotiation. The remainder of this section and the beginning of the next briefly discuss two initial, contrastive cases of how participants initially design bids for language. These cases fall on the extreme ends of the continuum in that they show two diametrically opposed ways of entering into interaction and proposing a possible language for the encounter: simply presupposing the availability of a shared language and immediately moving into the first topic (Ex. 5.1), on the one hand, and explicitly asking about the availability of a shared language before then introducing the reason-for-the-interaction (Ex. 5.2), on the other. Recipients will be shown to immediately align with these language proposals, thereby co-establishing a shared language-of-interaction in and through the first adjacency pair sequence of the chance encounter. The bulk of the chapter will then be devoted to describing how participants respond to opening turns in second position and make a change of language relevant next through what I termed "do you speak X?" requests (§5.4) and "I/We don't speak

X" disclaimers (§5.5). Finally, these practices of explicit language negotiation will be contrasted with embedded language negotiation in the conlcusion (§5.6), where participants will be shown to check and flag up preferences for language use more indirectly, rather than topicalizing language choice explicitly at a metacommunicative level. I will provide brief illustrations of practices of "are you X?" other-categorization, "I am X" self-categorization, and cases of embedded language negotiation that span over longer stretches of talk.

Language choice is not a straightforward matter in chance encounters between people whose linguistic competencies and preferences are entirely unknown to each other—even more so when such an encounter takes place in a linguistically heterogeneous, multilingual environment. Speakers can deploy various practices when they don't know in which language(s) they can address unknown others. For example, one way of entering into interaction is simply by starting to use a language that is plausibly available in the situation at hand. In first-time openings, starting the conversation in a certain language becomes a bid for that language and constitutes one way of checking the availability of that proposed language, without overtly topicalizing preferences for language use. The findings from Chapter 1 indicate that initial language choice can be informed by on-sight-and-hearing categorization of co-present others, providing cues for tailoring language selection to particular recipients' perceived linguistic preferences and thus constituting a show of recipient design. As also seen in the prior chapter, and further exemplified below, another factor that informs members' approaches to initial language choice is the local language(s) spoken in the environment at hand. By adopting a local language for their opening turns, speakers show themselves to be guided by, and reflexively constitute, the normativity of using (one of) the local language(s) in their attempt to appropriately design their opening for this recipient on this occasion.

Let me briefly exemplify how previously unacquainted people can come to a tacit agreement about which language to adopt for their impromptu encounter simply by using a

certain language in their opening, which, in a first-contact context, becomes a straightforward way of checking if that language is available. In Ex. 5.1, a reporter (REP) working for a local German-speaking radio station approaches pedestrians (PED) in the streets of an officially bilingual French- and German-speaking city in Switzerland to conduct person-on-the-street interviews. The example shows the reporter to propose Swiss German as a possible language-of-interaction simply by addressing a pedestrian in Swiss German in the opening turn. The pedestrian will be shown to "contiguously" (Sacks, [1973] 1987) respond to the initiating action in the language in which she is addressed. She immediately and unproblematically aligns with the language of the initiating action in second/responsive position, thereby smoothly settling on a language-of-interaction in and through the first minimal, two-turn adjacency pair sequence of the encounter and co-constructing the incipient interaction as monolingual.

Ex. 5.1) CH_BIE_MICTROT_20191015_MICCH_00.14.40

```
01 REP    ↑ha:llo,•∅tschuldigung,+*i bi vom canal drü,∅ mi würd churz wunder #näh
          hello    excuse me   I am from Channel Three I'd quickly be interested in
   rep    >>gaze twd PED-->>
   ped    >>gz fwd•gaze twd REP-->>
   ped    >>wks fwd∅adjusts trajectory to her left----∅stops-->>
   rep    >>walks fwd twd PED----+stops in front of PED-->>
   ped                           *smiles-->
   fig                                                          fig.5.1#
02        ebb du dini heizig scho hesch aglah?
          if  you have already turned on your heating
03 PED    £nei.£ h
           no
04 REP    wieso noni? wenn heschs vor?*
          why not yet when do you plan to do it
   ped                           ->*
05 REP    i has gärn chaut hhh heh heh ähm (.) ke ahnig. wiu se d schwiegereutere
          I like it cold            uhm    dunno    because the parents-in-law
06        alöhn. mir wohne im gliche huus u, (.) genau. sie löh se denn irgendwenn
          turn them on. we live in the same house and, exactly. they'll turn them on
07        emol ah wenn sie s gfühl hei. h hh
          sometime when they see it fit
```

5.1

As the reporter intercepts the pedestrian, she uses Swiss German to deliver her through-produced opening utterance (composed of a greeting-summons, an institutional self-identification, and the reason-for-the-approach; l. 1–2). The pedestrian begins to smile during this utterance-in-progress (l. 1, Fig. 5.1), and following its completion, she immediately and straightforwardly answers in Swiss German with the negative response token £*nei.*£/"no" (produced with smiley-voice, l. 3), thereby aligning at the level of language choice. The reporter then goes on to ask follow-up questions (l. 4), which the pedestrian answers in a more elaborate and language-aligned fashion (l. 5–7), reinforcing Swiss German as the locally etsablished language-of-interaction.

Ex. 5.1 may appear overwhelmingly common and relatively unremarkable at first glance in terms of language choice. However, it illustrates important features of a sequential, EMCA approach to language choice. It offers a glimpse of how opening turns may be oriented to as setting the "default language" of the encounter, with which co-participants immediately and unproblematically align in their contiguous response (produced readily without manifested trouble, hesitancy, delay, account, etc.) in this initial case. The example provides some demonstration of the *sequential implicativeness of language choice* (Auer, 1984a, 1995;

Chapter 2) and shines a spotlight on its importance to impromptu public interactions, illustrating that the linguistic design of an encounter-initiating action is locally treated as consequential for the choice of language in responsive/second position. Put another way, in a first-contact context, the language adopted in a first action sets up sequential expectations and indicates a local preference for the language to be adopted in the next action. In this way, previously unacquainted people locally display their preferences for language use in the moment-by-moment unfolding of the incipient interaction, highlighting how linguistic identity is an interactionally emergent, here-and-now accomplishment. What is particularly interesting about examples such as the one above is that it is embedded within a larger context of societal multilingualism in which various languages/varieties co-exist (both *de facto* and *de jure*). Language choice is not a clear-cut issue in such settings and can be seen as somewhat "open" initially, or at least "less restricted" in terms of the larger-scale normativity of deploying a local language (to which participants can, and do, orient).

We might be tempted to think that this larger societal context with a multilingual demographic profile implies that language choice is automatically up for debate. But we saw that *locally*, only one language is proposed as an option from the outset of the encounter. It is relevant to note that in the case of straightforward language alignment examined above, and consistently across the larger dataset, individuals present unknown others only with one language in their opening utterances (Swiss German in the above case); there is no intra-turn code-switching in these openings (cf. Heller, 1978; Raymond, 2020 on designedly bilingual openings). Such opening utterances, with their monolingual turn designs, are thus not "preferentially agnostic with regard to language choice" (Raymond, 2020: 416), and a change of language—if necessary—has to be requested in some way or another by the addressed party. In the above case, the approached pedestrian is shown to smoothly align with the single language proposed in first position to implement her responding action, thereby interactionally

confirming that that language will be used, at least temporarily, in the encounter (cf. Conrad & Elmiger, 2010, for exemplifications of what has been referred to as the "modèle biennois" (Kolde, 1981), i.e., practices of linguistic "accommodation" frequently observable in the public space of bilingual French-(Swiss) German Biel/Bienne).

While this minimal two-turn process of language negotiation happens in an *embedded* manner in Ex. 5.1 (cf. §5.6), language-related concerns may also be addressed more *explicitly*, in "formulated" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970) and more-than-minimal ways, during the early moments of interaction. I turn to this next.

5.4   "Do you speak X?" requests

Just as simply starting the conversation in a certain language becomes a way of checking and testing out whether that proposed language is shared (for all practical purposes) with the unknown other in a first-contact context, so too do the various practices to be examined in this and the following sections. However, while previously unacquainted participants were shown to decide on a language-of-interaction tacitly across a minimal two-turn sequence in Ex. 5.1, the ensuing analyses show participants to topicalize language more overtly, including at an explicit metalinguistic level. We will see that depending on the particular sequential environment they inhabit, these practices (and the way they are multimodally packaged) implement a variety of actions, and occasion language-related pre-sequences or insertion sequences (Schegloff, 2007) in and through which choice of language gets metacommunicatively dealt with.

I will begin with an initial illustrative example of a participant deploying a "do you speak X?" request as a language negotiation practice. Compare the example examined earlier with the following case (Ex. 5.2). While the extract also provides an instance of how previously unacquainted participants smoothly and unproblematically settle on the language of their

incipient encounter in their first turns-at-talk, metalinguistic considerations here become exposed to public view in and through a *pre*-sequence specially devoted to explicitly establishing the language of the interaction. Taken from the same setting as Ex. 5.1 above, this case shows a French-dominant reporter to approach pedestrians, and we observe a different sequential-interactional makeup of the opening: by contrast with the prior example, instead of simply presupposing the availability of a shared language and immediately moving into the first topic, the reporter here overtly topicalizes the pedestrian's French-language competence in her opening turn. This explicit *a priori* orientation to language-related concerns is an activity-specific way of opening the street encounter, which is due to institutional regulations and a top-down language policy: the bilingual radio station documented here follows a procedure that is organized by a clear-cut language-based division of labor. That is, French-speaking reporters are to limit themselves to conducting interviews in French, while Swiss German-speaking journalists are to only approach potential interviewees in Swiss German. As a corollary of this doubly-monolingual *modus operandi*, the reporter shadowed here typically immediately launches a pre-sequence through which she checks on the availability of her preferred language via an explicit "do you speak X?" question.

Ex. 5.2) CH_BIE_MICTROT_20191022_MICFR_00.10.50

```
01 REP →  madame·+bonjour, excusez-moi, est-ce que vous+ avez la chance de parler
          Ma'am   hello    excuse  me   are you fortunate enough to speak
    ped   >>walks fwd-->
    rep   >>gaze twd PED-->
    rep   >>w fwd+adjusts to her L--------------------+side-by-side w/ PED-->
    ped        •gaze twd REP-->
02     →  français?·
          French
    ped           ->•looks down at phone-->
03 PED    £oui(h)£ hhh [heh
           yes
04 REP                 [mais c'est +fo- mais c'est formidable∅·madame,
                        but that's  gr- but  that's great      Ma'am
    rep                            ->+stops-->>
    ped                                                   ->∅trs twd REP, stops-->>
    ped                                                   ->•gaze twd REP-->>
05 PED    h je sais p(h)as H HHH ±[HAH  #ça- ça- ±ça dépend.
           I  don't know           it- it-  it depends
06 REP                           ±[mais-# je fais-
```

```
                                       but-   I  do
     rep                  ->±gz twd her left±gaze twd PED-->
     fig                              #fig.5.2
07 REP    je fais un micro-trottoir? [pour•©canal ±trois la radio, [sur le&
          I  do   a  street interview for Channel  Three the radio  about
08 PED                               [oui,•©                        [mhm,
                                      yes                            uh huh
     ped                     ->•looks down-->
     ped                          ©puts phone in purse-->
     rep                                 ->±
09 REP    &changement d'heure,
           changing the clocks
10        (.)•(0.2)
     ped   ->•gaze twd REP-->>
11 PED    oui.©
          yes
     ped    ->©
12 REP    on parle pas d'élections, (.) [hein. on parle du changement d'heure.
          we don't talk about elections  PRT   we talk about changing the clocks
13 PED                               [h hhh ça c'est bon. j'y connais r(h)ien
                                       that's good   I know nothing about it

14        hhh heh hah hah
```


5.2

Over the course of her opening utterance, the reporter adjusts her walking trajectory such that she can move into a side-by-side formation (l. 1). In the through-produced opening, she deploys a French-language greeting and the attention-getter *excusez-moi,*/"excuse me" before eventually asking an explicit question *about* and *in* French (*est-ce que vous avez la chance de parler français?*/"are you fortunate enough to speak French", l. 1–2). The question is designed in a humorous way, which is treated as such by the pedestrian who produces her aligning French-language positive response with smiley-voice and punctuates it with laugh tokens (*£oui(h)£ hhh heh*, l. 3). Thus, in and through the language-related pre-sequence, the participants establish the pre-condition for the street interview to take place—namely that

French-language competence is shared between the unacquainted interactants. After such language-related concerns have been preliminarily addressed and French has been overtly established as the language-of-interaction, the reporter can then move on to the business of the encounter and disclose the reason-for-the-approach (l. 7). Of note is that although the pedestrian begins to check her phone right upon the delivery of her go-ahead response at line 3—possibly mobilized as an "involvement shield" (Goffman, 1963) to enact unavailability—, she eventually displays some level of commitment to the encounter by too coming to a halt (l. 4) and putting away her phone (l. 8). While this provides some demonstration of how alignment at the level of language choice and mobility go hand in hand and are reflexively organized in the emergent co-construction of a stationary interactional space (Mondada, in prep.), we observe some hesitancy on the part of the pedestrian who at line 5 (*h je sais p(h)as H HHH HAH ça- ça- ça dépend.*/"I d(h)on't know H HHH HAH it- it- it depends") displays an orientation to the initial language request as a *preliminary* move projecting more to come in a larger interactional project. The way the first few moments of the interaction are organized thus shows how both the approaching as well as approached party orient to, and reflexively constitute, the encounter as not an ordinary one, but one that is more task-oriented and characterized by a certain institutionality. Members of the public can, and do, orient to this very early on—before even entering in a mutually ratified state of jointly focused interaction—, providing some illustration of the reporters' on-sight categorizability. In this regard, the microphone is an especially important material artefact that makes the category incumbency as "reporter" or "interviewer" glance-available, thus contributing to producing the accountability of the approach.

Though not uncommon, presuming one's preferred language is shared and simply starting to use it without prior confirmation (Ex. 5.1), or asking outright about the other's

language in and through an encounter-initiating pre-sequence (Ex. 5.2),[27] are but two among several practices for checking on relevant linguistic resources and negotiating language choice when entering into interaction with previously unacquainted individuals. The following sections describe some further interactional practices through which members can locally display their preferences for language use and (re)negotiate the language-of-interaction in more or less explicit and exposed, or implicit and "embedded" (cf. Jefferson, 1987), ways.

Due to its specific praxeological context, the prior street-interview example is a perspicuous case of how participants may overtly show themselves to be concerned with language choice by initiating an encounter with an explicit question about language. In the same vein, the following examples also show unacquainted participants to check on the availability of a language through a yes/no interrogative. However, encounter-initiating sequences do not run off smoothly here. Rather than being deployed as a way to initiate the encounter, the explicit metacommunicative questions to be analyzed below act as "trouble-flags" (Jordan & Fuller, 1975) that occur in a different sequential environment, *responding* to opening utterances. Addressed participants are thereby shown to *preemptively* introduce language choice as a pressing issue, and initiate repair of language choice in an insertion sequence specially devoted to changing the proposed language-of-interaction. As we will see, these interrogatives typically take the form of some version of "do you speak X?", with turn designs that are characterized by differing morphosyntactic complexity that can, but does not necessarily, involve language alternation.

In the following two sub-sections, I will first examine instances in which participants respond to opening utterances with a *language-disaligned* "do you speak X?" question (§5.4.1), and then move on to consider *language-aligned* "do you speak X" questions (§5.4.2).

---

[27] Note the parallel with practices of "oversupposing and undertelling" vs. "undersupposing and overtelling" for achieving recognition in phone call openings (Schegloff, 1979: 50–51).

5.4.1 Language-disaligned

In this sub-section, I will analyze how approached participants respond to opening utterances with an explicit language-disaligned "do you speak X?" interrogative. Examples 5.3 through 5.5 show how such code-switched responses sequentially delete the prior initiating action by implementing a direct request *for* an alternative language *in* an alternative language. In each of these examples, approached participants thus work to address language-related concerns *at first possible opportunity* upon moving into jointly focused interaction.

We see an example of this in Excerpt 5.3 below, in which a dialoger (DIA) approaches a pedestrian (PED) who responds to the charity solicitor's Swiss German opening with a question about the availability of English:

Ex. 5.3) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.52.34

```
01          (0.4)±(.)+
   dia    >>scans envrnmt±sees PED, sustained gaze at her-->
   dia    >>wks fwd+adjusts trajectory to her right, twd PED-->
   ped    >>wks fwd-->
02 DIA    h ↑wow.
03          (1.4)†(0.2)
   dia         †...-->
04 DIA    >tschuldigung madame,<†#
             excuse me    Ma'am
   dia    .....................†LH point twd PED-->
   fig                         #fig.5.3ab
```


5.3a   5.3b

```
05          (0.5)∅(.)
   ped       ->∅slows down walking pace-->
06 DIA    >zwei •se[kundä,<+
            two    seconds
```

```
07 PED →          [En:glish?
   ped        •lifts hands-->
   dia                  ->+stops in front of PED-->>
08      (0.2)
09 DIA  ah it's not a• problem# at all.• we [can talk in English.
10 PED                                        [hh h
   ped             ->•opens out palms--•
   fig                       #fig.5.4
```


5.4

```
11 PED  o(h)k(h)ay.
12      (0.2)
13 DIA  what's your name?∅
   ped                    ->∅stops-->>
```

The dialoger is scanning the local environment, eventually spotting a pedestrian who is walking up the street (l. 1). She alters her walking trajectory and begins to approach the pedestrian (l. 1). During her approach, as she is about to be positioned in front of the oncoming pedestrian, the dialoger says >*tschuldigung madame,*</"excuse me Ma'am", which is timed to co-occur with an addressee point toward the pedestrian (l. 4, Figs. 5.3ab). With this summoning action in Swiss German, the dialoger proposes Swiss German as a possible language-of-interaction. In the 0.6-sec silence that develops at line 4, the pedestrian first responds embodiedly by slowing down her walking pace. Eventually, in partial overlap with a turn-expansion by the dialoger (l. 5), the pedestrian preemptively produces a request for a change of language with the somewhat hesitant *En:glish?* (l. 6), produced with recognizable English phonology [ˈɪŋ.ɡlɪʃ]. With this request *for* and *in* English, she embeddedly rejects Swiss German, while simultaneously inviting English. This coincides with a hand lift that eventuates in a palm display (l. 7–10, Fig. 5.4), acting as a multimodal repair-initiating *gestalt* (Oloff, 2018; cf.

Mondada, 2014c) that indicates a language-based understanding problem.[28] Through her response *ah it's not a problem at all. we can talk in English.* (l. 8), the charity solicitor displays her interpretation of the interrogative as not merely a request for information, but as a request for a change of language. This is made explicit as she grants the request for language not only by simply alternating to English in her responsive action, but also confirming it with the metacommunicative "formulation" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970) *we can talk in English*. It is relevant to note that although the dialoger aligns almost immediately with the pedestrian's use of English (l. 8), perhaps paradoxically it is the *no-problem* response that reflexively flags the possibly problematic character of language alternation, thereby treating the language-disalignment in second/responsive position as marked. After having explicitly negotiated English as the language-of-interaction in an inserted interrogative sequence, the pedestrian comes to a halt and commits to the interaction within a stationary interactional space, permitting the charity worker to transition into sociable talk that paves the way for the business of the encounter (l. 13).

A further example of how participants respond to an opening turn with a preemptive question about an alternative language is found in Extract 5.4, in which two charity workers (DIA1 and DIA2) approach pedestrians as a "with" (Goffman, 1971):

Ex. 5.4) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.48.10

```
01 DIA1   ey komm.•
          ey come
   dia2   >>checks phone•turns to face DIA1-->
   dia1   >>scans envrnmnt-->
   ped1   >>stationary in front of shop-->>
   ped2   >>stationary in front of shop-->>
   ped1   >>gaze fwd, twd DIA-->
   ped2   >>gaze twd phone-->
02 DIA2   °fuck.°±∆
   dia1        ->±turns to face DIA2-->
   ped2        ->∆gaze twd DIA-->
03 DIA1   anja, die± zwei mäd[els.+∅=komm.
          Anja  those two gals        come
```

---

[28] From the available camera angles we cannot tell whether this also coincides with a frown, eyebrow movements, or other puzzled facial expressions and quizzical looks (see Oloff, 2018).

```
04 DIA2                          [ja:,
                                  yes
   dia1        ->±turns to face PEDs-->
   dia1                      +walks twd PED-->
   dia2                      Øwalks twd PED-->
05      (0.3)△
   ped2    ->△manipulates phone, gaze twd it-->l.22
06 DIA2 oki.⊥
        alrighty
   ped1   ->⊥gaze twd PED2-->
07      (1.9)⊥(.)
   ped1    ->⊥gaze twd DIA-->>
08 DIA2 bernie isch immer noch (da),
        Bernie is   still     (there)
09      (1.8)
10 DIA1 s::orry schnäll †mä©de#ls,†
        excuse me quick  gals
   dia1                  †LH point twd PED†
   dia2                   ©raises L arm up, palm display-->
   fig                    #fig.5.5
```

5.5

```
11 DIA2 'n kleine moment zei:t,
         a small  moment of time
12      (0.2)©
   dia2    ->©
13 DIA1 'n ¡chli:nä momä¡nt, 's gaht für ¡eui zuä¡kunft,
         a  small   moment   it's about your future
   ped1 ¡head shakes¡              ¡h shake¡
14      (0.5)+∅
   dia1    ->+stops in front of PEDs-->>
   dia2      ->Østops in front of PEDS-->>
15 PED1→ I:- English?
16      (0.3)
17 DIA2 [↑oh.
18 DIA1 [English?
19      (0.2)
20 PED1 ye[ah.
21 DIA2   [English?
22 DIA1   [↑o:h where do you come from△ guys?
   ped2                      ->△looks up twd DIA1-->>
```

After coordinating their joint approach in a pre-opening environment (l. 1–9),[29] the dialogers

begin to make their way over to the pedestrians and each produce summoning actions that

observably work to open the encounter as a "with" (l. 10–13; note DIA1's addressee point and DIA2's palm display toward the pedestrians, Fig. 5.5). They both use Swiss German to do so, thus proposing Swiss German as a possible language-of-interaction. While PED2 is quick to mobilize her phone (l. 5) as the charity solicitors' approach becomes recognizable (l. 4)—again to possibly indicate unavailability (cf. Ex. 5.3)—, PED1 directs her gaze at them and responds embodiedly by shaking her head no (l. 13). A half-second silence emerges (l. 14), and just as the dialogers come to a halt in front of the pedestrians, PED1 produces the hesitant *I:- English?* with interrogative intonation (l. 15). The single-word request for a change of language is met with a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984b) by DIA2 (l. 17) and the language-aligned confirmation check *English?* by DIA1 (l. 18, produced with recognizable English phonology). The pedestrian responds with the English-language confirmation token *yeah.* (l. 20), in partial overlap with a second confirmation check by DIA2 (l. 21), thereby bringing the interrogative insertion sequence to a close and publicly establishing English as the language-of-interaction.

The next case further exemplifies how approached participants explicitly address language-related concerns by responding to an opening turn with a preemptive "do you speak X?" question. While scanning the local environment, a dialoger here spots her potential next target from afar and begins to run after a pedestrian.

Ex. 5.5) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.34.09

```
01        (0.5)±(0.3)+(1.7)
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   dia    >>scans envrnmt±sees PED, sustained gaze at him-->>
   dia             +begins to run after PED-->
02 DIA    #sorry schnäll, de herr,
           excuse me quick   sir
   fig    #fig.5.6
```

```
                                                            5.6
03        (0.3)
04 DIA    +churzä mom†änt,
           (a) short moment
          +at PED's lvl, side-by-side-->
                   †LH point twd PED-->
05        (0.3)•(.)†(0.2)Ø
   ped         •gaze twd DIA-->
   dia             ->†
   ped                 ->Øslows down walking pace-->
06 DIA    häsch du [es  h]erz für d umwält?
          do you have a heart for the environment
07 PED            [(no.)]
08        (0.2)
09 PED→   sorry you speak English?
10 DIA    a:h ofØ ↑course.+=d' you know this as- (.) assocation >double u double u
   ped        ->Østops-->>
   dia                  ->+stops-->>
11        eff<?
12        (0.3)
13 PED    yeah. I've- (.) I think I've heard of it yeah.
```

During her dorsal approach (Fig. 5.6), the charity solicitor pursues the pedestrian's recipiency by delivering two summoning utterances (l. 2, 4) and a pre-request (l. 6) in Swiss German. Upon reaching a side-by-side mobile arrangement, the dialoger brings up her left hand and produces an addressee point in conjunction with her summons at line 4. This eventually prompts a shift of gaze by the pedestrian and a slowing down of his walking pace (l. 5). As the dialoger initiates the pre-sequence at line 6, the pedestrian overlaps her utterance-in-progress with *(no.)* (l. 7), thereby possibly preemptively voicing his refusal to engage in a more sustained encounter with the charity solicitor (Mondada, 2022a). In the clear, then, following the dialoger's pre (a question about whether the pedestrian cares about the environment), the pedestrian produces our target utterance *sorry you speak English?* (l. 9). In contrast to the prior

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cases, the interrogative is here prefaced by the turn-initial apology token *sorry*, thus displaying the pedestrian's orientation to the language-disaligned request to use English as apologizable and marked. This is met with an *a:h*-prefaced *of ↑course.*-response by the dialoger (l. 10, emphasized in its delivery through high pitch), through which she aligns with the proposed alternative language and affiliatively confirms that English can be used as the language-of-interaction, before she then latches on with the reason-for-her-approach (l. 10–11). We also observe that the pedestrian, and eventually also the dialoger, stop walking as the language-aligned positive response is being produced, thereby co-constructing a stationary interactional space and committing to the encounter.

Intermediate summary

Across the above cases, individuals are presented with monolingual opening turns to which they respond with an explicit question *about* an alternative language *in* an alternative language. The examples all show respondents to use a code-switched "do you speak X?" interrogative as a vehicle for requesting the use of English, in lieu of the locally set up "default" of Swiss German (which is also the language of the local socio-cultural environment). In so doing, approached parties sequentially delete the prior initiating action and preempt approaching parties' line of action, initiating repair of language choice and launching an insertion sequence specially devoted to changing the proposed language-of-interaction. We saw that the interrogatives are consistently treated as requests for a change of language (vs. mere requests for information), and are granted immediately and aligned with unproblematically in the next turn.[30] With regard to their turn designs, the interrogatives were shown to be disaligned with

---

[30] The granting of a request for a change of language may in some cases, however, occasion the mobilization of a language broker (Chapter 6), or initiate the closing of the encounter (Ex. 5.6 below). Possible reasons for the latter include charity solicitors not feeling entirely at ease to carry out the entire conversation in a different language, or they may tacitly orient to language choice as category-bound and categorize other-language speakers as, e.g., tourists/non-locals who are ineligible to make a donation.

the language of the prior initiating action, and are characterized by differing morphosyntactic complexity (*E:nglish?*; *I:- English?*; *sorry you speak English?*), which may include hesitation and/or apologetic accounts. Of note are also the substantial silences that precede the explicit questions. Although it might be tempting to attribute these silences exclusively to spatio-temporal contingencies related to the parties' walking trajectories, multimodal analysis reveals that participants eventually draw to a halt and, thereby, display some level of commitment to the encounter (vs. rejecting the incipient encounter altogether by "snubbing" the dialogers' pitch or displaying unavailability and disinterest; cf. Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008; Mondada, 2022a). The timing and design of the interrogatives suggest that beyond issues of mobility and the emergent co-construction of a common interactional space (Mondada, 2009), speakers' orientations to their disaligning with the both action and language dimension of the recipient's project are also at play here. Participants thereby treat the language requests as a form of disalignment and, reflexively, show an orientation to a structural preference for aligning with the language of the prior initiating action (Auer, 1984a, 1995; see Chapter 2).

Consider two further examples of participants deploying a "do you speak X?" interrogative in the opening phase of an incipient encounter. In contrast to the prior cases, in which, as we just saw, it is the *approached* party who preemptively checks on the availability of an alternative language, the following excerpts show the *approaching* party to ask a "do you speak X?" question. Here, the interrogatives occur in a different sequential environment, responding to "open class" repair initiators (OCRIs; Drew, 1997) that are treated as indicating prior language choice as the trouble-source. This is illustrated below, where we see how a charity solicitor approaches a "with" walking down the street.

Ex. 5.6) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.11.51

```
01        (0.5)±
   ped1  >>walks fwd-->
   ped2  >>walks fwd-->
```

```
   dia2  >>stationary-->
   dia2  >>scans envrnmt±sees PEDs, sustained gaze at them-->
02 DIA2  mäd©els,©
         gals
            ©....©open hand point at PED-->
03       (0.8)*(0.5)
   dia2  ->*walks twd PAS-->
04 DIA2  kurze moment,©
         short moment
   dia2              ->©,,,-->
05       (0.2)©(0.7)
   dia2  ,,,,,©
06 DIA2  für d †umwält,=für eui zuäkunft,
         for the environment for your future
   dia1       †turns to face DIA2/PED-->>
07       (0.4)*(1.0)
   dia2  ->*stops in front of PED-->
08 PED1  wie?∅
         pardon
            ∅small step to her right-->
09       (0.2)∅(0.3)
   ped1  ->∅
10 DIA2→ german?∅ f⊥rench?
   ped1       ∅stops-->>
   ped2        ⊥stops-->>
11       (0.2)
12 PED1  ach s[o. £deu]tsch.£=
         oh I see  German
13 PED2      [german.]
14 DIA2  =©deu:©:[:±#t[sch.
          German
15 PED2          [hhh [h hah hah.
16 DIA1              [†deutsch.•∆
                      German
   dia2  ©nods©
   dia2       ±...±gaze twd DIA1-->
   ped1            +gaze twd DIA1-->>
   dia1                  •walks twd DIA2/PED-->
   dia1                   ∆...-->
   fig           #fig.5.7
17       (0.2)∆(.)
   dia1  .....∆points twd DIA2-->
```


5.7

```
18 DIA2  ©d‡eutsch? okeh© da bist du*∆z[uständig∆©hhh©±
          German    okay  PRT you're in charge of that
19 DIA1                              [hi woher∆©kommet a?
                                      hi where do you come from
   dia2  ©.............©LH point twd DIA2-------©,,,©
   ped2    ‡gaze twd DIA1-->>
   dia2                      ->*steps away, positions hrslf behind DIA1-->>
   dia1                       ->∆,,,,,,,,,,∆
   dia2                                          ->±
20       (0.4)•(.)
   dia1  ->•stops in front of PAS-->>
```

```
21 PED1   oberö[sterreich.
          Upper Austria
22 PED2        [österreich.
                Austria
23 DIA1   oberö:ster[reich,]
          Upper Austria
24 DIA2            [a y: :]:::
```

As the dialoger spots the oncoming pedestrians (l. 1), she produces a German-language

summons (*mädels*/"gals") that is timed to co-occur with an addressee point toward the with (l.

2). When no answer occurs, the charity worker begins to walk toward the pedestrians and

eventually issues another summoning utterance in Swiss German (*kurze moment,*/"short

moment"), with her hand still pointing in their direction (l. 3–4). A sizable silence of 1.4

seconds emerges, during which the dialoger comes to a halt, positioning herself frontally to the

trajectory of the oncoming pedestrians (l. 7; see Fig. 5.7). It is at this point that PED1 initiates

repair via the open class item *wie?*/"pardon?" (produced with recognizable Standard German

phonology [viː]) and goes on to slightly adjust her walking trajectory (l. 8), thus projecting to

circumvent the dialoger.[31] This is met with a half-second silence, and our target utterances come

at line 10: the charity worker produces the interrogatively-intoned language check *german?*

french?, during which both pedestrians stop walking. By offering the try-marked candidates

(Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) for confirmation, the dialoger treats the preceding OCRI *wie?* as

indicating a *language-based* understanding problem—vs. as related to a possible problem of

audibility. Notably, the turn is code-switched, with the charity worker asking about German

and French *in English*. With this, she not only offers up the explicitly mentioned languages,

German and French, but also embeddedly proposes English as a possible language option. The

pedestrians are thus presented with three available languages from which they are able to select

one (or several) as the language, or "medium" (Gafaranga, 2017), of the encounter. In their

responses, both pedestrians opt for German as the language-of-interaction, thereby flagging it

---

[31] From the available camera angles we cannot tell whether this is preceded or accompanied by an embodied
display of repair, such as frowning, eyebrow movements, or other facial expressions (Ex. 5.7; see Oloff, 2018).

as their linguistic preference. Of note are the different response formats they adopt for doing so: PED1 deploys the German-language particle *ach so.* (translatable as "oh I see")—thereby overtly indicating that she has understood the interactional import of the prior turn (Golato, 2010), namely that language choice is being negotiated—, before she goes on to confirm German, in German, as her linguistic preference (*£deutsch.£*, l. 12). PED2, by contrast, uses English to confirm German as her preferred language-of-interaction (*german.*, l. 13). Thus, while PED1 enacts her linguistic preference for German through a language-*disaligned*, German-language response, PED2 goes along with the language in which they are addressed and claims German as her preferred choice through a language-*aligned*, English-language response. This results in a situation where two L1 speakers of German address one another in English and use English to topicalize German as their preferred language, which eventually occasions laughter by PED2 after the language issue has been dealt with (l. 15; note also that PED1's *£deutsch.£* at line 12 is produced with recognizable smiley-voice). Once German has been publicly established as the language-of-interaction, the dialoger then transfers focal participation to her colleague, who has a known individual preference for German and consequently is "in charge of" (l. 18) encounters conducted in that language.[32]

In Ex. 5.7, a charity solicitor once again uses Swiss German to approach a pedestrian, who is walking up the street and pushing a scooter.

Ex. 5.7) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.50.53

```
01      (3.4)±(0.3)+(0.6)
  dia   >>scans envrnmt±sees PED, sustained gaze at her-->>
  dia   >>walks fwd+changes trajectory toward her L/PED-->
  ped   >>walks fwd, pushing scooter-->
  ped   >>gazes fwd-->
02 DIA  tschuldigung ma†dame,•
        excuse me     Ma'am
  dia                 †...-->
  ped                  ->•gaze twd DIA-->>
03      (.)† (0.4) †(.)
  dia   ...†pts PED†,,,-->
```

---

[32] See Chapter 6 (Ex. 6.4) for a detailed analysis of how this brokering segment is multimodally orchestrated.

```
04 DIA    churzi† frag,
           quick   question
   dia    ,,,,,,†
05         (.)©(0.3)©(.)†(0.3)©Ø†
   ped        ©.....©takes out earphone w/ LH©
   dia                   †.......†points twd WWF booth-->
   ped                        ->Øslows down walking pace-->
06 DIA    kännet+*sie de W†WF?
           do you know the WWF
   dia       ->+stops-->>
   ped          *frowns-->
   dia                   ->†,,,-->
07         (.)*(.)†Ø
   ped     ->*
   dia          ->†
   ped            ->Østops-->>
08 PED    *©sorry,©°but-#*h°©
   ped     ©......©LH point twd ear©
   ped    *lat head shake*
   fig                   #fig.5.8
```


5.8

```
09         (0.8)
10 DIA →  ah you only speak english?
11 PED    I do. Yea:(h)[h hhh heh
12 DIA                 [a:h where you come from?
13         (0.3)
14 PED    I: come from Brazil originally.=
15 DIA    =↑o:[:h.
16 PED       [h hhh h.
17 DIA    we are protecting the amazone, it's ou[r p- pro↑je:ct,
18 PED                                          [I kno::w. I'm- I've already
19        signed a lot of things from y(h)ou [guys h hhh hhh
20 DIA                                        [o::h so you- already in, ((...))
```

At the end of her summoning turn at line 2 (*tschuldigung madame,*/"excuse me Ma'am"), the charity solicitor begins to bring up her arm, eventuating in an addressee point toward the pedestrian. This occasions a gaze shift by the pedestrian to the approaching dialoger (l. 2), who then eventually produces the "pre-pre" (Schegloff, 2007: 44–47) *churzi frag,*/"quick question" (l. 4). Next, the pedestrian takes out one of her earphones and slows down her walking pace (l.

5), thereby indicating availability. When the dialoger launches a pre-sequence topicalizing prior knowledge of the charity (l. 6), the pedestrian frowns and goes on to respond with the rising-intoned OCRI *sorry,* (produced with recognizable American English phonology [sɑɹi]) followed by *°but- h°* (l. 8). As she says this, she produces a lateral head shake and points toward her ear (Fig. 5.8; cf. Mortensen, 2016 on cupping the hand behind the ear). We thus observe that the open class lexical item is preceded and accompanied by embodied displays of non-understanding, packaged into a multimodal repair-initiating *gestalt* (Oloff, 2018). We also see the pedestrian working to minimize an overt verbal self-ascription of incompetence, simultaneously orienting to the disaligning character of articulating a preemptive disclaimer that invites a change of language (§5.5).

It is in this sequential environment that the charity worker produces the language check *ah you only speak english?* (l. 10). By topicalizing language choice through the interrogative, and switching to the prior speaker's language for doing so, she displays an orientation to the OCRI as indicating a problem of linguistic intelligibility. Contiguous to the confirmation check, the pedestrian responds with *I do. Yea:(h) h hhh heh* (l. 11). The immediate confirmation thus brings the language-related insertion sequence to a close, and the dialoger exploits language choice for topic generation as she goes on to ask the pedestrian about her origin (l. 12).

In these two cases, then, we see the approaching party deploy a "do you speak X?" interrogative after the approached party has produced formulaic open-class lexical items (*wie? sorry,*). These referentially "weak" (Schegloff et al. 1977: 369) other-initiations of repair *per se* do not specify the nature of the trouble-source (Drew, 1997). The repair initiators' switch to another language, however, was shown to contribute to constructing the trouble-source as a *language* problem. Moreover, Ex. 5.7 illustrates how such language-disaligned OCRIs are commonly deployed in conjunction with embodied repair-initiating displays (Oloff, 2018). Consequently, both exemplars show the repairing participant to treat the other-initiations of

repair as indicative of a language-based understanding problem (vs. possible trouble of hearing). Evidence of these repair initiations prompting the charity workers' inference that language choice may have been inadequate is offered in the next turn, where they initiate an insertion sequence specially devoted to checking on possible language options in an alternative language.

5.4.2 Language-aligned

While in the prior section the requests for a change of language are disaligned with the language of the initiating action, in this section I will show that respondents may also produce requests for *another* language in the *same* language in which they are addressed. Looking at the larger collection, it is first relevant to note that such *language-aligned* requests for a change of language occur far less frequently than their language-disaligned counterparts across the dataset under consideration.[33] By delivering the interrogatives in the language of the prior initiating action, respondents position themselves as pro-forma aligning with the proposed language *for now only*, while simultaneously making a change of language relevant next and tacitly claiming a lack of sufficient productive competencies in the proposed language. Ex. 5.8 offers a case in point.

Ex. 5.8) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.26.12

```
01 DIA    alles guet.•=schöne ±tag.
          all   good  nice    day
   dia    >>stationary-->>
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   ped            •gaze twd DIA-->
   dia                     ±turns around, scans envrnmnt-->
02         (0.4)±(1.2)
   dia       ->±sees PED, sustained gaze at her-->
```

---

[33] This offers a potential first glimpse into members' awareness of the interactional consequences that language-alignment may entail within this praxeological context: despite *claiming* a lack of sufficient linguistic abilities, by aligning with the initial language choice, participants still *demonstrate* some level of productive competencies in that language (cf. Sacks, 1992). This in turn may raise questions as to whether there is a genuine inability vs. unwillingness on the part of the pedestrian to conduct the encounter in the proposed language (Ex. 5.9, 5.19; cf. Raymond, 2014a).

```
03 DIA    †aber†du:†:,†Ødu blibsch† bi †mir ©†stah,†hhh heh heh© .h h h h
          but  you     you stop for me
   dia    †....†pts PED†,,,†        †....†pts P†,,,,,†
   ped               ->Øslows down walking pace-->
   ped                                   ©.................©turns off earphns-->
04        (0.2)©
   ped       ->©
05 PED    hullo.•
   ped       ->•...-->
06        (0.2)•
   ped    .....•gaze twd oncoming vehicle-->
07 DIA    ha±llo.±=[h >a](h)ch±tung mir werde±+[überfa]hre< wart schnell h .hhh heh
          hello    h  attention we're getting  run over   wait a sec
08 PED              Ø[hhh ]•             [h  h  ]
   dia    ->±....±gaze vehicle±gaze twd PED--±scans traffic-->
   ped            Ømoves away from center of the street-->
   ped              ->•scans traffic-->
   dia                                     ->+moves away from center of street-->
09        (0.6)
10 DIA    °hhh h h°
11        (1.0)Ø(0.5)+(0.3)±
   ped       ->Østops-->
   dia            ->+stops-->>
   dia                  ±...->
12 DIA    bisch im ±starbucks •gsi?=>wo hets [dr starbucks ↑do?<
          have you  been at Starbucks? where is the Starbucks here?
13 PED                                       [uh
   dia    .........±gaze twd PED-->>
   ped                    ->•gaze twd DIA-->
14        (0.3)
15 PED →  uh (0.3)©sorry:©ick# sprecke nur© ein© bi#schen deut[sch.=sprecken©sie&
                   I    speak   only a   bit   German    do you.FRM speak
16 DIA                                                      [a†::::h
   ped            ©......©RH to chest-----©....©pinching hand gesture-------©...-->
   dia                                                          †throws up hands-->
   fig                       #fig.5.9              #fig.5.10ab
17 PED →  &©en†glish?
          English
   ped    .©opens out palm-->
   dia      ->†hunches over-->
```


5.9   5.10a   5.10b

```
18 DIA    ah ↑no:::[©::.
19 PED            [©Øokay. ↑(keine) [hhh heh
                          none
20 DIA                             †[h h hhh †↑I'm so s[o:rry:.
21 PED                                       Ø[tut mir lei[d. hhh heh
                                               I'm sorry
22 DIA                                                   [but h- have
   ped            ->©
   ped        ->Øturns away, body torque---------Øwalks away-->>
   dia                      ->†        †raises arms out to side-->
23        ni̱ce† day h
```

```
   dia      ->†
24        (0.2)
25 PED    you ↑too:. [auf wiedersehn.
                     goodbye
26 DIA               [thank you bye bye.•
   ped                           ->•gaze fwd-->>
```

As the dialoger closes a fleeting encounter with a passer-by by wishing a nice day, she bodily reorients toward the pedestrian traffic on the street and begins to scan the local environment (l. 1). She eventually spots a pedestrian who is walking down the street in her direction (l. 2). The charity solicitor then begins her attempt to intercept the oncoming pedestrian by issuing a summons in Swiss German (l. 3): she verbally initiates the encounter with *aber du:;, du blibsch bi mir stah, hhh heh heh .h h h h*/"but you, you stop for me", thereby referencing her previous unsuccessful approach from moments ago (see l. 1). The turn-initial contrastive conjunction *aber* and the prosodically stressed and stretched second-person address term *du:;,* are timed to co-occur with an addressee point toward the pedestrian, which she repeats as she says *bi mir stah*. The pedestrian responds to this embodiedly by slowing down her walking pace right after the dialoger's *aber du:;,* and the concurrent addressee point (l. 3). Next, after the dialoger's second pointing gesture, the pedestrian brings up her right arm and turns off her earphones. With this, she displays availability, possibly not having heard the dialoger's verbal summons (which in turn highlights the importance of taking account of the gestaltic multimodal organization of the summoning action; Mondada, 2014c). Evidence of this is offered when the pedestrian verbally enters into interaction by delivering the standalone greeting token *hullo.* at line 5, thereby initiating a greeting adjacency pair sequence. This is especially noteworthy as pedestrians' greetings (and how-are-yous) tend to be absent in openings of the street encounters documented here (see Ex. 5.1 through 5.7; Mondada, 2022a; cf. Schegloff, 1986 on "preemptions;" Wakin & Zimmerman, 1999; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987; Zimmerman, 1992 on "reduced" and more compact opening sequences in institutional calls). It is of note that with

the pedestrian's *hullo.*, language choice could be considered ambiguous at this stage;[34] the greeting item could be heard as being from either American English or (Swiss) German (although the final vowel has a slightly diphthongal quality, corresponding to something like [hʌˈləʊ] and thus pointing to American English phonology). However equivocal this may be to the observer-analyst, it appears to be unequivocal to the participants: endogenously, the dialoger treats the greeting as (Swiss) German when she reciprocates it with *hallo.* in the next turn, before then latching on in Swiss German to comment on an oncoming construction site vehicle (l. 7). Thus, through this, she interactionally establishes Swiss German as a possible language for the encounter, at least temporarily. Next, the participants make way for the vehicle to pass (l. 8) and bodily position themselves at the side of the street (l. 11).

After the participants have co-established a stationary interactional space, the dialoger transitions into sociable talk by initiating, in Swiss German, another pre-sequence with *bisch im starbucks gsi?=>wo hets dr starbucks ↑do?</*"have you been at Starbucks? where is the Starbucks here?" (l. 12). The pedestrian overlaps the utterance-in-progress with an *uh* (l. 13). In the clear, after a 0.3-sec silence adumbrating possible incipient trouble (l. 14), she delivers another, turn-initial disfluency marker (*uh*) before she goes on to produce, in German, the disclaimer *sorry: ick sprecke nur ein bischen deutsch.*/"sorry I speak only a bit German" (l. 15). As she utters the self-referential *ick*, she brings her palm to her chest (l. 16, Fig. 5.9) and then provides a pinching hand gesture (in which the thumb and index finger are put in close proximity to iconically indicate "a small amount") that is timed to coincide with *ein bischen deutsch*/"a bit German" (l. 16, Fig. 5.10ab).

It is at this point that the pedestrian rushes to produce the request *for English, in German* (=*sprecken sie english?*/"do you speak English?; l. 15–17). By asking about a change of

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[34] For a discussion of "bivalent" utterances in bi-/multilingual interaction, see Hazel (2015), Woolard (1998), Torras (1998).

language in this sequential environment, she can be seen to "neutraliz[e] the possible consequentiality of the language choice deriving from [the] linguistic alignment" in the prior greeting sequence (Mondada, 2018c: 22). Although both the apologetic disclaimer and the language request are accented and produced with the phonology of a German-as-a-second-language speaker (e.g., *ich* produced as [ɪk] vs. [ɪç], the diminuitive *bißchen* as [bɪʃən] vs. [bɪsçən], while the lexical items *s<u>o</u>rry* and *<u>e</u>nglish* are delivered with American English phonology), they are unproblematically understood and display some level of productive competence in (Standard) German. The dialoger marks a change in knowledge state with *<u>a</u>:::h*, during which she throws up her hands, enacting a display of disappointment (l. 16). And when the pedestrian's request for English becomes projectable, the dialoger begins to hunch over (she "makes herself small" by bringing her upper body forward and down, tucking in her elbows, and clasping her wrists; l. 17). With this, she accomplishes an embodied display of apology that accompanies her dispreferred answer *ah ↑no:::::.* at line 18. The pedestrian receipts this with *<u>o</u>kay. ↑(keine) hhh heh* (l. 19), after which the dialoger apologizes explicitly with *↑I'm so s<u>o</u>:rry:.* (l. 20), which in turn is overlapped by an apologetic account by the pedestrian (*tut mir leid.*, l. 21). The dialoger subsequently launches the closing of the encounter (l. 22–23), which ultimately ends in a terminal exchange wherein the pedestrian says *auf wiedersehn* (l. 25) and the dialoger *bye bye* (l. 26).

Thus we observe how the pedestrian preempts a pre-sequence initiated by the dialoger with a *language-aligned* request for a change of language that is latched onto a *language-aligned* disclaimer (§5.5.2). With this, she *claims* a lack of linguistic competence, while simultaneously actively *demonstrating* some level of productive competencies in the proposed language-of-interaction (cf. Sacks, 1992). The turn at lines 15–17 also occasions a language renegotiation insertion sequence wherein language choice gets explicitly dealt with. What makes this encounter particularly interesting for the themes of the present chapter is that it

highlights participants' orientations to the local interactional contingencies of language choice in this setting.

It is first relevant to note that although the charity worker answers the pedestrian's request for English negatively, she nonetheless takes up English from that point on and uses English to transition into and bring off the closing of the interaction. The pedestrian, on the other hand, uses German to do so. Thus, just as the pedestrian initially aligns with the proposed language choice to produce a claim of incompetence in that language, so too does the dialoger acquiesce to the pedestrian's linguistic preference for claiming a lack of *sufficient-for-all-practical-purposes* linguistic abilities in that proposed alternative language. While we remain agnostic regarding the "genuineness" or "pro-forma-ness" of these claims of incompetence,[35] the interactional organization of the multilingual encounter provides some empirical illustration of participants' fluid use of their linguistic repertoire by showcasing moments of tokenistic code-switching into languages in which participants (claim to) only have limited competence. This is vividly visible in the ways in which the L2 speakers resort to routine formulae and perfunctory utterances (such as the dialoger's ↑*I'm so so:rry:*, *but h- have a nice day h*, *thank you bye bye*; the pedestrian's *hullo*, disclaimer and language request, *tut mir leid*, *auf wiedersehn*), accompanied by embodied conduct (ranging from the mobilization of indexical embodied resources to more conventionalized (iconic) gestures, such as the pinching hand) that enhances the emergent intelligibility of the utterances. These are the things one might do to "get by" in spontaneous everyday moments of multilingualism—providing some demonstration of what it means for the participants to "not really speak" a language in which

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[35] On the one hand, it is possible that the pedestrian exploits the claim of a lack of linguistic competence as a way to abort the encounter (cf. Ex. 5.19). Cf. Auer (1997: 130) on doing "relief work" through ascriptions of incompetence: "A dispreferred activity can be evaded and avoided by recurring to the incompetence of the person who is to organize it."

On the other hand, the charity solicitor may decide not to pursue her agenda possibly because she categorizes the pedestrian as a tourist (thus making relevant language as a category-bound attribute), which would make her ineligible for donation. Alternatively, both participants might simply feel uncomfortable continuing the conversation about *this topic* in an L2.

one is addressed. It is thus that the last stretch of the interaction proceeds multilingually, with each participant electing to adopt "the language of the other" in a token-like manner to collaboratively close the encounter (although they have demonstrated enough shared linguistic resources to potentially settle on one language for doing so).

Moreover, the analysis shows how both participants treat their claimed inability to go along with the other's language as apologizable and marked. The apology tokens and, more generally, the somewhat hyperbolic embodied displays of apology by both participants are sequentially analyzable as responding to their "having to" disalign with the larger interactional project due to language-related reasons, despite having displayed willingness and commitment to moving on in the encounter.

5.4.3 A deviant case

Compare the above sections with Excerpt 5.9 below, in which a participant is also shown to produce a (language-disaligned) interrogative about the availability of an alternative language. In the previous examples, we saw that the "do you speak X?" question is deployed early on in the encounter, i.e., at or near first possible opportunity as an immediate preemptive move positioned subsequent to or in overlap with the approaching party's opening, or after an OCRI produced by the approached party. By contrast, here we have a *delayed* appearance of the direct request for a change of language (l. 16), opening up a language renegotiation sequence 20 seconds into the encounter.

Ex. 5.9) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.19.03

```
01 DIA1   die dame mit der wunderschönen· ho:se,=n kl·eine moment zeit für de WWF,·+
          the lady with the gorgeous    pants a small  moment of time for the WWF
   dia1   >>walks obliquely twd her right, approaching PED----------------------+
   dia1   >>gaze twd PAS-->l.18
   ped    >>gaze fwd-------------------•gaze twd DIA•gazes downwards at phone----•
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
02        +•(0.3)∅
   dia1   +stops-->>
```

```
ped      •gaze twd DIA1-->
ped         ->Østops-->
```
03 PED   sorry?
sorry

04   (0.9)

05 DIA1 <u>o</u>h entschu:ldigung.=ich hatte g'sagt sie hän so wunderschöne hose,
oh excuse me   I   had   said   you have such gorgeous pants

06   (0.2)

07 PED   ah merci h [h heh
ah thanks

08 DIA1   [ich find die s:<u>e</u>hr schö:n.=
I   find them very beautiful

09 PED   =dankschön hhh h [h
thank you

10 DIA1   [ha:hØ[.h ke:]nn:et sie scho de WWF?Ø
do you already know the WWF

11 PED   [heh heh]
```
ped                     ->Ø3 steps forward---------------Ø
```
12   (1.0)

13 PED   <u>kenn</u> ich.
I know (it)

14   (0.2)

15 DIA1 *kenn' [sie.
you know (it)
```
dia2  *scans envrmnt-->
```
16 PED →   [vous parlez français? j' préfère.
do you speak French   I   prefer

17   (0.2)

18 DIA1 <u>o</u>a::†:h.
```
->†turns to face DIA2-->
```
19   (0.2)#
```
fig        #fig.5.11
```


20 PED   ch[ui△ désol(h)ée hhh△
I'm   sorry

21 DIA1   [>oh. oh.† un moment.<†
oh oh   a moment
```
ped       △raises arms, palms up△
dia1          ->†t to face PED†turns to face DIA2-->
```
22   (0.2)•(0.2)
```
ped      ->•gaze twd DIA2-->>
```
23 DIA1 >MORGANE,<
Morgane

24   (0.2)*(0.3)
```
dia2  ->*turns twd DIA1/PED, approaches them-->>
```
25 DIA1 français, (.) s'il vous plaît.=
French   please

26 DIA2 =le fran<u>ç</u>[AI::s,
French

27 PED   [°h [hhh°

28 DIA1   [hhh

29   (0.8)

30 DIA2 vous venez d'<u>où</u> madame?
where are you from Ma'am

```
```

```
31        (0.3)
32 PED    du Maroc. ((...))
          from Morocco
```

Having spotted her next target, the dialoger adjusts her trajectory and approaches the pedestrian in German with a through-produced verbal opening utterance consisting of a recipient-designed summons and a latched pre-request checking on the pedestrian's temporal availability (l. 1). During the dialoger's approach, the pedestrian briefly establishes mutual gaze but is quick to look down at her phone—possibly mobilized as an "involvement shield"—while continuing to walk straight ahead (l. 1). When the charity worker eventually gets the pedestrian to stop and commit to a stationary interactional space (l. 2), the pedestrian produces the OCRI *sorry?* (l. 4; produced with (Swiss) German phonology [sɔri], vs. American English [sɑɹi]), which the dialoger subsequently treats as being related to a hearing trouble, rather than as a possible problem of linguistic intelligibility (Oloff, 2018), by issuing a modified same-language repeat (l. 5). The pedestrian displays her understanding of the charity worker's complimenting opening utterance through a change-of-state token and expression of thanks (l. 7, *ah merci*). Notice that while assimilated *merci* is widespread in Alemannic varieties spoken in Switzerland (rendered as *mersi* throughout the transcripts in this dissertation), the appreciation token is here recognizably produced with French phonology [mɛʁ.si]. These minimal language samples constitute first possible signs of both (Swiss) German and French being part of the pedestrian's linguistic repertoire. The dialoger then goes on to further exploit the pedestrian's "gorgeous ripped jeans" as a "false first topic" (Sacks, 1992: II, 205; l. 8), in German. This is met with a *dankschön* by the pedestrian (l. 9), who thereby aligns with the prior language choice and interactionally confirms (Swiss) German as a possible language-of-interaction, for the time being at least.

It is in this sequential environment, after a further pre-sequence topicalizing prior knowledge of the WWF (l. 10–15), that the pedestrian delivers our target utterance: she departs

from the previous language-of-interaction, Swiss German, by asking, *in* French, *about* the availability of French: *vous parlez français? j'préfère*/"do you speak French? I prefer" (l. 16). The language alternation is thus explicitly formulated as not competence-related, but as being due to matters of personal preference, rather than necessity—after having demonstrated both receptive and productive competencies in (Swiss) German up to this point in the interaction-so-far (see l. 7, 9, 13). The pedestrian's direct request for French is met with a disappointment-indexing receipt (*oa:::h*, l. 18), during the delivery of which the dialoger begins to turn toward her coworker (l. 18, Fig. 5.11), who is eventually mobilized as a language broker (Chapter 6).[36] The pedestrian next produces an apologetic French-language account (*chui désol(h)ée hhh*/"I'm so(h)rry hhh", l. 20), orienting to her language alternation as dispreferred. The dialoger bodily orients toward her colleague, and goes on to verbalize her momentary withdrawal from the interaction (l. 21). Notably, she does so in French by deploying the formulaic *un moment*, thereby acquiescing to the linguistic preference of the pedestrian—even though she only has rudimentary competencies in French.

In sum, the deviant case shows a participant to produce a code-switched request for a change of language that is *delayed* in sequential terms, relative to prior moments when language choice renegotiation might otherwise have been made relevant. The fact that the question about French is not done preemptively at first possible opportunity (cf. Ex. 5.3–5.5), but in the sequential context of first topic introduction after the participants have unproblematically gone through several other-language pre-sequences (furnishing language samples that display a fairly high level of productive and receptive competencies in the language used so far), begs the question: *why that now?* We may entertain the possibility of it being a "last-ditch effort" to abort the encounter, i.e., a resistant interactional maneuver that serves as a possible exit device, thwarting the dialoger's agenda (cf. Ex. 5.19). While it is also

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[36] See Chapter 6 (Ex. 6.3) for a detailed analysis of this brokering segment.

plausible that the request for a change of language simply indicates that the pedestrian may not feel entirely at ease carrying out the entire conversation in the language used so far, its sequential positioning suggests that the claim to prefer French is more pro-forma and designedly evasive. Additional support for the claim that the request for a change of language is used as an exit device can be found in the design of the turn: the post-positioned account *j' préfère*/"I prefer", followed by an explicit apology (l. 20), displays an endogenous orientation to its disaligning/dispreferred character and lateness.

What is common across the cases examined until this point is that unacquainted participants, across different sequential environments within the opening phase of a chance encounter, explicitly address language-related concerns through a "do you speak X" interrogative, or some variant thereof. This was shown to be done in both alignment and disalignment with the language of the prior initiating action, which almost exclusively is also a "local" language in the above cases. While taking up the language in which one is addressed *is both relatively more aligning and affiliative*—showing an orientation to not only the immediate sequential context (Auer, 1984a, 1995) but also the local socio-cultural environment as a locus of normative expectations regarding language choice (cf. Lüdi, 2007b on the Swiss "territoriality principle")—than producing the interrogative in a language-disaligned manner, requesting a change of language was nonetheless shown to be locally treated as marked given that it is still disaligning with the action dimension of the co-participant's interactional project.

Similarly, but less directly, participants can invite a change of language by producing an *I don't speak X* declarative in second/responsive position. I turn to this in the next section.

5.5   "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers

In the prior sections, we saw that participants overtly show themselves to be concerned with language choice through an explicit, interrogatively designed metacommunicative question.

Another common way that individuals explicitly address language use in an incipient encounter is through linguistic *disclaimers*. These are negative declaratives through which participants claim a lack of linguistic competence and formulate their linguistic repertoire *ex negativo*, acting as an accounting response to some initiating first-pair part action. As we will see, these explicit self-ascriptions of incompetence typically take the form of some version of "I/We don't speak X", where X is oriented to as having been proposed as the locally preferred language-of-interaction. The turn designs of these disclaimers are characterized by differing morphosyntactic complexity that can, but does not necessarily, involve language alternation. We caught a glimpse of this response type already in Ex. 5.8, where the pedestrian's *sprecken sie english?* request is preceded by the *sorry: ick sprecke nur ein bischen deutsch.* disclaimer. Moreover, in Ex. 5.7 we saw that a linguistic disclaimer seems to be projected but is then suspended, and this slot is then occupied by an embodied display of non-understanding.

Zooming in on the disclaimers across the larger multilingual collection, we may first observe that they are characterized by a constellation of recurrent turn-design features, as seen in Ex. 5.10 through 5.18:

```
5.10) u:h sorry. i can't speak german.

5.11) don't spe:ak german. h >s(h)orry.<

5.12) s:orry i can't speak french or (.) german.

5.13) euh on parle pas ↑allemand,
      uh  we don't speak German

5.14) >sorry i don't speak german.<

5.15) n:::ein.=nicht sprechen deutsch. sorry.
      no       not  speak   German   sorry

5.16) i:ch spreche kein deutsch, aber ich-
      I    speak   no   German   but  I-

5.17) äh kein spichen deutsch.=no french.
      uh no   speak   German

5.18) £je parle pa(h)s h bien français.£
       I  d(h)on't h speak French well
```

Delivered in English (Ex. 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, 5.14, 5.17), French (Ex. 5.13, 5.18), and German (Ex. 5.15, 5.16, 5.17), it is first relevant to note that there are several examples of L2 use in these utterances, most notably "non-standard" syntax (e.g., subject omission and use of infinitival forms: *don't spe:ak german.*; *nicht sprechen deutsch.*; *äh kein spichen deutsch.*) and hearably "non-standard" phonology (e.g., *spichen*, recognizable in the transcript as a non-standard, "eye dialect" form of the Standard German *sprechen*). Consistent across all of these turns is, however, that they are produced with turn-design features that point to the disaligning and dispreferred character of the utterances: there are speech perturbations, delay tokens, qualifications, laugh tokens, and apology terms that do accounting work—even though the disclaimer is itself an inability account (Heritage, 1984a). With this, participants can be seen to treat the articulation of the linguistic disclaimer as dispreferred and disaligning with the recipient's interactional project. It is with such disclaimers—corresponding to what Jordan and Fuller (1975) called a "trouble-flag"—that respondents indicate a lack of linguistic ability to provide an answer and make a change of language relevant next, possibly also conveying reluctance to engage in the encounter (cf. Ex. 5.19 for a deviant case analysis showing how such disclaimers can be exploited as an exit device, instantiating a *refusal*, rather than an inability, to engage). In this section, I will look at the methodic sequential positioning and multimodal formatting of "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers, as well as examine what interactional consequences such responding actions have for the progression of language use in the emerging encounter by analyzing how they are treated by the initiating speaker in next position.

5.5.1 Language-disaligned

Just as interrogative requests for a change of language can be designed in a language different from the one in which the speaker has been addressed, so too can declarative linguistic

disclaimers be language-*disaligned*. In this sub-section, I will examine how participants respond to opening utterances that solicit a response with a code-switched "I/We don't speak X" claim of linguistic incompetence.

Examples 5.10 through 5.13 illustrate how such language-disaligned disclaimers act as immediate preemptive blocking responses that are treated by recipients as rejecting the language of the prior initiating action, while simultaneously inviting a change of language. In each of these examples, respondents thus address language-related concerns at first possible opportunity when moving into interactional engagement. In Ex. 5.10, we see an initial specimen of this type of disclaimer. The transcript begins with a charity solicitor approaching a pedestrian walking down the street. The dialoger summons her from afar in Swiss German and produces an addressee point toward her (l. 14–16; note that another immediately co-present pedestrian initially responds as a non-targeted addressee, l. 15, 17).

Ex. 5.10) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.39.21

```
13        (0.9)
   dia    >>gazes twd PED-->>
   dia    >>walks twd PED-->
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   ped    >>gazes fwd-->
14 DIA    ↑s:o†rry· schn†äll madame,
          excuse me quick    Ma'am
   dia    †.........†points twd PED-->
   ped      ->·gaze twd DIA-->>
15 Px     nei dan[gge.
          no   thanks
16 DIA         [>nur †churz.<†
                just quick
   dia           ->†,,,,,,,†
17 Px     ah (     ) ((laugh[ter))
18 DIA                     +[was∅ häsch du für en jahrgang?
                             when were you born
   ped                 ->+stops in front of PED-->>
   ped                     ->∅slows down walking pace-->
19        (0.3)∅(.)
   ped      ->∅stops-->>
20 PED →  u:h sorry.* i can't *speak [german.
21 DIA                               [oh.
   ped            *headshake*
22        (0.6)
23 DIA    e::hm which- h- how you say it in English? eh I'm:- my birthday is nine
24        july (.) ninety: seventy-nine.
25 PED    [o:h.
26 DIA    [what's your >birthday?<
27 PED    two thousand two.
```

```
28        (0.2)
29 DIA    >two thousand two?<=are you: (.) already eighteen?
30        (0.3)
31 PED    yeah.
```

Having established mutual gaze (l. 14), the dialoger stops in front of the oncoming pedestrian and initiates a pre-sequence by asking her when she was born (l. 18), thereby orienting to establishing her eligibility as a potential donor. We see that, like in the prior examples and across the larger collection, the initiating turns are designed monolingually; the approached party is presented with one language—Swiss German in this case, which is also the local language. A 0.4-sec silence ensues at line 19, during which the pedestrian comes to a halt after having slowed down earlier (l. 18). It is in this sequential context that the pedestrian then responds with the negative declarative *u:h sorry. i can't speak german.*, which coincides with a small head shake (l. 20). This non-answer response sequentially deletes the dialoger's question and blocks the projected trajectory of action by claiming a lack of linguistic competence to provide an answer, functioning as a *preemptive disclaimer* that opens up a language negotiation—all the while displaying identification of the language in which the participant has been addressed. The response follows a noticeable silence after the first-pair part, and the *i can't speak german* utterance is preceded by a further turn-initial response delay with *u:h* and the ensuing apology token *sorry* (routinely projecting a dispreferred response; Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, [1973] 1987). The pedestrian thereby orients to the disclaimer, which is itself an account, as disaligning and dispreferred. We also observe that the response (in English) is disaligned with the language of the question to which it responds (in Swiss German), thus instantiating disalignment with both the action *and* language dimension of the dialoger's project. For the dialoger, one implication of the pedestrian's claim not to speak German is that she should switch language. And indeed, in turn-final overlap with the disclaimer, the dialoger marks a change in knowledge state with *oh.* (l. 21), before she eventually takes up English and produces the question "for another first time" (Garfinkel, 1967:

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31–34) (in the form of a paraphrase, l. 23–24) without further commenting on language choice. With this, the charity solicitor treats the pedestrian's disclaimer *in English* as an invitation *for a switch to English*. The pedestrian then contiguously responds and the remainder of the encounter is conducted in English (l. 25 ff.).

Much the same can be seen in Examples 5.11 through 5.13, where language-disaligned "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers are positioned as an immediate preemptive response to encounter-initiating opening utterances:

Ex. 5.11) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_02.41.19

```
01         (0.5)•(0.8)±(0.8)©(0.5)+(1.3)
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   ped    >>gz dwn•gaze fwd/twd DIA-->
   dia    >>scans env±sees PED, sustained gaze at her-->>
   ped                  ©puts on sunglasses-->
   dia                     +walks twd PED-->
02 DIA    die dame, +†grüezi wohl,
            Ma'am   hello  PRT
   dia          ->+lat step to her left, microadjusts, stops-->>
   dia             †leans fwd, raises arms out to side-->
03         (0.2)
04 DIA    darf ich sie schnell© e minutä *beaspruche?∅#hhh*†
           may  I have your attention quickly for a minute
   ped                    ->©RH held in the air-->>
   ped                          *slight frown----*
   ped                             ->∅slows down, crcmvnts DIA-->>
   dia                                   ->†
   fig                               #fig.5.12ab
05 PED → *don't *spe:ak german. [h >s(h)orry.<]
06 DIA                 †[oh: okay b]ut†have a nice day. [hhh
07 PED                                      [£you•too.£
   ped    *headsh*
   dia                      †shrugs-------†
   ped                                        ->•gaze fwd-->>
08 DIA    [bye bye,
09 PED    [goodbye.
```


5.12a   5.12b

Ex. 5.12) CH_BIE_MICTROT_20191015_MICCH_00.05.44

```
01        (0.9)  • (0.5) •(0.4)∅(.)
   rep  >>gazes twd PED-->>
   rep  >>walks twd PED-->
   ped  >>gz fwd•gz  REP•gaze fwd-->
   ped  >>walks fwd----------∅changes trajectory to her L-->
02 REP  guätä nammitag,• tschuldigung, i bi vom radio canal+ drü,∅
        good  afternoon   excuse me    I am from Radio Channel Three
   ped              ->•gaze twd REP-->>
   rep                                        ->+stops-->>
   ped                                             ∅stops-->
03      darfi di frage ebb du dini heizig *scho hesch [aglah?
        may I ask you  if you have already turned on your heating
04 PED →                                      [s:orry# i can't* speak
   ped                                 *slight frown--------------*
   fig                                            #fig.5.13
05    → french or (.) german.
06 REP  >ah n- okay no worries.< hhh heh=
07 PED  =hhh [£thank you  ∅very much.£
08 REP       [i wish you a∅ nice day h heh. [goodbye.
09 PED                                      [°thank you.°+
   ped              ->∅walks away-->>
   rep                                     ->+walks away-->>
10 REP  thank you.
```


5.13

Ex. 5.13) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.14.08

```
01        (0.8)+†(.)
   dia2  >>scans envrnmt-->
   ped1  >>walks fwd-->
   ped2  >>walks fwd-->
   dia1  >>gazes twd PEDs-->
   dia1      +2 big steps twd PEDs-->
   dia1       †...-->
02 DIA1  hallo zä†mme:,*†ihr zwei†+hend sicher schn- e minute
         hello together  you two  have for sure qui- a minute
   dia1                      ->+stops-->>
   dia1  ........†pts P†,,,,,,,,†
   dia2             ->*sees (DIA1 approaching) PEDs-->
03       zit für mich,=oder? h
         time for me   right
04       (0.2)∅⊥•
   ped1     ->∅stops-->>
   ped2      ->⊥stops-->>
   ped1         •gaze twd DIA1-->
05 DIA1  [hhh]
```

```
06 PED1→ [euh] on parle pas ↑allemand,
          uh   we don't speak German
07 DIA1  ah[a:±::†*: ]
          aha
08 PED1    [↑HHH:†*hh]
   dia1     ->±turns to face DIA2-->
   dia1         †...->
   dia2       ->*rushes twd PEDS-->
09 DIA2  AH•†MAIS△C'EST[PAS△GR]A[VE††±LES][GARS,=l'français]*c'e:st-△•[ça△va au]ssi.
          AH  BUT  IT'S  NO BIG DEAL  GUYS        French   that's   is fine too
10 DIA1              [h  heh]      [m o r g a n e  h]        [h heh heh]
11 PED1                    [o:†h   ]
   ped1  ->•gaze twd DIA2-------------------------------------•
   dia1  ...†open  hand  point DIA2†
   dia2       △..........△splays out arms----------------------△,,,△
   dia1                       ->±
   dia2                                            ->*stops-->>
12       (0.8)
13 DIA2  vous êtes des touristes?=ou: vous habitez ici en suisse?
          are you.PL    tourists   or do you.PL live here in Switzerland
14       (0.3)
15 PED2  >non non< on est touristes en fait.
          no  no   we're  tourists  actually
```

Consistently across these cases, the preemptive code-switched disclaimer prompts a change of the language-of-interaction in next position: English is immediately taken up after an English-language disclaimer in Ex. 5.11 and 5.12—even if only for moving toward closure of the fleeting encounter—, and French is taken up after a French-language disclaimer in Ex. 5.13.[37] We thus observe that such code-switched disclaimers in a given language are systematically treated by the co-participants as tacitly inviting the use of that alternative language. The "I/We don't speak X" declarative responses display identification of, and embeddedly reject, the language of the prior initiating action, through which respondents can imply a change of language without explicitly requesting it (for a related observation in a different context, see Fox & Heinemann, 2021 on "declaratives of trouble"). In all these cases, recipients treat the language of the disclaimer as the preferred language choice, and acquiesce to this locally displayed linguistic preference in the next turn. As we discussed previously, consistent across these examples is also that the "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers are formatted in a structurally

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[37] Ex. 5.13 shows a co-present third person to be monitoring the conversation at the periphery of the encounter and then using her relatively greater linguistic competencies in French as a license to step in and interject herself into the interaction, thus taking up the role of *ad hoc* language broker and allowing for the advancement of the activity. See Chapter 6 for detailed analyses of other instances of *other-initiated brokering*.

dispreferred manner. That is, their delivery involves delay (Ex. 5.13) and hesitation conveyed by production hitches (Ex. 5.11–5.13). We can also see that the negative declaratives can be apology-prefaced (Ex. 5.12; cf. Maynard, 2003; Robinson, 2004 on *sorry* as projecting upcoming bad news), or the explicit apology token *sorry* can be post-positioned following the disclaimer (Ex. 5.11). Furthermore, the examples provide some demonstration of the gestaltic multimodal organization of the disclaimers, as they are recurrently preceded and/or accompanied by embodied displays of non-understanding (such as frowns or head shakes, Ex. 5.11, 5.12; Oloff, 2018),[38] which not only indicate difficulty with parsing the co-participant's turn(s) but can also convey a reluctance to engage. The disclaimers are, moreover, hearable as apologetic via prosodic marking: in all cases shown above, speakers deliver the "I/We don't speak X" negative declarative in a manifestly apologetic tone of voice, thereby further displaying their orientation to the disaligning and dispreferred character of the disclaimer.

In Example 5.14, we see the same type of disclaimer, but in a different sequential context: in lieu of occurring at first possible opportunity—i.e., immediately on the heels of an encounter-initiating opening utterance—, our language-disaligned "I/We don't speak X" target utterance here follows a same-language greeting that is responsive to the opening turn. Examples of disclaimers being deployed in this sequential location are uncommon in the present dataset, but we do find them. An illustration from the dialogers data is given below.

Ex. 5.14) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_02.03.21

```
01        (0.5)+(1.6)•(0.9)•+
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   ped    >>gz stores•,,,,,•gz fwd/twd DIA-->
   dia    >>gaze twd PED-->
   dia       +wks twd  PED+stops in front of PED-->
02 DIA    de herr, (.) grüezi wohl, Ødarf ich sie schnell für mich
             sir      hello       may  I  have your attention
   ped                           ->Øslows down walking pace-->
03        beanspruchä?=[für e minutä:?
                        for a minute
```

---

[38] From the available camera angles in Ex. 5.13 we cannot tell whether the pedestrian's disclaimer is preceded and/or accompanied by possible head shakes, frowns, or other facial expressions.

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```
04 PED                 [grizi.
                        hello
05 DIA   hhh heh sie ∅*[gsähnd so-
              you.FRM      look   so-
06 PED →              ∅*[>sorry I don't* speak German.<
   ped           ->∅stops in front of DIA-->
   ped               *slight shrug---*
07       (0.2)
08 DIA   oa:†:[:h o]kay.†
09 PED        [↑no?]
   ped      †raises arms out to side†
10 DIA   [↑no:.]
11 PED   [>I- I] wanna help you.<
12 DIA   ↑e::[:h ]±
13 PED       [no?] ((laughs))
   dia         ->±
14 DIA   +∅↑no:. ((high-pitched laughter))+•
   dia   +pivots body away from PED-------+
   ped    ∅begins to walk fwd-->>
   ped                         ->•gz down-->
15 DIA   ↑but have a nice d[ay. hhh •hhh .h •[h
16 PED                     [heh heh •        •[£schöne tag.£=
                                               have a nice day
   ped                       ->•.......•over-the-shoulder glance twd DIA-->
17 DIA   =dankeschön.• tscha:u heh
          thank you    bye
   ped              ->•
```

At line 4, we see the pedestrian produce a standalone return-greeting in Swiss German, responding to the dialoger's compound opening turn—composed of a summons, a greeting, and the first-pair part of a pre-sequence checking on temporal availability—in Swiss German (l. 2–3). Of note is that the pedestrian's return-greeting, although perfectly intelligible, is hearably produced with the phonology of a Swiss-German-as-a-second-language speaker (having a monophthongal quality [grɪtsɪ], whereas the dialoger's greeting is produced diphthongally [gryətsɪ]). This provides the charity worker (and the overhearing analyst) with a first minimal *language sample* to possibly identify a foreign accent, permitting her to gauge the pedestrian's perceived linguistic repertoire. However formulaic and perfunctory this may be, with the standalone return-greeting in Swiss German, the pedestrian displays alignment with the charity worker's first-position language choice, thereby interactionally confirming Swiss German as a possible language-of-interaction (Mondada, 2018c), for the time being at least. The charity solicitor then goes on to address the pedestrian in Swiss German (l. 5), and it is only at this point that the turn-in-progress is overlapped by the pedestrian's English-language

disclaimer >*sorry I don't speak German.*< (l. 6). He comes in early and produces the utterance quickly, thus working to preempt the dialoger's turn before possible completion. Moreover, the negative declarative is timed to co-occur with a slight shrug (cf. Ex. 5.17) and is produced just as the pedestrian draws to a halt in front of the dialoger (l. 6). The apology-prefaced disclaimer stops the launched course of action and blocks the charity worker's project by claiming a lack of linguistic competencies, thus making relevant a renegotiation of the language-of-interaction and tacitly inviting the use of English—as a prerequisite to be able to engage in a more sustained encounter. This is receipted with *oa:::h okay.* (l. 7), through which the dialoger conveys both disappointment and a change in her knowledge state. In overlap, the pedestrian can be seen to explicitly orient to the rejecting nature of the dialoger's disappointment-indexing uptake through the use of a try-marked ↑*no?* (l. 8). The dialoger then provides confirmation with an English-language repeat (l. 9), thereby acquiescing to the pedestrian's linguistic preference. In the next turn, the pedestrian explicitly states his *willingness* to engage in a more sustained encounter with >*I- I wanna help you.*< (l. 10), displaying no-problem availability and making clear that it is his *inability* to produce talk in the proposed language, Swiss German,—rather than possible unwillingness to engage (cf. Ex. 5.19)—that is the motivator for language alternation. The dialoger reconfirms her explicit refusal of the pedestrian's "offer of help" with ↑*e:::h no:.* followed by high-pitched laughter (l. 12–14), and then moves to initiate closing (↑*but have a nice day. hhh hhh .h h*, l. 15). Notably, the pedestrian next goes on to switch to Swiss German for the leave-taking formula (£*schöne tag.*£/"have a nice day", produced in accented yet perfectly intelligible Swiss German, l. 16), with which the dialoger subsequently aligns (*dankeschön. tscha:u heh*/"thank you. bye heh", l. 17).

Thus, we can see that both participants engage in token-like code-switching into a language/variety in which they only have limited proficiency by resorting to routine formulae and set phrases in the greeting and farewell exchange of the encounter (cf. Ex. 5.8 *supra*).

While taking up "the language of the other" through such tokenistic switching does affiliative work and is certainly aligning at the level of language choice, it nonetheless constitutes (language) alignment *for now* only (cf. Schegloff, quoted in Wong & Olsher, 2000: 116). The encounter illustrates the limits of the participants' fluid use of their linguistic repertoires in that formulaic other-language expressions and single words are unproblematically mobilized, while more independently produced utterances are shown to occasion interactional trouble. We saw that although the pedestrian's implied request for a change of language is granted by the dialoger in an interactionally embedded manner—i.e., by simply taking up English after the *>sorry I don't speak German.<* disclaimer without further topicalizing language selection—, it is only granted *for the time being*; that is, to communicate an inability to sustain the transactional activity due to a lack of sufficient-for-all-practical-purposes linguistic abilities and bring the encounter to a close. Similarly, the pedestrian's *delayed* disclaimer (relative to earlier moments in the interaction when it could have been relevantly performed) retroactively frames the *grizi* return-greeting as *pro-forma aligned* with the initial greeting (Mondada, 2018c: 24), conveying linguistic alignment *for now* only and deferring language choice negotiation to a later point when it is next relevant. Further, we see that the pedestrian eventually switches back to Swiss German for producing the leave-taking formula *£schöne tag.£* (l. 16), highlighting not only the greater formulaicity of conversational "routines" such as closings but also the symbolic and identity-relevant value of language choice in this sequential environment. While linguistic formulae do not have the same interactional consequentiality for the overall progression of language use in closings, in contrast to openings (Mondada, 2018c)—as the end of the encounter is projected next and participants thus are on "safer ground" to make use of a language which they "don't speak"—, token-like switching of this kind here provides participants with a symbolic resource achieving an identity display (cf. Eastman & Stein, 1993 on "language display"). In this particular case, the pedestrian can be

seen to present himself as an individual of non-Swiss-German origin who has some limited competence in Swiss German and is happy to use it, thereby doing affiliative work and performing "localness."

5.5.2 Language-aligned

The preceding section showed approached participants to produce linguistic disclaimers in a language different from the one in which they were addressed. In this section, I will show that respondents may also go along at the level of language choice and deliver an "I/We don't speak X" utterance in the same language in which they are addressed. In producing such *language-aligned* disclaimers, respondents actively *demonstrate* some level of productive competencies (however formulaic and perfunctory this may be), but nonetheless *claim* a lack of sufficient-for-all-practical-purposes linguistic abilities (cf. Sacks, 1992). They thereby position themselves as *pro-forma aligning* with the proposed language *for now* only. As we discussed previously, linguistic disclaimers (much like explicit questions about language, §5.4) put activity progressivity on hold by preemptively shutting down the recipient's line of action. Thus, they are disaligning. Through the production of language-*aligned* disclaimers, however, participants position themselves as *somewhat less disaligning and relatively more affiliative* by taking up the co-participant's language, disaligning "only" with the action dimension of the co-participant's interactional project.

Examples 5.15 through 5.17 show participants to produce their language-aligned disclaimer at first possible opportunity, i.e., immediately in response to their co-participants' encounter-initiating opening utterances (as we saw in Ex. 5.10–5.13). In placing the same-language claim of linguistic incompetence in this sequential position, respondents preemptively reject the language of the prior initiating and invite a change of language, while simultaneously *temporarily* converging with—and thus accepting—the language of the other.

An illustration is shown in Ex. 5.15. Here, two charity solicitors approach a pedestrian in (slightly dialectal) German.

Ex. 5.15) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.16.57

```
01         (0.4)÷
  ped      >>walks fwd-->
  ped      >>gz down at purse-->
  dia1     >>gaze twd PED-->
  dia1     >>wks twd PED÷3 steps to her R to step in front of PED-->
  dia2     >>gaze twd PED-->>>
  dia2     >>wks twd PED-->
02 DIA1    ↑ha•llo,='n kleine moment,© du hascht best©immtØ÷ 'n herz >für d
            hello    a small  moment   you have  for sure     a heart for the
  ped      ->•gz up twd DIAs-->>
  ped                              ©...............©LH to chest-->>
  ped                                               ->Østops-->>
  dia1                                               ->÷stops-->>
03         um[welt.<
            environment
04 PED →    [#i:ch spreche kein deutsch, [aber* ich-]
             I     speak   no German    but    I-
05 DIA1                                  [a:h *which][language?
06 DIA2                                              [>english?<
  dia2               - >*stops-->>
  fig      #fig.5.14
07 PED     english yeah,±
  dia1             ->±gaze twd DIA2-->
08 DIA2    yeah of ↑course. .h±
  dia1                   ->±gaze twd PED-->>
09 DIA1    do you live here?
10         (0.2)
11 PED     no no.=actually I don't live here. ((...))
```


5.14

Once again, the position immediately after the charity worker's opening turn (l. 2–3) is the locus for a preemptive *I don't speak X* negative declarative (l. 4). In contrast to the prior examples, however, the disclaimer is here language-*aligned*[39] and the pedestrian uses German to claim "not to speak German." However formulaic this may be (set phrases like this one are typically taught early in German language classrooms or are part of "essential vocabulary" in travel guides, for example), in going on with *aber ich*-/"but I-", the pedestrian offers a glimpse of some level of more-than-formulaic productive competencies in Standard German. Although the turn-in-progress is left incomplete as it is overlapped by DIA1, the trajectory of the utterance underway possibly projects the provision of an account (e.g., something like *aber ich bin schon Mitglied*/"but I already am a member"),[40] thus pointing to the dispreferred status of the disclaimer. Note also that the somewhat hesitant negative declarative is accompanied by her putting her left palm to her chest (Fig. 5.14; cf. Ex. 5.8, 5.21).

We can see that the *i:ch spreche kein Deutsch,* disclaimer occasions an insertion sequence specifically designed to negotiate the language of the encounter: whereas DIA1 uses an *ah*-prefaced open question format to check on the pedestrian's language preference (*a:h which language?*, l. 5), DIA2 self-selects and proffers the try-marked candidate *>english?<* (produced with recognizable English phonology, l. 6). Notably, both charity workers code-switch to English for doing so. Thus, an orientation is displayed to *lingua franca* English as an

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[39] It is relevant to note here that DIA1 uses dialectal German spoken in the border region of Switzerland and Germany (a salient pronunciation feature is, e.g., found when she uses the dialect variant *hascht* [haʃt] for the second-person verb form at line 1), somewhat more closely resembling Standard German than the Swiss German dialects spoken by her coworkers.

Here a point on the sociolinguistic situation in German-speaking Switzerland is in order (see Rash, 1998). In the germanophone regions of Switzerland, roughly two varieties occur, instantiating a complex case of medial diglossia (Kolde, 1981; cf. Ferguson, 1959): Standard German (denoting the "high variety") and Alemannic dialects (denoting the "low variety"). The glottonym *Swiss German*, or *Schwyzertütsch*, is used as an umbrella term for all the local Alemannic dialects of Switzerland. Of note is that Alemannic dialects are also spoken in neighboring areas of Austria, France, and Germany. Of course, linguists' classifications of language varieties and glottonyms used emically/endogenously by the participants do not necessarily correspond to each other. Thus, when I refer to the pedestrian's Standard German disclaimer (l. 4) as "language-aligned" with the dialoger's opening in dialectal German (l. 1–2), the terminological choice is emic in character (while as an external analyst I am cognizant of the fact that lines 2–3 and line 4 are not the same "language").

[40] From later talk (not reproduced above) we learn that this is indeed the case.

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efficient *passe-partout* solution at this sequential juncture. English is then confirmed (l. 7–8),

and once the language-of-interaction has been publicly established, DIA1 goes on with "pre-

topical" talk (Maynard & Zimmerman 1984) overtly soliciting biographical information from

the pedestrian (l. 9), as a way of gauging her eligibility to become a potential donor.

The next two cases further exemplify this pattern. Here too participants place the

language-aligned disclaimer in the same sequential location, responding to an encounter-

initiating opening utterance, in their first turn-at-talk:

Ex. 5.16) CH_BIE_MICTROT_20191022_MICFR_00.17.53

```
01        (0.7)†(0.2)•
   rep    >>gazes twd PED-->
   rep    >>walks obliquely twd PED-->
   ped    >>walks fwd-->>>
   ped    >>gz fwd---•gz twd REP-->
   ped       †...-->
02 REP    mada†me bonjour,
          Ma'am   hello
          ....†LH point twd PED-->
03        (0.2)*©(.)†(0.6)©
   ped         ©takes out earphone©...-->
   ped       *lateral head shakes-->
   rep          ->†
04 PED →  £je parle pa(h)s©*h#±bien+©[français.£•©
           I  d(h)on't speak French well
05 REP                      +©[d'accord  •©ça marche.
                              all right   okay
   ped    ................©palm disp©,,,,,,,,,,,©
   ped                  ->*
   rep                    ->±
   rep                       ->+pivots, steps away-->>
   ped                          ->•gaze fwd-->>
   fig                   #fig.5.15
```


5.15

In looking at the pedestrian's responsive conduct subsequent to the reporter's greeting-summons in French (l. 2) in Ex. 5.16, we see that she takes out one of her earphones and simultaneously produces lateral head shakes while walking straight ahead (l. 3). What then occurs, after a one-second silence, is a language-aligned disclaimer that is produced with qualification and recognizable smiley-voice (*£je parle pa(h)s h bien français.£*/"I d(h)on't h speak French well"; l. 4). As she says this, she keeps her arm up and produces a palm-up/open-hand gesture (l. 5, Fig. 5.15). Thus, the pedestrian uses French to claim *insufficient-for-all-practical-purposes* language competencies in French, which is timed to coincide with an embodied display of apology (cf. Ex. 5.3, 5.8, 5.18). While the disclaimer demonstrates some level of productive proficiency in the relevant language, and can be seen as "less non-committal" with regard to language choice than offering an unqualified language-aligned *I don't speak X* claim (and could thus be taken as somewhat more negotiable by the reporter), the self-ascription of incompetence is treated as a blocking response when it is receipted with French-language acknowledgment tokens (l. 5), marking encounter closure.

Ex. 5.17) CH_BIE_MICTROT_20191015_MICCH_00.02.55

```
01        (1.5)
   rep    >>gazes twd PEDs-->
   rep    >>walks twd PEDs-->
   ped1   >>walks fwd-->
   ped    >>gazes down-->
02 REP    ↑ha•llo+ zämmä,∅tschuldigung, i bi vom radio canal drü, und äh mi∅ würd
           hello together excuse me    I am from Radio Channel Three and uh I'd
   ped1   ->•gaze twd REP-->>
   rep        ->+stops-->>
   ped1           ->∅slows down walking pace------------------------∅stops-->
03        [wunder näh-
           be interested to know-
04 PED1→  [äh *kein spichen †deutsch.*†∅=no french.
           uh  no  speak    German
   ped1      *small head shakes-----*
   ped1                     †sml shrug†
   ped1                          ->∅begins to walk away-->>
05 REP    ah [also. hhh heh.
           ah  PRT
06 PED1      [hhh so(h)•rry.•
   ped1                ->•....•gaze fwd-->>
07 REP    tsch±üss zämmä. +schöns tägli.
           bye together    have a nice day
            ->±looks down at mic-->>
                       ->+pivots, steps away-->>
```

In Ex. 5.17, we observe that the linguistic disclaimer by the preempting participant is designed bilingually (*äh kein spichen deutsch.=no french.*/"uh no speak German. no French", l. 4). The pedestrian here first responds to the reporter's Swiss German opening turn with a negative declarative in L2 German (there is subject omission in an infinitival construction, and the disclaimer is uttered in markedly accented German, exemplified by the verb form realized as *spichen* [spɪçən], vs. *sprechen* [ʃprɛçən] in Standard German). Latched onto this language-aligned disclaimer, the pedestrian switches to English and provides another negative response with *no french*. Through this, the pedestrian displays an orientation to the larger context of societal bilingualism in the officially bilingual French- and German-speaking city in which the street encounter takes place; with his *no French.*-turn expansion, the pedestrian preempts a possible understanding that the other local language, French, is potentially available as a language-of-interaction. With regard to linguistic format, it is also of note that while in the first turn-constructional unit (TCU) the disclaimer is *in* German *about* (the inability to speak) German, in the second TCU the pedestrian switches to English to claim not to speak French. Here too, the disclaimer is accompanied by lateral head shakes and a small shrug (l. 4). The negative declarative is receipted with *ah also.*/"ah PRT" and a chuckle by the reporter (l. 5), in overlap with an apology token by the pedestrian (l. 6). The reporter then moves to verbally close the encounter (l. 7). Notably, in contrast to the examples examined earlier, the reporter does not align with, and thus acquiesce to, the pedestrian's linguistic preference in this case; she continues to use Swiss German to bring the interaction to closure, thereby showing an orientation to the heightened intercomprehensibility of leave-taking formulae as well as to the relaxed interactional consequentiality of language choice in this specific structural locus of the encounter.
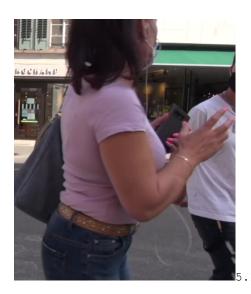
Consider another instance below. Here, the disclaimer occurs in a different sequential environment, following a same-language greeting exchange (cf. Ex. 5.14). The example thus serves as a further illustration of our point about the pro-forma character that such forms of language alignment may have in this sequential environment.

Ex. 5.18) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_02.41.53

```
01        (1.0)        ±(0.9)+(1.3)•(0.2)•(0.4)
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   dia    >>scans env±sees PED, sustained gaze at her-->>
   dia    >>stationary-----+walks twd PED-->
   ped    >>gaze down at phone---•gz up•gaze down at phone-->
02 DIA    die da•me,
          Ma'am
   ped       ->•gaze twd DIA-->
03        (0.2)
04 DIA    griezi wo:hl,+
          hello  PRT
   dia            ->+stops-->
05 PED    °gr:üzi.°∅
           hello
   ped            ->∅slows down walking pace, changes trajectory to her R-->
06 DIA    darf ich sie +•schnell e•minutä für mich•ha? (.) für de [>WWF?<]+  •
          may  I quickly have you for a minute for me      for the  WWF
07 PED →                                            *©[n : :#]:©e•in.*=
                                                        no
   dia            ->+3 lateral steps to her left----------------------+stops-->
   ped              ->•gz down--•gaze twd DIA---•middle distance-----------•DIA-->
   ped                                          ©index'no'©
   ped                                          *small head shake*
   fig                                              #fig.5.16
```



```
                                                5.16
08     → =©nicht# sprechen© deutsch. s[orry.
          not     speak    German   sorry
09 DIA                                 [Ouhke.
                                        okay
   ped    ©RH palm display©
   fig           #fig.5.17ab
10 DIA    keine [problem.
          no     problem
11 PED         [mersi.•
               thanks
   ped              ->•turns to face fwd-->>
12 DIA    schönen+ tag.
          have a nice day
   dia        ->+pivots, steps away-->>
```

5.17a

5.17b

At line 4, we see the charity solicitor produce a greeting in Swiss German, sharing mutual gaze with the pedestrian, who is walking up the street. While it is very rare for dialogers to initiate a greetings-only adjacency pair sequence as part of their opening (cf. *supra*), the *griezi wo:hl,*/"hello PRT" here appears to be related to spatio-temporal contingencies during the approach. The charity worker uses the greeting as a resource to "buy time" before coming to a halt in front of the pedestrian (l. 4; note that the greeting utterance is not composed of a standalone greeting token, but followed by the slightly stretched particle *wo:hl*, which here permits the dialoger to temporally adjust to the pedestrian's walking trajectory and coordinate the end of the turn with stopping). The pedestrian next reciprocates the greeting with a hesitant °*gr:üzi.*° (l. 5). With this, she interactionally accepts Swiss German as a possible language of the encounter. Just after she delivers the return-greeting, the pedestrian begins to slow down her walking pace, but slightly changes her trajectory toward her right (l. 5), projecting to circumvent the charity solicitor. Now positioned at the same level, in a side-to-side arrangement in immediate proximity (l. 7), the dialoger goes on to initiate a pre-sequence by checking on the pedestrian's temporal availability in Swiss German (l. 6). During the production of the turn-in-progress, the pedestrian withdraws her gaze (l. 7) and adopts what is characterizable as a "thinking face" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), as part of embodied "pre-beginning" conduct

(Schegloff, 1996) that projects an incipient turn-at-talk. And indeed, in terminal overlap with the dialoger's pre-sequence-initiating question—displaying her adequate on-line parsing of the talk and abilities to anticipate a possible transition-relevance place—, the pedestrian goes on to deploy the German-language negative response token *n:::ein.*/"no" (l. 7). This is timed to co-occurr with an index finger wave and a small lateral head shake (Fig. 5.16). Our target utterance occurs when she rushes to immediately append the disclaimer/inability account *nicht sprechen deutsch.*/"not speak German" in L2 German (marked by a simplified syntactic structure, i.e., subject ommission in an infinitival construction), followed by the post-positioned apology token *sorry* (produced with recognizable German phonology, l. 8). The pedestrian thus treats her explicit refusal and claimed inability to go along with her co-participant's language as apologizable and disaligning with the recipient's project. We observe further that the disclaimer coincides with a palm display (l. 9, Fig. 5.17ab; cf. Ex. 5.3, 5.16), accomplishing an embodied display of apology. The dialoger receipts this with *Ouhke.*/"okay" and, in her move toward closure of the fleeting encounter, goes on to adopt a German variety showing traces of what Hinnenkamp (1987; cf. Ferguson, 1975) characterized as "foreigner talk." There is inadequate congruence in the NP of her "no-problem" receipt (*keine problem.*, l. 10; instead of *kein Problem*). Such overgeneralization of the Standard German feminine gender is a common and well-documented feature of so-called *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (guest workers' pidgin German). The switch to this variety instantiates a show of recipient design, i.e., it exhibits an evaluation of the perceived linguistic abilities of a co-participant who is oriented to as not fully competent in Standard German (implying "ethnification," Day, 1994; cf. Ylänne-McEwen & Coupland, 2000 on foreigner talk as a form of "overaccommodation"). The pedestrian produces the Swiss German appreciation token *mersi.*/"thank you" (l. 11) in overlap, and the dialoger closes the encounter with the Standard German *schönen tag.*/"have a nice day", as their common interactional space is dissolved (l. 12).

5.5.3 A deviant case

The following case presents an example of an "I/We don't speak X" negative declarative that departs from the foregoing observations. Contrary to the examples examined earlier, in which participants were shown to display a certain level of commitment to the encounter but present themselves as *unable* to use the proposed language, this deviant case shows an approached party to accountably position themselves as *unwilling* to use the language in which they are addressed, instantiating a *refusal*, rather than an *inability*, to engage. So, the example is not so much about negotiating a shared language-of-interaction, but about how participants orient to and exploit the local interactional contingencies surrounding language choice in this particular praxeological context. In this example, shown in the previous chapter (Ex. 4.5) and reproduced below as Ex. 5.19, DIA1 overhears an approaching group of passers-by speaking French amongst each other. The overheard language sample becomes a resource for recipient design when she then uses French in an attempt at intercepting the pedestrians (l. 16). Her approach is, however, met with blocking responses (l. 18 ff.), and the pedestrians are shown to strategically exploit language-disalignment as a practical resource for rejecting the incipient encounter altogether.

Ex. 5.19) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.13.23

```
01 DIA1   scha:d.
          too bad
   dia1   >>gaze twd passersby-->
   dia2   >>gaze twd approaching PEDs, distance look-->
   ped    >>walk on street-->>
02        (0.6)†(.)∅(0.4)†(2.5)*†(0.2)*†(0.6)
   dia1      ->†,,,,,,,,,,†gz fwd†......†gaze twd DIA2-->
   dia2           ∅walks fwd-->
   dia2                     ->*......*gaze twd DIA1-->
03 DIA2   das sind alles tourischte.
          those are all  tourists
04        (0.2)*
   dia2      ->*...-->
05 DIA1   häh?*
          huh
   dia2     ->*gaze twd approaching PEDs-->
```

```
06        (0.2)
07 DIA2   sin †alles* tou*†rischte.*
          are  all    tourists
   dia1     ->†...........†gaze twd approaching PEDs-->>
   dia2          ->*....*gaze DIA1*faces fwd-->
08        (0.6)*
   dia2     ->*
09 DIA1   *häsch*∅ scho gfrögt gha?
          have you already asked
   dia2   *.....*gaze twd approaching PEDs-->>
   dia2        ->∅
10        (0.5)
11 DIA2   nei.=abr das gsehsch und das ghörsch.
          no   but you see that and you hear that
12 PED2   (       ) pour·[quoi?
          (       ) why
13 PED1                 [c'est parce que- [(ah oui c'était trop* xx) mai]s
                         it's because-     (ah yes it was  too   xx) but
14 PED2                                   [c'est peut-êt' exigeant (euh)]
                                           it's maybe    demanding (uh)
   dia1                 •walks twd PEDs-->>
   dia2                                            ->*
15 PED2   △ah ouais?△
           ah yeah
   dia1   △.........△points twd PEDs-->
16 DIA1   petite quest#ion,
          little question
   fig.              #fig.5.18ab
17        (0.3)
18 PED1   non.‡△[not‡  today.]=△#
          no
19 PED2       [>non merci.<]=
               no thanks
   ped1     ‡.....‡'no' gesture-->
   dia1     ->∆,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,∆
   fig.                      #fig.5.19
20 PED    =((collective ‡[laughter))
21 DIA1                 ‡[non [mais c'est- ‡>c'est seulement pour< un-
                          no   but it's-   it's  only      for    a-
22 PED3→                      [wir- wir sp-‡ wir sprechen nischt französisch,
                               we-  we sp-   we don't speak    French
   ped1                  ->‡,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,‡
23 PED    ((collective laught[er))
24 DIA1                      [bonne journée,
                              have a nice day
```


5.18a   5.18b

5.19

At line 16, the dialoger addresses the oncoming group of pedestrians with a "pre-pre" (Schegloff, 2007: 44–47) in French (*petite question,*/"little question") that co-occurs with a pointing gesture (Fig. 5.18ab). By switching from pre-opening Swiss German to encounter-initiating French, the charity worker tailors her choice of language to the perceived linguistic preference of the pedestrians, thereby revealing an orientation to recipient-design concerns (Chapter 4; Hänggi, 2022). A silence develops at line 17, and the pedestrians keep moving with unaltered pace and trajectory. Eventually, the pedestrian walking at the head of the group (PED1) produces a minimal negative response in French (*non.*, l. 17; note the prosodic stress), and then offers the increment *not today.* (l. 18), which serves to mitigate the dispreferred declining response. The pedestrian times her code-switch to English—which here seems to be used instrumentally for "doing non-localness"—to coincide with a dismissive gesture (l. 19, Fig. 5.19). This is overlapped by a rushed *non merci.* (l. 19) by another member of the group (PED2), further mitigating the refusal. With these preemptive blocking responses, the pedestrians reject the upcoming encounter, displaying their orientation to line 16 as a preliminary move projecting more to come in the recipient's project. It is when the dialoger pursues the issue and begins to articulate the reason-for-the-approach (l. 21) that yet another member of the group (PED3), as he is slightly past the dialoger, says *wir- wir sp- wir sprechen nischt französisch,*/"we- we sp- we don't speak French" in French-accented German (l. 22; as indicated, e.g., through the realization of Standard German *nicht* [nɪçt] as *nischt* [nɪʃt]). This

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draws laughter from the rest of the group (l. 23), and the charity worker publicly recognizes that the pedestrians are not willing to engage (l. 24).

So, here we see a pedestrian deploy a language-disaligned disclaimer as an *exit device*, i.e., as a way of aborting the incipient encounter before the reason-for-the-approach is articulated (cf. Mondada, 2022a). The pedestrian exploits the ironic claim of linguistic incompetence in French—the previously overheard, and presumably preferred, in-group language—as a practical resource for doing rejection and being uncooperative. The *wir sprechen nischt französisch,* disclaimer positions the group as a "non-French-speaking" collectivity, thus serving as a pro-forma inability account that is part of a strategy of (ludic mock) self-presentation designed to evade the upcoming encounter. Notwithstanding its performative jocular character (reminiscent of "language crossing;" Rampton, 1998, 2005), the use of the disclaimer illustrates how participants orient to an anticipated larger course of action, and how they use the feigning of language incompetence as a possible blocking/accounting device in this particular activity.

Summary

To recap then, §5.5 focused on the use of "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers by approached individuals in openings of impromptu public interactions between charity solicitors/reporters and passers-by. Analysis demonstrated that

i. the disclaimers can occupy a number of different sequential locations, with different implications for the progression of language use, in the incipient encounter. They are ordinarily produced by the approached party at first possible opportunity, i.e., positioned subsequent to or in overlap with the approaching party's encounter-initiating opening turn. In this way, they preempt and sequentially delete the approaching party's initiating action and make language negotiation relevant next, rejecting the language of

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the recipient's initiating action by formulating the speaker's linguistic repertoire *ex negativo*. However, less commonly they can also occur later in the incipient encounter, e.g., following a same-language greeting exchange that defers language choice renegotiation (Ex. 5.8, 5.14). Such *delayed* disclaimers (relative to earlier moments in the opening phase when they could have been relevantly performed) retroactively frame the initial greeting sequence as *pro-forma aligned*.

ii. the disclaimers can be aligned, or disaligned, with the language of the prior initiating action. With language-*disaligned* disclaimers, speakers display their identification of the language in which they are addressed, while simultaneously presenting themselves in a way that actively demonstrates their inability to produce adequate utterances in that language. In this way, they are *disaligning with both the action and language dimension* of the recipient's interactional project. Language-*aligned* disclaimers, on the other hand, are relatively less disaligning and performatively position speakers as somewhat more affiliative in that they go along at the level of language choice—albeit only for the time being—by mobilizing formulaic knowledge of lexical items and set phrases they have in the language they "don't speak." Language-*aligned* disclaimers position the speaker as being "with" the co-participant at the level of language choice, although they implement a structurally disaligning response (Auer, 1998: 12). Despite *claiming* an inability to produce it, by aligning with the initial language choice participants still actively *demonstrate* some level of productive competencies in that language (cf. Sacks, 1992). This level of competence is, however, locally oriented to as insufficient-for-all-practical-purposes. In this way, speakers display linguistic alignment *for now only*, making relevant a change of language next;

iii. in preference organizational terms, the disclaimers—both language-disaligned and -aligned—are analyzable as a dispreferred action. They act as a preemptive

blocking response that sequentially deletes the prior initiating action and invites a change of language, thus hindering the progression of the recipient's projected course of action, or possibly occasioning encounter closure (which is linked to the interactional contingencies surrounding language choice in the settings analyzed here). With regard to their design, the negative declaratives tend to be produced with delay, speech perturbations, qualifications, laugh tokens, apologetic accounts and accompanying embodied conduct that displays the speaker's orientation to their disaligning with the action (and language) dimension of the recipient's project;

iv. by responding with a disclaimer, approached parties can be seen to deploy a relatively more subtle practice for requesting a change of language (tacitly *inviting* the use of an alternative language, rather than overtly *asking for* it via a "do you speak X?" interrogative), which was shown to be treated as such by the approaching party in next position.

5.6   Conclusion

My aim with this chapter was to describe some moment-by-moment practices available to previously unacquainted participants for collaboratively negotiating the language(s) in which their impromptu interaction is to be conducted. Close inspection of nascent encounters between individuals whose linguistic competencies and preferences are entirely unknown to each other enabled us to see the delicate interactional work that goes into emergently discovering, negotiating, and establishing locally relevant linguistic resources, illustrating how language choice must be viewed as a contingent, *in-situ* interactional accomplishment—rather than being determined *a priori* based on taken-for-granted notions of the world, formal policies, or prescriptive norms.

Taking the primacy of sequentiality as the starting point for the analysis of code-switching, this chapter zoomed in on two recurrent ways that previously unacquainted participants explicitly negotiate a shared language during the early moments of interaction:

1) "Do you speak X?" requests, and

2) "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers.

The chapter examined the positioning of these actions vis-à-vis the sequential organization of the opening phase, showing how bids for a change of language are ordinarily produced at first possible opportunity, i.e., positioned subsequent to or in overlap with an encounter-initiating opening turn. Analysis revealed that delayed invitations for a change of language (relative to earlier moments in the opening phase when they could have been relevantly performed) are treated as accountable, framing the talk-so-far as pro-forma aligned at the level of language choice, and possibly prompting inferences about genuine inability vs. unwillingness to conduct the encounter in the locally proposed language. With regard to the design of these actions, we saw that they can be delivered in both alignment and disalignment with the language of the prior initiating action. Using the same language in which one is addressed is both relatively more *aligning* and *affiliative*. It indicates an orientation not only to the immediate sequential context (Auer, 1984a, 1995), but also to the local socio-cultural environment as a locus of normative expectations regarding language choice (cf. Lüdi, 2007b on the Swiss "territoriality principle") and can be seen as a way of performing "localness." However, asking to switch to a different language was still shown to be treated as marked, as speakers are disaligning with their co-participant's interactional project.

The chapter built on and contributes to CA research into language alternation and the sequential organization of co-present face-to-face openings. Although openings have been, and continue to be, a prolific object of study in interactional research and figure centrally in the history of CA, there has not been a strong focus on language choice in incipient encounters.

Conversely, although multilingualism research has seen an increase in sequential-interactional studies of code-switching since the pioneering work of Auer (1984a), it is safe to say that almost four decades later, little systematic attention has been paid to the negotiation of language choice in openings (but see Greer, 2013a; Hazel, 2015; Heller, 1978; Mondada, 2018c, in prep.; Piccoli, 2016; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002; Raymond, 2014a, 2020; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002). The present study situates itself at the intersection of these areas of research, and provides new insights about not only how the issue of language choice is collaboratively accomplished in the early moments of an encounter, but also how individuals mobilize their multiple linguistic and embodied resources to coordinate entry into jointly focused interaction. By putting language choice center stage as one fundamental "organizational job" (Schegloff, 1986: 116) that must be worked through during the initial moments of a new encounter, the chapter showed how openings constitute a most important locus for the analysis of not just the negotiation of a shared language-of-interaction, but more generally the issue of identification and categorization among previously unacquainted individuals (Schegloff, 1979; De Stefani & Mondada, 2018), members' ways of "doing being plurilingual" (Mondada, 2004) through strategies of self-presentation, and how multilingual resources intersect with embodied resources in the production of social action. More broadly, the analysis provides a window into everyday moments of language contact and multilingualism-in-interaction, including how participants resort to tokenistic code-switching into languages in which they only have, or claim to have, limited competence.

More specifically, the findings reported here shed new empirical light on sequences of "language negotiation" and "preference-related" switching (Auer, 1984a, 1995)—a deeply familiar phenomenon to multilinguals that nevertheless often takes a backseat to analysis of "discourse-related" switching, or is relegated to ethnographic description in investigations of language alternation. In examining sequential processes of negotiation of a common language-

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of-interaction, the analysis illustrated how unacquainted participants display their orientation to each other's unknown but *in-situ* discoverable linguistic competencies. They may display their acquired understanding about one another by progressively modifying their linguistic choices according to locally evolving conceptions of recipient design, based on co-interactants' publicly displayed and continuously updated preferences for one language over another. This was shown to be accomplished overtly by launching a pre sequence or insertion sequence specially devoted to the topicalization and (re)negotiation of language choice.

Embedded language negotiation

Of course, "do you speak X?" requests and "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers are not the only interactional resources available to previously unacquainted people to display their preferences for language use. While the above analyses focused on practices of *explicit* language negotiation, participants have a large repertoire of resources at their disposal to (re)negotiate language, including what may be termed practices of tacit, or *embedded*, language negotiation. By "tacit" I refer to the "embeddedness" (cf. Jefferson, 1987) of how language (re)negotiation is conducted in an *en passant* manner, rather than launching a language-related insertion sequence specifically designed to do language (re)negotiation. With practices of embedded language negotiation, language-related concerns are not explicitly topicalized and overtly "formulated" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970); rather, language (re)negotiation constitutes a by-the-way occurrence and is not exposed as the principal business of the turn-at-talk. Brief illustrations of such practices are found in Ex. 5.20 through 5.22.

For instance, participants may use the inference-richness of membership categories (Sacks, 1992; Hester & Eglin, 1997) as a way to indirectly flag linguistic preferences and competencies through practices of *self-* and *other-categorization*. Linguistic expertise can be made relevant as a category-bound attribute by claiming or ascribing incumbency to a

particular social category. Implied as a category-bound competency or attribute, language choice is here not explicitly topicalized. Two brief examples will make the point:

Ex. 5.20) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.50.20 (simplified transcript)

```
01 DIA    hoi zämme,=e ganz kleine m[oment,
         hi together a very small moment
02 PED1                            [°bonjour.°
                                     good morning
03       (0.5)
04 DIA → .hh [are you# tourists?
05 PED2      [h heh.
   fig              #fig.5.20
06       (0.2)
07 PED2  euh y[es.
08 PED1       [yes.
09       (0.3)
10 DIA   a:::h okay.=>where do you come from?<
11       (0.4)
12 PED1  Fr[ance.
13 PED2    [France.
```


5.20

This case presents an example of an "are you X?" other-categorization.[41] We can see that one way that previously unacquainted participants can come to an understanding of what language to use in the incipient interaction is by asking outright about category membership for which

[41] For another similar example of an "are you X?" other-categorization, consider the following transcript showing the beginning of a customer-bartender service encounter at an Anglo-Celtic pub in Barcelona, Spain (adapted from Torras & Gafaranga, 2002: 531):

```
01 BAR   hola.
         hi
02 CUS→  erm are you Scottish
03 BAR   no (.) I'm Irish
04 CUS   ah well
05 BAR   near enough
06 CUS   erm (.) I'll have (.) a Lagavulin ((pointing at the whisky bottles))
07 BAR   a which
08 CUS   Lagavulin
```

language choice is treated as category-bound. In the above example, the charity solicitor alternates to *lingua franca* English and offers the try-marked *.hh are you tou<u>ri</u>sts?* other-categorization for confirmation in the next turn (l. 4) after the pedestrian's language-disaligned return-greeting in French (l. 2), which is treated as projecting the possible unavailability of (Swiss) German. Notably, the dialoger appears to take the categorial incumbency as *tourists* to be inferable from not only language choice but also the couple's visual appearance, i.e., PED1's carrying a selfie stick (Fig. 5.20). Not responding in Swiss German—the local language—, in conjunction with glance-available categorization, are treated as flagging "non-localness," for which *lingua franca* English is oriented-to as a *passe-partout* solution.

By contrast with cases of *other*-categorization, in which it is the recipient who candidatedly ascribes/proffers a membership category, the opening phase interactions between "strangers" is also a frequent site for practices of explicit *self*-categorization (cf. Pillet-Shore, 2011). This typically takes the form of declarative "I am X" statements. These categorial practices can be understood as part of a strategy of self-presentation and identity management through which unacquainted participants can tacitly indicate their linguistic preferences and (non)availability of certain linguistic resources. Consider Ex. 5.21 below, which shows the beginning of a market stall interaction between a customer and a seller in north-eastern France, right at the border to Switzerland.

Ex. 5.21) FR_STL_VEGAN_02.20.31 (simplified transcript)

```
01 CUS    bonjou[r,
          good morning
02 SEL         [bonjour,
               good morning
03        (.)
04 CUS →  uh:m (0.2) so ©je suis©anglais,#
                       I  am  English
                   ©.......©RH to chest-->
   fig                           #fig.5.21
05        (0.2)
06 SEL    yeah,
07        (0.3)
08 CUS    uh©(.) we were here before, and [we talked about the kefir,
09 SEL                                     [yeah,
```

```
      cus   ->>©
10          (.)
11 SEL   yeah,=↑a:h yeah I remember, ((...))
```


5.21

After a language-aligned greeting sequence in the local language, French (l. 1–2), the customer goes on to offer identifying information about herself in the next turn: she mobilizes nationality as a "membership categorization device" (Sacks, 1992) and categorizes herself in national terms by announcing *uh:m (0.2) so je suis anglais,*/"I am English" (l. 4). As she says this, she places her right palm to her chest (Fig. 5.21; cf. Ex. 5.8, 5.15). Much like in the cases of language-alignment examined earlier (§5.4.2, §5.5.2), the explicit self-categorization, produced with the phonology of a French-as-a-second-language speaker, displays some formulaic knowledge of French. Of note is that the *je suis anglais* utterance—flagging the speaker's L2-ness also through inadequate gender agreement (i.e., Standard French grammar would call for the feminine form *anglaise* for female referents)—is preceded by the English-language discourse marker *so* (Bolden, 2009). The *so*-prefaced self-categorization launches a preliminary sequence that is oriented to by the recipient as making language choice renegotiation relevant next; it retroactively frames the initial greeting exchange as pro-forma aligned, and acts as a vehicle for inviting the use of English while simultaneously rejecting French as a possible language-of-interaction. And indeed, the seller demonstrates her understanding of the self-categorization as such when she deploys the English-language acknowledgment token *yeah.* in the next turn (l. 6), thereby interactionally confirming English as a possible language for the encounter. We see, then, that the invocation of the national

identity category is treated as indicating linguistic expertise as a category-bound attribute. The customer's unsolicited self-identifying as "English" helps solve the practical issue of recipient design, permitting the seller to tailor language choice to the perceived, category-bound linguistic preference and competencies of the customer.

Perhaps the most subtle form of (re)negotiating language is inter-turn language alternation *by itself* (recall the schematic pattern of language negotiation sequences outlined in §5.2). One common way that participants can tacitly invite the use of a given language in the initial moments of an interaction is by greeting in that language, or, conversely, producing language-disaligned return-greetings. Prior research on incipient multilingual encounters showed that participants unfamiliar with one another's linguistic competencies and preferences orient to greetings as consequential for the language in which their interaction is to be conducted (see Mondada, 2018c; Debois, in prep. for a full treatment).

While embedded language negotiation often takes the form of greetings in such multilingual encounters, unacquainted participants may also embeddedly negotiate language through longer stretches of divergent language choice. In so doing, participants progressively discover, test, and assess each other's linguistic abilities as well as flag up individual preferences for one language over the other, before eventually aligning at the level of language choice. A brief example will make the point.
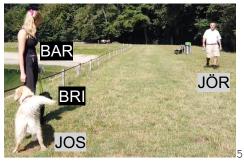
Ex. 5.22 shows the emergence of an encounter between two fellow dog walkers in a rural area of German-speaking Switzerland. The transcript begins with Barbara, out for a walk with her three-month-old puppy, Britney, being approached by an off-leash Labrador named Josy. Josy's caretaker, Jörg, eventually joins the scene (see Fig. 5.22) and addresses his canine companion by somewhat humorously commenting on the mismatch in age and size between the adult dog and the small puppy (l. 63). Note that Barbara and Britney's habitual language-of-interaction is Finnish.

Ex. 5.22) CH_SC_DOGW_20200815_4_09.30 (simplified transcript)

```
((52 lines omitted: dogs greet and play with each other off-leash, BAR laughs and
comments on the encounter in Finnish, dog-directed talk in Finnish))
```

```
53   JÖR   CHUM JOSY,
             come Josy
54         (0.5)
55   BAR   hhh hhh h hm (.) .hhh
56         (1.6)
57   BAR   ↑jo: jo:,
             yeah yeah
58         (2.3)
59   BAR   hhh hui:,
60         (4.4)
61   BAR   °↑haps.°
62         (0.5)
```

```
63   JÖR   de •het [jo angscht vor diar,                Swiss German
             this one is PRT scared of you
64   BAR           [∅£grü(h)üä∅zi,£# heh• heh heh• .h    Swiss German
                    he(h)llo
     bar   ...•gaze twd JÖR-------------•........•gaze twd JOS-->
     bar           ∅nods-----∅
     fig                        #fig.5.22
```



```
65         (3.4)
66   JÖR   josy chum,
             Josy come
67         (0.4)
68   BAR   hhh h h heh heh .h
69         (1.4)
70   BAR   ↑hi:,
71         (0.6)
72   JOS   ((barks))
73         (0.4)
```

```
74   JÖR   ehh de wot nid spilä,=
                this one doesn't want to play
75   BAR   =HHH h h h [hmhm ↑hmhm .h
76   JÖR             [heh heh h
77   JÖR   ischs no en junge?                           Swiss German
             is it still a young one
78         (0.3)
79   BAR   ja, (0.2) .h sie ist äh drei- (.) drei monat.  L2 German
             yes        she is  uh three-   three month
80         (0.4)
81   JÖR   a:o[: :]:h.
82   BAR      [ja,]
               yes
83         (0.8)
84   JÖR   ja [die ist] zwei jahre alt da,              Standard German
             yes this one is two years old there
```

Progression of language use

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```
85 BAR      [hhh    h]
86         (0.4)
87 BAR   hhh h=
88 JÖR   =josy.=
              Josy
89 BAR   =okay,
90         (0.2)
91 BAR   [zwei jahre alt.]
           two   years old
92 JÖR   [noch nicht ganz] aber bald.
           not  quite yet   but  soon
93         (0.3)
94 BAR   j(h)a, hhh h=
           yes
95 JÖR   =gleich an weihnachten wird °sie-°
           right  on Christmas    will  she-
96         (0.6)
97 BAR   ↑ui[:::::::  hhh heh] heh heh heh heh hhh h h .hhh
98 JÖR      [he:  >he he he<]

         ((12 lines omitted: BRE and JÖR laugh about the dogs playing with and
         chasing each other))

111       (0.9)
112 BAR  super ähm (0.7) energic.=heh heh [hhh h              English LF
113 JÖR                         [£oh yes.£=[hhh heh h h       English LF
114 BAR                                    [heh heh hh h h .h English LF
115       (1.0)
116 BAR  ↓jaho(h)o:j (.) .h ho:(h)jojoj
117       (1.2)
118 BAR  hhh heh [hhh °o:jo(h)jojoj° .hhh

         ((46 lines omitted: JÖR leashes JOS))

165       (1.0)
166 JÖR  h'v a nice day häh,=                                English LF
                    PRT
167 BAR  =you too bye bye.                                   English LF
168       (0.2)
169 JÖR  bye bye.                                            English LF
```

Very roughly, the above (admittedly superficial) description illustrates the progression of language use in the chance encounter. It allows us to see how inter-turn language alternation *by itself* provides previously unacquainted participants with a resource to continuously display and check on each other's linguistic preferences and competencies. This is done incrementally over the course of the encounter, without at any point overtly topicalizing language choice. Participants can tacitly propose the use of an alternative language simply by starting to use that language in next position, leaving it to the co-participant to see the turn as a bid for a switch of the proposed language-of-interaction. In clear cases of "preference-related switching" (Auer, 1984a, 1995) across multiple adjacency pair sequences, the passage from Swiss German to

Standard German and finally to English as a *lingua franca* shows Jörg to gradually converge toward Barbara's language preference. This instantiates an interactionally negotiated form of adjustment to the co-participant, demonstrating how interactants engaged in the search for overlapping repertoires may progressively modify language choice to the assessed linguistic competencies of the other, according to locally evolving conceptions of recipient design.

The goal of this chapter was not to propose a detailed comparative analysis of language negotiation practices that can be observed across diverse institutional and ordinary public environments. However, the last example points to possibly contrasting patterns of language choice between everyday casual encounters and public interactions in more institutionally-specific environments (e.g., person-on-the-street interviews, vox pops). In the absence of asymmetrical transactional rights and obligations, language choice in the chance dog-walk encounter was shown to be worked out in a more embedded and dilatory fashion than in the street fundraising or vox pop examples, where participants make relevant "standardized relational pairs" (Sacks, 1972) such as "charity solicitor–donor" or "interviewer–interviewee," and overwhelmingly display an orientation to the approached party as having the right to choose their preferred language-of-interaction. This ready adaptability to the various locally displayed and claimed preferences emerges not only as a practical necessity, but such practices of linguistic adjustment can also be seen as a way of doing "good service." The foregoing observations offer valuable insights into how participants might orient differently to language negotiation and language choice in these diverse environments, inviting reflection on the role of the relative institutionality or informality of an encounter for the progression of language use. Future comparative work along those lines will allow us to further explore the *possible* relevance and procedural consequentiality (Schegloff, 1991) of aspects of the interactional setting and activity to the moment-by-moment negotiation of language choice among previously unacquainted people.

6   LANGUAGE BROKERING

6.1   Introduction

The analysis to be provided in this chapter addresses a basic recurrent problem that previously unacquainted people face during the initial moments of their chance encounter: how to deal with the potential interactional trouble of not sharing a common language, or having limited shared linguistic resources with co-participants. One common method of bridging non-overlapping repertoires and asymmetrical linguistic proficiency in multiperson interaction is through third-party linguistic mediating. Here I will explore this issue by focusing on how co-present third persons come to act as *ad hoc* linguistic mediators, or *language brokers*, in an effort to facilitate understanding and coordinate participation in chance encounters between two or more previously unacquainted participants who turn out to be of unequal language competencies. It will be argued that language brokering, entailing a diverse range of multimodal facilitatory practices deployed by a third party, furnishes participants with a productive resource for methodically dealing with interactional moments in which mutual understanding is jeopardized due to the asymmetrically multilingual (exolingual) participant constellation.

I will begin with a select overview of prior research on language brokering and third-party linguistic facilitation in interaction, in which I also aim to clarify terminological choices (§6.2). I will next turn to the detailed analysis of the interactional work involved in some forms of language brokering (§6.3). This analytic section is divided into three sub-sections: I will first look at instances of *self-initiated brokering* (§6.3.1), in which I will show how participants, upon hitting language-related interactional trouble, deploy various practices for explicitly requesting linguistic help from a co-present third person. Second, I will examine cases of *other-*

initiated brokering (§6.3.2). Here, co-present third persons will be shown to voluntarily/anticipatorily engage in language brokering by offering linguistic support without their help being overtly solicited. Third, I will attempt to synthesize the findings of the two prior sub-sections by turning to the examination of a case in which methods of self- and other-initiated brokering intertwine within a single encounter (§6.3.3). Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of the findings and their implications (§6.4).

6.2   Background

Research into what can loosely be described as the facilitation of communication between linguistically heterogeneous members of society is an inherently interdisciplinary domain of study rooted in distinct epistemological orientations. A varied body of literature addressed issues broadly related to the bridging of language barriers in face-to-face multiperson interaction, and we find a heterogeneity of approaches and conceptualizations that come with considerable terminological diversity (see Baker & Saldanha, 2020; Pöchhacker, 2016; Zanettin & Rundle, 2022 and references therein). I will briefly sketch some of the major themes in the literature that are pertinent to this study, with a focus on social interactional research. I will selectively draw on other domains of scholarship to set the stage and discuss terminological choices adopted in the current work.

6.2.1 Brokers-cum-translators: Linguistic mediating in professional and mundane contexts

When multilingual participants deploy facilitatory interactional practices in an effort to mediate between individuals with different linguistic (and cultural) backgrounds, they engage in what has been termed *language brokering* in prior literature. In an early definition of language brokering, Tse (1996: 485) writes that "[l]anguage brokers facilitate communication between

two linguistically and/or culturally different parties. Unlike formal interpreters and translators, brokers mediate, rather than merely transmit, information." The term *language brokering* originated relatively recently (for an early use of the term see Shannon, 1987) and has been popularized within the nascent field of *child language brokering*, which examines how children, typically within intergenerational migrant families and communities, engage in linguistic and cultural mediating by conducting *ad hoc* translation for family members and friends in a wide variety of formal and informal settings (for overviews see Antonini, 2010; Antonini et al., 2017). However, as Hall and Guéry (2010: 24–25) note, language brokering "has been around for a very long time, although not labelled as such" (e.g., Harris & Sherwood, 1978) and "the large number of studies [on child language brokering] now taking place is perhaps obscuring the fact that language brokering is not simply the province of children." Beyond the focus on children-as-linguistic-and-cultural-mediators, the large diversity of contexts in which language brokering occurs has only recently begun to be explored.

What the above paragraph suggests is that what is commonly and vernacularly referred to as "translation" by laypeople instantiates a pervasive, and perhaps the most familiar, form of language brokering. Various terms have been used to describe the phenomenon of spontaneous translation by individuals without formal training in linguistic mediation (and oftentimes working for free). These include "natural" translation (Harris, 1977), "lay" translation (Müller, 1989), "non-professional" interpreting (Del Torto, 2008), "impromptu" translation (Greer, 2008), "informal" interpreting (MacFarlane et al., 2009), "ad hoc" interpreting (Traverso, 2012; Probirskaja, 2017), "oral" translation (De Stefani et al., 2000; Merlino, 2012, 2014; Merlino & Mondada, 2013, 2014), or "language brokering" (Antonini et al., 2017; see below). This select body of literature evidently reveals a need to distinguish the phenomenon from professionalized translation, which is often done by emphasizing its "mundane" character via pre-positioned labels (often negative ones that define the concept *ex negativo*). This terminological diversity

reflects, as Harjunpää (2021a: 153) points out, that what has, *faute de mieux*, been termed "non-professional translation" constitutes a nascent interdisciplinary field of research that has only recently begun to attract more systematic analytic attention (Antonini et al., 2017; Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva, 2012).

It has historically proven challenging to pinpoint what translation is or entails, and there have been numerous definitions over the past few decades—not least due to the discrepancy between a certain professional ethos and prescriptive standards of practice, on the one hand, and lay understandings and actual situated practices, on the other (see Baraldi & Gavioli, 2012; Harjunpää, 2017; Merlino, 2012). It is helpful to appreciate that a good deal of previous research into phenomena related to those addressed in the present investigation has its home in translation studies (see Baker & Saldanha, 2020; Zanettin & Rundle, 2022) and its emerging branch of interpreting studies (see Pöchhacker, 2016). In this literature, a distinction is often maintained between "translation" and "interpreting," the former typically referring to the written dimension and the latter to oral forms of translation. Correspondingly, the term "translator" tends to be reserved for trained professionals concerned with written forms of translation, whereas "interpreter" is used to refer to trained professionals conducting oral translation. This terminological distinction will not be followed here. In line with Merlino (2012), I adopt the generic vernacular terms *translation* / *translator* throughout this work for referring to oral translatory interaction, thereby abandoning dichotomies based on the medium (written vs. oral), professional status (trained vs. lay translators), and setting (institutional vs. ordinary) that often underlie normative, aprioristic, exogenously-imposed visions of translation. This terminological choice is emic in character, and allows for the highlighting of translation as an endogenous *members' activity* managed by individuals—be they formally trained professionals or not—who reveal themselves to be multilingual, for all practical purposes, contingently engaging in various interactional practices (such as language

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alternation) in an effort to promote participation and facilitate understanding between people with differing language competencies.

6.2.2 A praxeological approach to language brokering

The view of linguistic mediating offered in the current study further differs from more traditional and idealized conceptualizations of "interpreting" in that it does not view it simply as a means of transmitting informational content from a source language into a target language—as literally and discreetly as possible, in a fly-on-the-wall manner. While the model of the interpreter as an invisible "conduit" remains widespread and prevalent in a number of different areas, inlcuding formal training programs, a significant sociolinguistic body of work drawing on microethnographic and more interaction-oriented approaches (e.g., Angermeyer, 2015; Berk-Seligson, 1990; Mason, 1999; Wadensjö, 1998) has, beginning in the late 1980s, challenged the idea of the passive, non-participatory role of the translator, seen as mere inhabitant of a static institutionalized role. By describing the translator's continuous and active co-participation in the talk-in-progress within triadic or multiperson translator-mediated interaction in various settings, these studies highlight translators' responsibility, agentivity, the consequentiality of their mere co-presence, and their influence on interactional outcomes, thereby contesting the myth of invisibility and neutrality (Angelelli, 2004; Metzger, 1999) often sloganized in prescriptivist professional guidelines and codes of conduct.

In line with this, I here defend a *praxeological understanding* of language brokering, including but not limited to translation, as a members' activity (Markaki et al., 2013; Merlino, 2012). By this I mean to underscore that translation as a situated mediating practice is not simply "linguistic decoding" and does not exist in a social vacuum independent of the local practical context in which it is embedded; translation cannot be divorced from ongoing courses of practical action and the particulars of the larger social activity, and the overall participation

framework is ongoingly negotiated and reshaped contingent upon locally emergent communicative needs. The present study thus joins a line of conversation analytic research showing how, at a micro-level, oral translation is done in various (more or less institutionally-specific, more or less ordinary) contexts (see, e.g., De Stefani et al., 2000; Merlino, 2012, 2014; Merlino & Mondada, 2013, 2014; Mondada, 2012; Traverso, 2012 on multilingual workplace meetings; Bolden, 2000, 2018; Raymond, 2014b; Wadensjö, 1998 on medical interpreting; Komter, 2005; Wadensjö, 1998 on police interpreting; for less institutionalized, everyday translatory interaction among family and friends, see, e.g., Bolden, 2012; Del Torto, 2008; Greer, 2008; Harjunpää, 2017; Müller, 1989). These studies provide empirically grounded accounts of translatory activities as situated interactional achievements (Schegloff, 1986) that are sequentially co-constructed in and through the moment-by-moment organization of interaction between active participants—including the translator as a physically co-present, full-fledged, agentive co-participant, with "fluid" identities-in-interaction (Merlino & Mondada, 2014) and "not just the voice *ex-machina* from behind the scene" (Müller, 1989: 714).

As this growing body of CA research on translation shows (see Gavioli, 2022 for a recent overview), translators' *in-situ* interactional work involves much more than simply switching languages, entailing a wide variety of facilitatory practices that transcend "translation" *sensu stricto*. A social-interactional approach, looking at translator-mediated interaction in actual situated contexts, permits us to see that a clear-cut distinction between concepts like "translation" and "mediation" often cannot be maintained and that it is, to a large extent, an exogenous academic consideration. While prior CA work on spontaneous translation (e.g., De Stefani et al., 2000) and "translatory" practices (Harjunpää, 2017; Müller, 1989)—including multimodal forms of mediating (Markaki et al., 2013; Merlino, 2012; Merlino & Mondada, 2013; Mondada, 2012)—established that what is vernacularly, emically referred to

as "translation" is actually intimately related to, and not always clearly distinguishable from, a host of often-intersecting mediating practices, an increasing number of interactional studies in recent years have adopted the term (*language*) *brokering* to explicitly capture the fact that what translators do goes beyond translating into consequential coordinating activities (cf. Wadensjö, 1998). In these studies, brokering was shown to include, in addition to oral translation, various forms of facilitating asymmetrically multilingual interaction. For instance,

- switching the overall language-of-interaction to integrate a non-understanding, currently non-contributing, party into the interaction (Skårup, 2004);

- self-selecting and providing a repair solution on behalf of an originally addressed, less competent recipient (Bolden, 2012; Greer & Ogawa, 2021);

- selecting a third person to clarify trouble (Bolden, 2012; Greer, 2015; Greer & Ogawa, 2021);

- recipient-designing specialist bio-medical ("doctor's side") and more experiential ("patient's side") knowledge for the benefit of the current addressee (Raymond, 2014b);

- attending to a non-understanding participant's embodied displays of (dis)engagement as a prompt for linguistic assistance (Harjunpää, 2021a);

- or mediating co-participants' volition in offer and request sequences (Harjunpää, 2021b).

By identifying and unpacking some of the actual interactional practices that the term (*language*) *brokering* glosses over, this presently-emerging body of literature is very much in line with earlier CA work on translatory practices, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of how third parties facilitate understanding and promote participation between speakers whose shared linguistic resources are relatively limited.

There are different ways, however, the term has been used in the CA literature mentioned above. Some scholars connect brokering primarily with repair phenomena, whereas

others apply a more extensive understanding, using it to widely refer to a variety of mundane mediating practices. In line with this latter usage, *language brokering* will here be employed as a hypernym to describe a diverse range of facilitatory practices that multilingual participants deploy on an *ad hoc* basis in asymmetrically multilingual multiperson interaction. Thus, *language brokering* (used interchangeably with *linguistic mediating*; Harjunpää, 2017: 25–26) is here defined broadly as the methodical ways by which individuals with relatively greater access to linguistic resources come to mediate ("broker") actual or anticipated language-related production and understanding problems, thereby transiently assuming facilitatory roles in an effort to maintain and restore mutual understanding in the face of (potential) momentary breakdowns of intersubjectivity, and allowing for the advancement of local courses of action. In light of my overarching concern in this dissertation with members' practices for coordinating language choice and participation, it is argued that this provisional working defintion (provisional because it is, ultimately, only via "bottom-up" empirical examination that we can get at exact definitions of the phenomena at hand) of *language brokering* as an encompassing umbrella term is adequate for the present purposes; it allows for the incorporation of a variety of facilitatory practices that include, but are not limited to, translation. Given that, as we will see below, translation constitutes *but one among several brokering resources* to be addressed in this chapter, (*ad hoc*, impromptu) *translation* will solely be used where it is relevantly oriented to as such in endogenous terms, instantiating one specific form of language brokering. This terminological choice is not only consistent with prior work, but also lacks the biases that other terms seem to connote. For instance, it has the benefit of clearly referring to mundane mediating practices without resorting to negative labels (such as in "non-professional" or "informal") that are grounded in a dichotomous, asymmetrical opposition to professionalized activities. Moreover, it allows for the highlighting of the versatile and interdisciplinary nature of language brokering recognized in other fields of research.

In prior work most directly relevant to this study, language brokering was documented in various mundane contexts. This research on brokering practices was primarily concerned with interactions between previously acquainted persons—such as in intergenerational migrant families (Bolden, 2012; Del Torto, 2008), in a homestay context (Greer, 2015), or casual get-togethers between family and friends (Harjunpää, 2017, 2021a, 2021b)—whose shared interactional history and mutual biographical knowledge provide them with resources for recipient design and thus might more readily facilitate interaction. By contrast, the present chapter describes facilitatory brokering practices as they are occasioned during the initial moments of chance encounters between *previously unacquainted persons* who spontaneously strike up a conversation in multilingual public space. The current study thus complements and extends previous work by focusing on i) a specific sequential-structural locus in interactions characterized by ii) a specific participant constellation, taking place in iii) an understudied multilingual environment. The emergent and contingent nature of these aleatoric encounters, involving participants who have no *a priori* knowledge of which linguistic resources they (don't) share and who might only speak bits and pieces of the locally relevant language(s), affords an opportunity to highlight praxeological aspects of everyday multilingualism-in-interaction: it permits us to see some of the methods by which linguistic help from a co-present third person is elicited and provided on an *ad hoc* basis, how the participation framework is being set up accordingly and emergently reshaped, and how conditions for sustained social interaction to take place are being negotiated here and now. A focus on how language brokering emerges and is multimodally organized in the initial moments of such impromptu public interactions underscores that multilingualism is an occasioned, interactionally produced (vs. *a priori* given) matter, which is socially distributed within and across participants and collectively made available in the local environment.

6.3   Analysis

When participants encounter language-based difficulties in an utterance's understanding or production, language brokering furnishes them with a resource for dealing with this methodically. In the ensuing analysis, I will focus on interactional moments of language brokering as they occur during the initial moments of public interactions between unfamiliar persons.

This section is organized into three sub-sections: First, I will illustrate how focal participants explicitly *request* linguistic assistance from a peripherally available third person in an effort to bridge language-related interactional trouble (*self-initiated brokering*). Second, I will show how previously peripheral, non-focal individuals can use their relatively greater access to linguistic resources as a contingent right to step in and momentarily interject themselves into the ongoing interaction as language brokers by voluntarily/anticipatorily *offering* linguistic help, without their assistance being overtly solicited (*other-initiated brokering*).[42] Finally, I will turn to the examination of a case in which methods of self- and other-initiatied language brokering intertwine within a single interactional episode.

6.3.1 Self-initiated brokering: Explicit requests for linguistic assistance from a co-present third person

In multiperson interaction with an asymmetrically multilingual (exolingual) language constellation, participants who hit language-related trouble understanding or producing an utterance may have the possibility to seek help from co-present third persons who are oriented to as more proficient, and who are thereby momentarily cast into the role of language broker. This is exemplified by the following set of cases, in which the multilingual abilities of a third

---

[42] I thus use the distinction between "self" and "other" as a heuristic device according to which "self" refers to the experiencer of language-related interactional trouble, while "other" refers to (co-present persons being mobilized or volunteering as) language brokers.
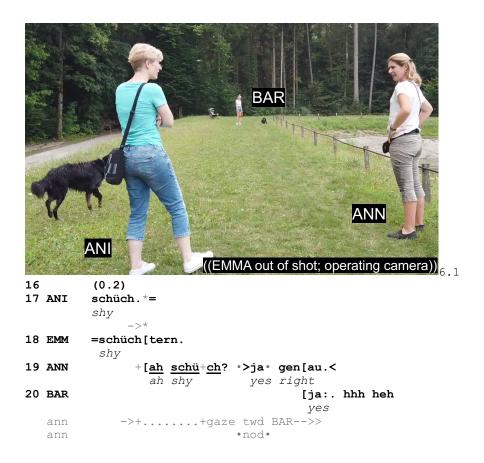
party are mobilized in an effort to deal with language-related interactional trouble. This allows interactants to bridge momentary linguistic gaps, working to restore intersubjectivity and further the activity underway.

As an initial case, consider Extract 6.1 below. It shows the first few moments of a chance encounter between Barbara and the "with" (Goffman, 1971) Anna and Anita, who are exchanging a moment of sociability while walking their dogs in German-speaking Switzerland.

Ex. 6.1) CH_SC_DOGW_20200813_3_00.07.12

Requesting ad hoc translation from a previously peripheral participant

```
01 ANN    WIE ALT ISCH ER?
          HOW OLD IS   HE
          >>gaze twd BAR-->l.14
02        (0.4)
03 BAR    ehhh heh (0.5) er- (0.3) °ist° (0.3) eh:m (1.9) drei- drei und halb.
                          he-       is             uh:m          three- three and half
04        (0.3)
05 ANN    [(dre-)
           (thre-)
06 BAR    [eh: (1.1) monat.
           uh        month
07 ANN    okay.
08        (0.2)
09 BAR    ja. heh hhh h
          yes
10        (1.4)
11 BAR    †er- (0.4) sie ist (.) ↓shy.
           he-       she is
          †gaze twd ANN/ANI-->>
12        (0.4)
13 BAR    heh ‡heh
   ani       ‡...-->
14        (0.2)‡(.)+
   ani    .....‡gaze twd ANN-->
   ann         ->+...-->
15 ANN →  wa heisst+*shy?#
          what does  shy mean
          .........+gaze twd ANI-->
   ani            *RF 1 step fwd, small head poke-->
   fig             #fig.6.1
```

((EMMA out of shot; operating camera)) 6.1

```
16        (0.2)
17 ANI    schüch.*=
          shy
                ->*
18 EMM    =schüch[tern.
            shy
19 ANN        +[ah schü+ch? •>ja• gen[au.<
               ah shy        yes right
20 BAR                           [ja:. hhh heh
                                  yes
    ann        ->+........+gaze twd BAR-->>
    ann                  •nod•
```

As Anna verbally opens the encounter with an inquiry about the age of Barbara's puppy (l. 1)—instantiating a "pickup" (Sacks, 1992: II, 49–51, 101–103) characteristic of "stranger-stranger interaction," as a way of directly moving into first topic—, Barbara's response (l. 3–6) provides a first language sample large enough to alert her co-participant to possible upcoming problems: hitches and perturbations in the forward development of Barbara's response are indicative of limited productive proficiency in Standard German, here switched to in second/responsive position and proffered as a *lingua franca*. Barbara routinely deploys English-language insertions in an effort to deal with competence-related trouble in her German-language talk's progression, thereby also indicating that English as a *lingua franca* is her preferred language-of-interaction. Thus, when Barbara accounts for her puppy's reluctant behavior at line 11, she uses the term *shy*, pointing to a momentary lack of access to the German-language equivalent, which she here bridges by alternating to English. Notice how her English-language insertion

into an otherwise German grammatical frame (*sie ist (.) ↓shy*) is flagged as potentially problematic by the preceding micro-pause.

It is in this sequential environment that Anna hits trouble understanding the other-language lexical item. In an effort to deal with the understanding problem, she goes on to enlist help from Anita—an unaddressed recipient within the participation framework of the moment. She does so by selecting her via gaze and body torque (Schegloff, 1998; l. 14, Fig. 6.1) and then issuing an explicit request for translation of the unfamiliar lexical item in Swiss German (*wa heisst shy?*/"what does shy mean", l. 15). Of note is that Anita seems to anticipate Anna's interactional trouble by shifting her gaze toward her prior to Anna's appeal for assistance (l. 13). Anna's asking for help with an unknown English-language lexical item thus initiates a side sequence (Jefferson, 1972) wherein the linguistic trouble gets dealt with by directing a repair initiation at a previously peripheral participant. This halts the progressivity of the overall encounter. Simultaneously, Anna's appeal to Anita reshapes the focal participation framework of the moment by transiently casting Anita in the role of *ad hoc* translator, in a designedly "private" and exclusive aside within a new interactional space (Mondada, 2009).

Anita then responds with a Swiss German translation of the trouble-source (*schüch*/"shy", l. 17), which co-occurs with her taking a step forward and producing a small head poke (l. 15–17, Fig. 6.1). Notably, the camera operator, Emma, self-selects —as a non-selected recipient—and responds as well by latching on with a translation of the English lexical item, but this time in Standard German (*schüchtern*/"shy", l. 18). With this, she displays an orientation to providing a translation that is more accessible to, and thus recipient-designed for, the overhearing unaddressed Brenda, while simultaneously demonstrating that the language-related understanding problem is here treated as a collective problem that warrants intervention and assistance by anyone capable of doing so (see below). In partial overlap and in a louder voice, Anna receipts the translation(s) with a change-of-state token through which she claims

now-understanding (Heritage, 1984b), followed by a repeat of the repair solution and a display of acceptance (*ah schüch? >ja genau<*/"ah shy? yes right", l. 19). This is timed to co-occur with a head nod and gaze reorientation toward Barbara (l. 20), who acknowledges the progression of the interaction with the German-language *ja:*/"yes" and a post-positioned chuckle (l. 20). With this, the previous focal participation framework and interactional space between Anna and Barbara are reestablished after the brief metalinguistic aside exclusively between Anna and Anita.

Thus, we observe that when language-related problems in understanding and activity progress arise, here in the face of a punctual lexicon-based difficulty, drawing in a co-present third person and mobilizing linguistic assistance from them provides interactants with an economic and efficient resource for dealing with this methodically in asymmetrically multilingual multiperson interaction. Anna's occasioned request for translation exposes her own relatively limited language abilities in English and acknowledges Anita's multilingual proficiency, thereby making public and rendering locally consequential (elements of) the participants' linguistic repertoires in the contingent unfolding of the first few moments of the interaction.

For another instance of occasioned language brokering that involves an overt solicitation of *ad hoc* translation from a previously peripheral third person, consider Extract 6.2 below. While Example 6.1 shows a focal participant to enlist aid from a mutually "ratified" participant (Goffman, 1981) in an effort to bridge a momentary lack of access to an other-language lexical item, the following excerpt shows an occasioned brokering segment in which a focal participant, due to what is endogenously oriented to as insufficient productive competence in the overall language of the encounter, seeks help from a co-present but currently uninvolved, "unratified" bystander.

The transcript below shows the first few moments of an encounter between two charity solicitors (DIA1 and DIA2) and two pedestrians (PED1 and PED2). Upon finding out that the pedestrians are *tourists* from France—a categorization that appears to be available on-sight for DIA2, while also having been occasioned by the couple's language choice, here treated as category-bound and flagging "non-localness"[43]—and, therefore, ineligible to donate, DIA1 goes on to initiate the closing of the conversation. It is in this pre-closing environment that the pedestrians hit language-related trouble understanding the well-wishes expressed in English by the dialoger. This prompts DIA1 to mobilize participation and linguistic help from her coworker, DIA2, who she knows speaks French.

Ex. 6.2a) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.50.20

Requesting ad hoc translation from a peripherally available third person

```
01 DIA1   hoi zämme,=e ganz kleine+ m[oment,
          hi together a very short   moment
   dia1   >>walks twd PED---------+stops-->
   dia1   >>gaze twd PED-->
   ped1   >>walks twd DIA1, vlogging w/ selfie stick-->
   ped1   >>gaze twd DIA1-->
   ped2   >>walks twd DIA1-->
   ped2   >>gaze twd DIA1-->
02 PED1                              [°bonjour.°
                                      good morning
03        (0.5)Ø+
   ped1     ->Østops-->>
   dia1        ->+
04 DIA1   +.hh [are you tourists?•+
05 PED2        [h heh.
   dia1   +one step twd PEDs------+
   ped2                    ->•stops-->>
06        (0.2)
07 PED2   euh y[es.
08 PED1        [yes.
09        (0.3)
10 DIA1   a:::h okay.=>where do you come from?<
11        (0.4)
12 PED1   Fr[ance.
13 PED2     [France.
14        (0.3)
15 DIA1   Fra:nce, eh okay then (.) >ha' a l- wonderful< holidays,
16        (0.5)*(0.2)*(.)
   ped2     ->*.....*gaze twd PED1-->
17 PED1   sorry?
18        (0.2)Ø(.)
   ped1       Øone step twd DIA1-->
19 PED2   [h heh heh.Ø
```

---

[43] See Chapter 5 for an analysis of this language negotiation sequence.

```
20 DIA1    [have wonderful <holidays.>
   ped1               ->Ø
21         (0.5)‡(0.5)‡(.)
   ped1       ->‡.....‡gaze twd PED2-->
22 PED1    °(j' comprends pas)°‡
                           ->‡...-->
23 DIA1    [hhh.
24 PED1    [euh:‡ sorry* I don't* underst†and.
           .....‡gaze twd DIA1-->
   ped2             ->*........*gaze twd DIA2-->
   dia1                            ->†torques body, looks back & scans env-->
25 DIA1    ah.#†>okay.<
           ->†gaze twd PAS-->
   fig       #fig.6.2
26         (0.3)
27 DIA1    okay e::hm,
28         (0.4)†(0.9)
   dia1       ->†torques body, looks back twd DIA2-->
29 DIA1    o:[h.
30 PED2    [est-ce △qu'on est ici△ pour #les †△vacances?△=yes. for h- holiday.=yes.
            are     we        here  for  vacation
   dia1             △............△pts at  DIA2△,,,,,,,△
   dia1                                         †turns to face PED2-->
   fig                                    #fig.6.3
```


6.2   6.3

```
31 DIA1    $[yes.$
32 PED2    [for- for- for the weeken'.
   dia1    $nods-$
33         (0.4)
34 DIA1    °eh-°
35         (0.3)†(0.3)
   dia1       ->†torques body, looks back twd DIA2-->
36 DIA1    eh- one moment,
```

As DIA1 verbally initiates the encounter (l. 1), her greeting-summons in the local language, Swiss German, is met with a French-language return-greeting by PED1 (l. 2). With this, PED1 disaligns with, and thus rejects, Swiss German proffered in first position, while simultaneously inviting French (Mondada, 2018c). The language-disaligned return-greeting, perhaps supported by the couple's visual appearance—i.e., PED1's carrying a selfie stick (see Fig. 6.2)—, then prompts DIA1 to ask the couple *are you tourists?* (l. 4), thus embeddedly proposing English as a *lingua franca* as a possible language-of-interaction. The candidate

category ascription is practically consequential in that being tourists would preclude the encounter, as only "locals"—a gloss for people with a bank account in Switzerland—can legally become potential donors. When PED1 and PED2 confirm, in English as a *lingua franca*, that they indeed are *tourists* from neighboring France (l. 7–13), DIA1 goes on to produce the possible pre-closing *eh ok<u>ay</u> then* (note the inferential *then*), which is followed by a hasty, partly-muffled extension of well-wishes (*>ha' a l- w<u>o</u>nderful< holidays*, l. 15).

The dialoger's closing-relevant action is met with a 0.8-sec silence during which PED2 begins to shift his gaze toward PED1, inviting her to speak next and indicating possible trouble in understanding DIA1's prior turn (l. 16). PED1 responds with the open class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) *sorry?* (l. 17), which prompts DIA1 to take one step toward PED1 and repeat the well-wishes more slowly (l. 18–20). A half-second silence emerges, and PED1 then directs her gaze at PED2 (l. 21) and says quietly in French *°(j' comprends pas)°*/"I don't understand" (l. 22). After this intra-couple aside, possibly produced to mobilize help from her partner, she looks back at the charity worker and addresses her with the English-language epistemic disclaimer *euh: sorry I don't understand* (l. 24). In terminal overlap with the pedestrian's on-record verbalization of non-understanding, the dialoger torques her body to quickly scan the local surround behind her (l. 24–25, Fig. 6.2). She then delivers the change-of-state token *<u>ah</u>* and an acknowledgment, thus indicating her treatment of the trouble as not one of hearing. DIA1 goes on to again bodily reorient and look back to see what is going on behind her (l. 28), and after 0.9-sec of scanning, she produces a free-standing *<u>o:h</u>.* (l. 29), having spotted her coworker. In overlap with this, PED2 first provides a French-language rendition of his hearing of DIA1's prior actions in the form of a self-addressed rhetorical question (*est-ce qu'on est ici pour les vacances?*/"are we here for vacation"), latching on with a candidate answer in English (*=yes. for h- holiday.=>yes.< (.) for- for- for the weeken'*; l. 30–32). Meanwhile, DIA1 brings up her left hand and points toward DIA2 (l. 30, Fig. 6.3), thereby indicating that she has been

on the lookout for her coworker. DIA1 ratifies PED2's candidate understanding with an emphatic *yes.* and a concomitant nod (l. 31–32), and then goes on to verbalize her momentary withdrawal from the interactional space with *eh- one moment,* (l. 36), again torquing her body to look back at her coworker (l. 35). Notably, she delivers *moment* with the phonology of a French-as-a-second-language speaker ([mɔmã]). With this, she displays accommodation of her talk vis-à-vis the French-dominant co-participants (cf. Ex. 6.3).

Ex. 6.2b) Continuation of Ex. 6.2a

Requesting ad hoc translation from a peripherally available third person

```
37        (0.4) △ (0.2)  △
  dia1         △pts DIA2△,,,-->
38 DIA1→ MOR△GANE,
         ,,,△
39        (0.7)
40 DIA1→ MORGANE,
41        (0.2)
42 PED1  °quoi?°
          what
43        (0.3)©(.)△(0.3)△#(0.2)‡(.)©*
  dia2        ©turns twd DIA1------©approaches DIA1/PED-->
  dia1             △.....△extends RH, beckoning palm-->
  ped1                      ‡gaze twd PED2-->
  ped2                          *gaze twd PED1-->
  fig                  #fig.6.4
44 PED2  °je△ sais△ pas.°
          I   don't know
  dia1   ->△,,,,,△
45        (0.2)
46 DIA1  hhh heh heh.
47        (0.4)
48 DIA2  [ja,
49 DIA1  [France.‡
50 PED2  [°(           )°
  ped1       ->‡gaze twd DIA2-->>
51 DIA1→ France *tourists.
  ped2       ->*gaze twd DIA2-->>
52 DIA2  häh?
         huh
53 DIA1→ kannsch die z- ©>hilf mir.< 'n wunderschönen: tag und schöne ferien.
         can you the t-    help me    a wonderful     day and a nice vacation
  dia2              ->©stops-->>
54        (0.5)
55 DIA2  eh in- in which la:nguage?
56 DIA1  F:rench,
57 DIA2  français?
         French
58 DIA1  yeah.
59        (0.5)
60 DIA2→ e:hm ±j- elle vous souhaite ©une très belle journée# les ga[rs,©
              I- she wishes you       a   very nice  day       guys
         ±shifts gaze twd PED1/PED2-->>
                                    ©RH+LH open palm twd PED1/PED2-----©
  fig                                               #fig.6.5
```

```
61 PAS2                                                              [↑a[h.
62 PAS1                                                                [oh.
63 PAS2   £mer[c(h)i.£
           thanks
64 PAS1        [>merci.<
                thanks
```

DIA1 summons her colleague by name (*MORGANE*, l. 38), again pointing at her. When she

does not succeed at getting Morgane's attention (l. 39), she engages in a second attempt at

securing DIA2's recipiency and drawing her into interaction with a prosodically upgraded

summons (l. 40). By calling on her coworker to provide brokering assistance, DIA1 makes

relevant her limited productive proficiency in French and retrospectively reveals her orientation

to the prior understanding problem as rooted in the participants' differential linguistic expertise.

DIA2 eventually responds by bodily orienting toward her coworker, after which DIA1 produces

a beckoning palm gesture (l. 43, Fig. 6.4). DIA2 next approaches her colleague and the

pedestrians (l. 43), and later produces a verbal go-ahead answer to the initial summons (l. 48).

In the meantime, during their "time-out" from the transactional encounter, the pedestrians

engage in French-language "byplay" (Goffman, 1981), displaying their non-understanding of

DIA1's interactional project while at the same time marking their intra-couple aside as

designedly non-intrusive by talking quietly amongst each other in French (l. 42, 44, 46, 50).

It is at line 49 (in overlap with l. 48, 50) that DIA1, after the summons-answer pre-

sequence to secure DIA2's recipiency, addresses her coworker with *France* (again with the

phonology of a French-as-a-second-language speaker [fʁɔs]). This implies a request for

linguistic help from DIA2 without overtly asking for it.[44] She then formulates her trouble again in elliptical turn design, this time in the clear (l. 51). In this second attempt at mobilizing her coworker's linguistic assistance, DIA1 more specifically points to the trouble-source by nominating the membership category *France tourists*. This metonymical categorial formulation (note the association national belonging–language) implies that language selection is here treated as a category-bound attribute ("they are tourists from France, *ergo*, they speak French"). Of note is also that this is done in English as a *lingua franca*, and not in the dialogers' habitual language choice, German.[45] Selecting English as a *lingua franca* not only demonstrates DIA1's understanding of her co-participants' linguistic-social identity, i.e., their perceived linguistic expertise and preference; it also displays her orientation to making the exchange with her coworker somewhat permeable and less exclusionary for the *French tourists*, who are now cast in the participant roles of ratified overhearers of the dialogers' English-language aside. Put another way, the dialoger works to recipient-design her utterance by way of language choice, thus avoiding giving the co-present talked-about party "non-person treatment" (Goffman, 1963).

Then, after Morgane's German-language other-initiation of repair *h*ä*h?* (l. 52; note that she is still approaching DIA1 and the pedestrians at this point), DIA1's prior attempts at mobilizing her coworker's brokering assistance eventuate in the explicit request for help with translation *kannsch die z- >hilf mir.< 'n wunderschönen: tag und schöne ferien.*/"can you the t- >help me.< a wonderful: day and a nice vacation" (l. 53). It is thus only here that DIA1 addresses DIA2 with a switch to German—their trans-episodic language preference—, possibly in an effort to expedite the progress of the translatory activity. The segment thus

---

[44] This is reminiscent of "caller accountability" in calls for emergency service (Wakin & Zimmerman, 1999) in that the mere fact of summoning her coworker can here be heard as a request for help, and DIA2 is primed to hear it as such before the request is actualized in so many words.

[45] Data-internal evidence of German being their trans-episodic language preference is offered in DIA2's German-language answer (*ja,* l. 48) to DIA1's initial summons.

enables us to see that the mobilization of a language broker, and the resultant change in the participation framework, not only involves a change of languages, but also a change from "direct" to "indirect" interaction in that the couple's situational participant roles momentarily shift from "persons-to-be-talked-to" to "persons-to-be-talked-about-in-their-presence-in-a-different-language" (Müller, 1989: 735). DIA1's "late" switch, i.e., her ultimately resorting to German after two prior other-language attempts, can thus also be seen to display awareness of the presence of non-proficient speakers of the switched-to language. It shows an orientation to the potentially problematic exclusionary nature of talking about co-present third parties in an inaccessible language.

Before delivering the translatory turn, DIA2 first initiates an insert sequence to check on the target language of her incipient translation (*eh in- in which la:nguage?* l. 55; note again the dialoger's orientation to the permeability of their aside by deploying English as a *lingua franca*, vs. German). DIA1 answers with *F:rench,* (l. 56), which is followed by DIA2's code-switched confirmation check *français?* (l. 57). The insert sequence is then brought to a close (l. 58), and DIA2 finally engages in translating her coworker's other-language well-wishes, which is timed to co-occur with a gaze shift toward the French couple: *e:hm j- elle vous souhaite une très belle journée les gars*/"u:hm I- she wishes you a very nice day guys" (l. 60). While the translatory turn initially preserves DIA1's direct speech, DIA2 restarts the turn and ends up mediating DIA1's original action via a third-person formulation. The shift from the first-person *j-* to the third-person pronominal reference *elle* contributes to the accountability of the turn as doing translating of some prior talk and "shows that the speaker is presenting the referred-to person as a co-participant and past speaker instead of an outsider who is talked about" (Harjunpää, 2017: 121). This is a commonly documented finding in prior work on translator-mediated interaction (e.g., Wadensjö, 1998): DIA1 is constructed as the "author" of the utterance, while DIA2 assumes the role of "animator" voicing DIA1's prior talk in and

through her translation (Goffman, 1981). Notice also that DIA2 gestures toward the passers-by with open palms when she utters *une très belle journée les gars,* (Fig. 6.5)—a gesture that may serve to accentuate the celebratory delivery of the translatory turn.

The pedestrians then publicly demonstrate their now-understanding through change-of-state tokens (l. 61, 62) and French-language appreciation tokens (l. 63, 64). We can also see that the resolution of the language-related procedural trouble is celebrated micro-interactionally: the couple shows excitement after protracted difficulty via reciprocal smiling and the prosodically upgraded delivery of their turns (see Gudmundsen & Svennevig, 2020).

The above example provides some demonstration of how language brokering can go beyond momentarily mediating mutual comprehension via an impromptu translation into reorganizing local courses of action and orchestrating opportunities for participation within a dynamically reshaped participation framework. We see a further illustration of this in the piece of data below, previously examined as Ex. 5.9 in Chapter 5 and here reproduced as Ex. 6.3. The excerpt begins with DIA1 intercepting a pedestrian (PED) while her coworker (DIA2) is scanning the local ecology, on the lookout for a potential next "target" to approach. Once DIA1 gets the passer-by to stop and commit to a stationary interactional space, a preference-related switch of languages eventually occasions interactional trouble, which DIA1 seeks to remedy by requesting her previously uninvolved, French-speaking colleague to take over. With this, she *transfers focal participation*.

Ex. 6.3) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.19.03

Transferring focal participation: Requesting a peripherally available third person to take over

```
01 DIA1   die dame mit der wunderschönen· ho:se,=n kl·eine moment zeit für de WWF,·+
          the lady with the gorgeous      pants  a small  moment of time for the WWF
   dia1   >>walks obliquely twd her right, approaching PED------------------------+
   dia1   >>gaze twd PED-->l.18
   ped    >>gaze fwd------------------•gaze twd DIA•gazes down at phone---------•
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
02        +•(0.3)∅
   dia1   +stops-->>
```

```
ped     •gaze twd DIA1-->
ped        ->Østops-->
03 PED   sorry?
         sorry
04       (0.9)
05 DIA1  oh entschu:ldigung.=ich hatte g'sagt sie hän so wunderschöne hose,
         oh excuse me        I   had   said    you have such gorgeous pants
06       (0.2)
07 PED   ah merci h [h heh.
         ah thanks
08 DIA1             [ich find die s:ehr schö:n.=
                     I   find them very beautiful
09 PED   dankschön hhh h [h.
         thank you
10 DIA1                  [ha:hØ[.h  ke:]nn:et sie scho de WWF?Ø
                               do you already know the WWF
11 PED                         [heh heh]
   ped                    ->Ø3 steps forward----------------Ø
12       (1.0)
13 PED   kenn ich.
         I know (it)
14       (0.2)
15 DIA1  *kenn' [sie.
          you know (it)
   dia2  *scans environment-->
16 PED          [vous parlez français? j' préfère.
                 do you speak French   I  prefer
17       (0.2)
18 DIA1  oa::†:h.
           ->†turns to face DIA2-->
19       (0.2)#
   fig       #fig.6.6
```


6.6

```
20 PED   ch[ui∆ désol(h)ée hhh.∆
         I'm     sorry
21 DIA1    [>oh. oh.† un moment.<†
             oh  oh   a  moment
   ped        ∆raises arms, palms up∆
   dia1             ->†t to face PED†turns to face DIA2-->
22       (0.2)•(0.2)
   ped       ->•gaze twd DIA2-->>
23 DIA1→ >MORGANE,<
          Morgane
24       (0.2)*(0.3)
   dia2     ->*turns twd DIA1/PED, approaches them-->>
25 DIA1→ français, (.) s'il vous plaît.=
         French      please
26 DIA2  =le *fran#Ç[AI†::s,*#
              French
27 PED              [°h [hhh.°
28 DIA1             [hhh.
   dia2     *splays arms---*
   dia1             ->†turns to face PED, points twd DIA2-->
   fig           #fig.6.7  #fig.6.8
```

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6.7   6.8

```
29        (0.4)†+(0.4)
   dia1      ->†
   dia1          +takes a step back-->
30 DIA2   vous venez d'où+ madame?
          where are you from madam
   dia1                ->+
31        (0.3)
32 PED    du Maroc. ((...))
          from Morocco
```

At line 16, the pedestrian produces a delayed code-switch 20 seconds into the encounter. She departs from the previous language-of-interaction, Swiss German, by asking, *in* French, *about* the availability of French: *vous parlez français? J' préfère*/"do you speak French? I prefer." The language alternation is thus explicitly formulated as not competence-related (cf. Ex. 6.1, where lack of linguistic competence is the motivator for language alternation), but as being due to matters of personal preference—after having demonstrated both receptive and productive competencies in (Swiss) German up to this point in the interaction-so-far (l. 7, 9, 13). The pedestrian's request for French is met with a disappointment-indexing receipt (*oa:::h*, l. 18), during the delivery of which the dialoger begins to turn toward her coworker (Fig. 6.6). The pedestrian next produces an apologetic French-language account (l. 20), orienting to her language alternation as dispreferred. In partial overlap, DIA1 offers two change-of-state tokens, after having spotted her colleague, and goes on to verbalize her momentary withdrawal from the interaction (l. 21). Notably, she does so in French by deploying the formulaic *un moment* (as we also saw in Ex. 6.2, l. 36 above), thereby adjusting to the pedestrian and aligning with her preferred language choice—even though she only has rudimentary competencies in French. It is in this sequential environment that we see how DIA1 initiates a "switchboard" (cf.

Schegloff, 1979: 33) side sequence by summoning her colleague by name (l. 23) and then making a request for French, again in formulaic L2 French (*français, (.) s'il vous plaît*, l. 25). DIA2, now approaching DIA1 and the pedestrian (l. 24), responds with the jubilant *le franÇAI::s* (l. 26) while splaying her arms (l. 28, Fig. 6.7), during which DIA1 redirects her bodily orientation toward the pedestrian and produces an "introductory" open hand point at her colleague (l. 28, Fig. 6.8). DIA2 goes on to address the pedestrian in French (l. 30), and DIA1 assumes a more peripheral role—both interactionally and proxemically—by taking a step back (l. 29) and disengaging from the interactional space once her colleague takes over as focal participant.

As seen in the prior examples, this case provides further demonstration of how a switch of languages occasions a switch of focal participation. In contrast to Ex. 6.1 and 6.2, however, the participatory reconfiguration is more radical and sustained here: DIA1 and DIA2 work to reshape the participation framework to not only momentarily broker language-related interactional trouble, but to *transfer overall focal participation*, resulting in DIA2 effectively taking over the interaction due to her relatively greater linguistic competencies in French.

The final example of this sub-section presents a case that provides further illustration of the coordination work involved in language brokering. In line with the prior example, brokering here takes the form of transferring focal participation to a previously peripheral individual. However, contrary to the prior examples, in which the multilingual abilities of a co-present third person are mobilized subsequent to a momentary lack of understanding (Ex. 6.1), production problems (Ex. 6.2), or an explicit request for a change of language (Ex. 6.3), the reshaping of the focal participation framework is here not occasioned by some exposed language-related interactional trouble. Rather, brokering relates to matters of efficiency (as opposed to a lack of linguistic competencies) and is resorted to before any major trouble occurs,

with the dialogers electing to rearrange the participation framework because of an individual's

known *individual preference* for one language over another.

Ex. 6.4) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_01.11.51

Transferring focal participation according to known language preferences

```
01         (0.5)±
   ped1  >>walks fwd-->
   ped2  >>walks fwd-->
   dia2  >>stationary-->
   dia2  >>scans envrnmt±sees PEDs, sustained gaze at them-->
02 DIA2  mäd©els,©
         gals
              ©....©open hand point twd PEDs-->
03         (0.8)*(0.5)
   dia2      ->*walks twd PAS-->
04 DIA2  kurze moment,©
         short  moment
   dia2              ->©,,,-->
05         (0.2)©(0.7)
   dia2    ,,,,,©
06 DIA2  für d †umwält,=für eui zuäkunft,
         for the environment for your future
   dia1        †turns to face DIA2/PED-->>
07         (0.4)*(1.0)
   dia2      ->*stops in front of PED-->
08 PED1  wie?∅
         pardon?
             ∅small step to her right-->
09         (0.2)∅(0.3)
   ped1      ->∅
10 DIA2  german?λ f⊥rench?
   ped1         λstops-->>
   ped2           ⊥stops-->>
11         (0.2)
12 PED1  ach s[o. £deu]tsch.£=
         oh I see  German
13 PED2       [german.]
14 DIA2→  =∅deu:∅±:[:±#t[sch.
           German
15 PED2           [hhh [h hah hah.
16 DIA1              [+deutsch.•△
                      German
   dia2  ∅nods∅
   dia2        ±...±gaze twd DIA1-->
   ped1             +gaze twd DIA1-->>
   dia1                   •walks twd DIA2/PED-->
   dia1                    △...-->
   fig            #fig.6.9
17         (0.2)△#(.)
   dia1  .....△points twd DIA2-->
   fig         #fig.6.10
```

6.9

6.10

```
18 DIA2→  ©d‡eutsch? okeh© da bist du#*Δz[uständigΔ©hhh.©±
           German    okay PRT you're in charge of that
19 DIA1                                [hi woherΔ©kommet a?
                                         hi where do you come from
   dia2  ©.............©LH point twd DIA1-------©,,,,©
   ped2    ‡gaze twd DIA1-->>
   dia2                         ->*steps away, positions hrslf behind DIA1-->>
   dia1                         ->Δ,,,,,,,,,,Δ
   dia2                                              ->±
   fig                        #fig.6.11
20       (0.4)·(.)
   dia1     ->·stops in front of PAS-->>
21 PED1  oberö[sterreich.
         Upper Austria
22 PED2       [österreich.
               Austria
```


6.11

Right upon finding out about the pedestrians' preferred language in and through an inserted

language negotiation sequence,[46] DIA2 begins to orient to her coworker: she produces a small

upward nod and confirms German as the language-of-interaction, and as she utters the

prosodically stressed and stretched *deu:::tsch.*/"German", she begins to shift her gaze toward

her colleague, PED1 eventually following her (l. 14–16, Fig. 6.9). It is at this point that DIA1

demonstrates her peripheral recipiency and attentiveness by repeating *deutsch.* and beginning

---

[46] See Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of the language negotiation sequence at lines 8–16.

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to walk toward the group (l. 16). This offers evidence that DIA2's *deu:::tsch.* has been produced sensitive to her overhearing co-present colleague, who has been standing by and attending to the incipient encounter at the periphery of the emergently established interactional space (l. 6 ff., Fig. 6.8). That this has indeed been the case is shown when DIA1 next moves into the interactional space in a straightforward way, while also pointing toward DIA2 (l. 17, Fig. 6.10). The timing of her turn, in terminal overlap with l. 14, displays her prior monitoring of the scene and exhibits a readiness to help. At line 18, DIA2 publicly ratifies her colleague's taking over and relinquishes the floor both verbally and bodily by stating that DIA1 is "in charge of" (l. 18) the encounter, while simultaneously pointing toward her (l. 19, Fig. 6.11) and then repositioning herself behind her colleague. With this, DIA2 transfers focal participation to an individual with a known personal preference for German, and reshapes the interactional space by bodily deselecting herself as a focal participant (see De Stefani & Mondada 2010: 153–156, 2018: 262–264; cf. Ex. 6.3, l. 29).

Thus, we observe that the participants' establishment of the language-of-interaction occasions a preference-related switch of focal participation. Brokering here involves drawing in a co-present third person whose known language preference matches, and accommodates, that of the unacquainted others. This case of delegation, for considerations of efficiency, makes especially apparent a division of labor and responsibilities in the charity solcitiors' *modus operandi*, contingent upon both emergently established as well as known individual language preferences within the local participation framework. The analysis illustrates how this is used as a brokering resource for managing the coordination of participation and language choice, and how participants' knowledge of linguistic preferences is made procedurally consequential in the incipient interaction.

The instance examined above shows a peripheral recipient to be manifestly tracking their local surround and bodily displaying attentiveness, or an availability to assist—possibly

anticipating a difficulty or some other need for stepping in. The example can thus be seen to straddle the divide between self- and other-initiated brokering. It is to the latter that we now turn.

6.3.2 Other-initiated brokering: Unsolicited/voluntary offers of linguistic assistance by an interceding third person

In contrast to the cases of self-initiated brokering examined in the prior section, in this section I will show that in the face of language difficulties, linguistic assistance needs not always be requested explicitly by a focal participant, but can also be *offered voluntarily* by an interceding, other-than-addressed recipient. Here I will present cases in which previously peripheral, non-selected individuals self-select and interject themselves into the ongoing interaction as *ad hoc* interactional mediators *without their help being overtly solicited* (cf. Emma's volunteered translation in Ex. 6.1, l. 41). In so doing, they put themselves forward as knowledgeable in the locally relevant language and use their relatively greater linguistic expertise as a contingent right, or "ticket" (Sacks, 1992: II, 195), to step in and broker (actual or anticipated) language-related trouble or hesitancy.

Extract 6.5 below shows an instance of unsolicited/voluntary offer of linguistic assistance in which a previously peripheral participant inserts herself into the ongoing interaction when a developing gap occurs at a transition-relevance place (TRP), in the absence of an immediate response to a question. The language broker here implements an implicated sequence-responding action by *volunteering a repair solution on behalf of an originally addressed focal participant*, who is thereby oriented to as less competent in the current language-of-interaction (cf. Bolden, 2012; Greer, 2015).

While mushroom hunting in eastern France, Leo (LEO) and his daughter Aurora (AUR) encounter Pierre (PIE), a French lumberjack who is chopping logs alongside a forest path.[47] Particularly salient in this chance encounter is the high frequency of code-switching. We join the action 20 seconds into the interaction, which has sequentially developed into, and stabilized as, an overall parallel, "dual-receptive pattern of language alternation" (Greer, 2013a) in which each focal participant consistently deploys their individually preferred language(s) for speaking—Italian and L2 German for Leo, and French for Pierre—, while at the same time claiming and/or demonstrating understanding of their co-participant's other-language contributions. However, the multilingual *lingua receptiva* mode is not sustained continuously throughout the encounter (see the single case analysis in Chapter 7 for a more detailed account of this piece of data and the overall encounter). I will focus analysis on how Aurora, who has previously been both physically and interactionally peripheral to the exchange between Leo and Pierre, transiently inserts herself as *ad hoc* translator to broker a language-based understanding problem. With this, she also promotes the progressivity of the interaction, enabling Leo and Pierre to continue the exchange.

Ex. 6.5) FR_MH_FUNGHI_20201031_00.31.47

Offering a repair solution on behalf of an originally addressed (focal) participant

```
43 LEO    nackher verkauf?△=was mackt ihr?
           after  sell/sale what do you do
   leo    >>points at wood△
   leo    >>gaze twd PIE-->
   pie    >>gaze twd LEO-->
44         (0.2)△(.)
   leo         △...-->
45 LEO    ver△kaufe?△
           sell
           ...△points at wood△,,,-->
46         (.)△(1.2)
   leo    ,,,△
47 PIE    .h (.) pour l' fourneau ça.
           .h      for the stove     this
48         (1.3)
49 PIE    £euh: r- $†qu'est-ce que vous avez dit? >euh répétez.<#£
            uh   r-   what have you said           uh  repeat
```

```
            £frowns------------------------------------------£
                  $head poke, leans fwd-->
    aur               †gaze twd PIE-->
    fig                                              fig.6.12#
```



```
                                                    6.12=          detail
50          (0.2)+(.)$†(0.3)△(0.4)△†(.)†
   leo       ->+gaze down-->
   pie            ->$
   aur             ->†gaze twd LEO†...†gaze twd PIE-->
   leo                       △.....△points down/at wood-->
51 AUR → vous+•vendez.#
         you.FRM sell
   leo        +turns twd AUR-->
   pie        •gaze twd AUR-->
   fig                #fig.6.13
```



```
                                                    6.13
52          (.)△†(.)△(0.3)
   leo       ->△,,,,△
   aur        ->†gaze twd LEO-->
53 LEO  [(eh dopo che fa c-)
         (PRT after what does he do w-)
54 PIE  [non£†c'est pas pour +ven∅dre.£
         no   it's not for   selling
            £lateral head shakes------£
   aur        †gaze twd PIE-->
   leo                         +turns to face PIE-->
   aur                        ∅nod, lateral head shake-->
55          (.)∅(0.6)•
   aur      ->∅
   pie            ->•gaze twd LEO-->
56 LEO  △li △vende△ n[o?△
         you.FRM sell them right
57 PIE              [c'est $perso$nnel.$
                     it's   personal
   leo  △...△RH up△,,,,,,△
   pie                      $.....$points twd himself$,,,-->
58          (.)$(0.4)
   pie  ,,,$
59 AUR  °ah.°
         ah
60 LEO  ah △perso△nale△$ah.△=[°tuqui-°$ (0.2) tutti questi?
         ah personal    ah     all t-          all  these
```

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```
61 PIE                         [ouais.
                                yeah
   leo       ∆.....∆points PIE∆,,,∆
   pie                 $nods--------$
```

At lines 43 and 45, Leo issues candidate answer questions (Pomerantz, 1988) in L2 German, asking Pierre if he intends to sell the wood. Pierre's French-language response (*.h (.) pour l' fourneau ça*/".h (.) for the stove this", l. 47) is substantially delayed (l. 46), alerting his co-participants to possible difficulties in understanding. There is no verbal uptake from Leo, who remains fixedly gazing at Pierre. A gap develops (l. 48), and Pierre then breaks the silence with the delayed *post-response other-initiation of repair* (Schegloff, 2000: 219–222; Wong, 2000) *euh: r- qu'est-ce que vous avez dit? >euh répétez.</*"uh r- what have you said uh repeat" (l. 49), which co-occurs with an embodied repair display (frowning and leaning forward, Fig. 6.12/detail; Oloff, 2018). This repair initiation is met with yet another sizable silence, during which Leo shifts his gaze toward the ground and points at the wood (l. 50).

It is in this sequential environment that Aurora, who has been monitoring Leo's linguistic and embodied conduct (l. 50), self-selects and interjects herself into the ongoing interaction by volunteering, in French, a repair solution on behalf of her dad (l. 51). Aurora's unsolicited assistance displays her overhearing and active monitoring of her dad's difficulty in providing an answer, while simultaneously promoting the progress of the sequence (Markaki et al., 2013). Typical of language brokering, this instantiates a locally contingent departure from, or "relaxation" of, the otherwise normative selected-speaker-should-speak-next turn-allocational rule in monolingual talk-in-interaction (Lerner, 2019; Sacks et al., 1974; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Both the position and composition of Aurora's interceding turn contribute to its being recognizable as a translation of a previously delivered utterance. She intercedes by translating the German-language trouble-source into French (*vous vendez.*/"you sell"), thereby treating Pierre's prior repair initiation as indexing a language-based understanding problem, rather than an acoustic problem, as his post-positioned *>euh répétez.</*"uh repeat" at line 49

could suggest (indicating an effort on his part to try to understand the German-language turn). Moreover, the occasioned translatory turn is produced with downward, terminal intonation (vs. Leo's rising, try-marked intonation at l. 45), thereby further flagging the utterance as providing a translation of a previously delivered first-pair part, rather than producing the action *de novo*, "for another first time" (Garfinkel, 1967) (see Harjunpää, 2017: 223 on "prosodic downgrading" in third-party mediated other-language resayings).

Meanwhile, Leo shifts his head and torso toward Aurora, adopting a body torque posture (l. 51, Fig. 6.13; Schegloff, 1998), before addressing her in Italian. He thus creates a new interactional space in an aside, language choice delimiting the participation framework of the moment (Greer, 2013b; Mondada, 2004, 2012). When Leo then seeks further clarification from Aurora (l. 53), his turn is overlapped by Pierre's French-language, sequentially due answer *non c'est pas pour vendre*/"no it's not for selling" (l. 54), which coincides with small lateral head shakes. Aurora subsequently displays understanding by nodding and reciprocating the head shake (l. 54–55). Leo, however, is struggling to understand Pierre's contribution; after having bodily reoriented himself toward Pierre (l. 54), he directs another repair initiation at him with the understanding check *li vende no?*/"you.FRM sell them right" (l. 56, using the polite form of address in the third-person singular).[48] Thus, he redoes the distantly prior German-language candidate guess (l. 45). In terminal overlap with this, Pierre says *c'est personnel*/"it's personal" (l. 57). It is at this point that Leo receipts Pierre's answer with an *ah*-prefaced repetition/quasi-translation of *personnel* in Italian (*personale*), followed by another change-of-state token (l. 60). And intersubjectivity is then restored with Pierre's third-positioned French-language confirmation token *ouais*/"yeah" and an accompanying head nod (l. 61).

---

[48] While it is plausible that *li vende no?* could also be heard as "he sells them right?" due to Italian not requiring personal pronouns in subject position, there is evidence that this is not the case. It seems more likely that the turn is heard by Pierre as a direct address ("you.FRM sell them right") as Leo gaze-addresses Pierre (l. 54) while producing the utterance, and it is Pierre who then comes in and responds in turn-final overlap (l. 57).

Thus, we observe how Aurora shows an orientation to her relatively greater competence in French as entitling her to step in as language broker (while possibly also invoking her category membership as Leo's daughter; Rossi & Stivers, 2020). Of note is that Aurora too receipts Pierre's *c'est personnel* with a *sotto voce °ah.°* (l. 59), illustrating how interceding language brokers display themselves to be implicated in talk throughout the brokering sequence.

Another example of other-initiated brokering is found in Extract 6.6 below. While in the prior case language brokering is occasioned by a mutual understanding problem that explicitly exposed the repairable item, Ex. 6.6 is different in that it shows an interceding participant to voluntarily offer linguistic support in a sequential context in which no major interactional trouble has occurred, and focal participants appear not to be overtly struggling with furthering the progress of the encounter. Here, other-initiated brokering takes the form of a previously peripheral participant volunteering linguistic assistance by *offering an informing about a focal participant's linguistic repertoire*. This shows the language broker to be concerned with coordinating language choice and focal participation for the smooth progression of the activity underway.

The data are taken from video recordings of an urban public chess playground in German-speaking Switzerland. The excerpt[49] starts after the acquainted René (RENE) and Gian (GIAN) have greeted each other and engaged in some interstitial weather talk (not reproduced). René speaks Swiss German and Gian L2 German. Gian eventually delivers a noticing of a video camera set up in the immediate environment, and begins to inquire about the recording activity. Note that Luka (LUKA) is off camera, preparing the recording equipment behind the device.

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[49] The same encounter has been analyzed in Chapter 4 as Ex. 4.6 when discussing overhearing as a resource for recipient design.

Ex. 6.6) CH_BE_CHESS_20200716_game2_00.05.12

Offering an informing about a focal participant's linguistic repertoire

```
12 GIAN   wer ist das?
           who is  that
13         (2.4)•(0.2)
   gian         •turns to face cam/LUKA-->
14 GIAN   macht foto?
           makes photo
15         (0.7)†(0.4)
   rene        †gaze twd LUKA-->>
16 LUKA   eh: we- wir filmen. (0.2)∅(0.2)∅(.) the::
                  we're filming
   gian                        ∅nods-∅
17         (0.2)
18 GIAN   (das) spiel?
            the  game
19         (0.2)
20 LUKA   ja.•
           yes
   gian   ->•positions himself behind cam-->>
21         (0.9)+(0.5)+
   rene         +.....+points twd GIAN-->
22 RENE→  er spricht englisch+ auch.+
           he speaks  English   too
                             ->+,,,,,,+
23         (0.6)+(0.2)
   rene        +...-->
24 LUKA   huh?
25 RENE→  eng+lisch. +er.
           English    he/him
           ...+pts GIA+,,,-->
26         (0.3)+(0.6)+(.)
   rene   ,,,,,+     +...-->
27 RENE→  er speak#+eng+lish.=
           he
           .........+pts+,,,-->
   fig            #fig.6.14ab
```


((LUKA out of shot; setting up camera)) 6.14ab

```
28 LUKA   =a:h+ okay.
   rene   ,,,,+
29         (0.8)
30 LUKA   eh: we're filming the::
31         (0.3)
32 GIAN   the game?
33         (0.5)
34 LUKA   the game.
```

Gian inquires about the recording activity (l. 12, 14), to which Luka responds at line 16: while the preceding silence and the turn-initial delay token possibly mark upcoming problems in production, Luka nonetheless produces an intra-turn switch from English to Standard German—a self-initiated self-repair of language choice. With this, he displays an orientation to the interactional preference for aligning with the language of the preceding first action (Auer, 1995; Chapter 5). Luka then goes on to increment the turn with *the::*, indicating the onset of a word search, while simultaneously suggesting that the underlying motivation for abandoning German is competence-related. Next, Gian proffers a candidate collaborative completion (Lerner, 1996) in German (l. 18), which Luka subsequently affirms with the German-language positive response token *ja* (l. 20). Luka's minimal answer, however, is followed by a substantial silence (l. 21).

It is in this sequential environment that René, previously peripheral to the exchange, self-selects and steps in by volunteering a series of informings about his friend Gian's language abilities (l. 22, 25, 27). He can thereby be seen to treat Luka's prior minimal *ja*-response, deployed in a sequential-interactional context in which elaboration is expectable, as forecasting possible trouble ahead and targeting language choice as the repairable. René first addresses Luka with *er spricht englisch auch*/"He speaks English too" (l. 22), in Standard German notably (in lieu of Swiss German, used previously with Gian). This is met with silence (l. 23) and the OCRI *huh?* (l. 24). This in turn prompts René to do a repeat of the informing, but this time syntactically simplified, elliptical (*englisch. er.*, l. 25), showing traces of "foreigner talk" (Hinnenkamp, 1987; cf. Ferguson, 1975). When no response is forthcoming, René delivers yet another informing (l. 27), initiating the turn with the German personal pronoun *er*, but then transitioning into L2 English (*er speak english.*). This code-switched "non-first first" (Auer, 1984b) offers compelling evidence that René is here concerned with language choice as the

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repairable; the language alternation at line 27 appears to locate inadequate language choice as the trouble-source, thereby displaying René's explicit orientation to Luka possibly being more comfortable with English. Further note that all three of René's incrementally recipient-designed informings co-occur with a pointing gesture toward Gian (l. 21–22, 23–25, 26–28; Fig. 6.14ab), enhancing the intelligibility of the respective turns. Of note are also the prosodic emphases at lines 25 and 27. It is only at line 28 that Luka claims understanding, after which he goes on to address Gian in English and produces the sequentially due response by tying back to line 16 (previously delivered in Standard German).

The excerpt thus illustrates how René, with no prompting from the focal participants within the participation framework of the moment, temporarily takes up a mediatory role by way of a series of metalinguistic informings that work to facilitate Luka's participation. René's occasioned involvement as a language broker demonstrates his peripheral recipiency and monitoring of the progress of the ongoing activity, while at the same time instantiating a division of labor between him and his friend Gian that constructs them as a "with." It is thus made public that René is familiar with Gian's linguistic competencies and preferences—shared biographical knowledge that he uses in an effort to help explicitly establish English as a *lingua franca* as the language-of-interaction. René's unsolicited topicalization of Gian's language abilities constitutes a pre-emptive practice through which he makes public the focal participant's linguistic repertoire before the interaction progresses onward. The language broker thus orients to potential problems of understanding "in the air" for the L2 participant, and the metalinguistic informing serves as a prophylactic to preempt possible language-related trouble ahead (cf. Svennevig, 2023). This permits the interactants to smoothly and efficiently continue their just-initiated exchange and minimize interactional moments in which mutual understanding is jeopardized due to possible language-based comprehension or production problems.

A further illustration of how unaddressed recipients interject themselves as language brokers by self-selecting and topicalizing a focal participant's linguistic abilities is seen in Extract 6.7 below. In the prior cases previously peripheral, unaddressed participants were shown to step in when the selected next speaker fails to respond at a TRP, implementing the conditionally-relevant responding action themselves in a repair environment (Ex. 6.5); or when the selected next speaker is oriented to as displaying language-related difficulty in providing an adequate, more-than-minimal response, preemptively supplying additional information in an effort to facilitate the smooth progression of the encounter (Ex. 6.6). Consistent with the latter example, the following case also shows an interceding speaker to offer an informing about a focal participant's linguistic repertoire. It can be observed that the interceding language broker responds *preemptively* on behalf of the originally addressed (other-language) next speaker, though this time while the sequence-initiating action is still in the course of its production.

In Ex. 6.7, the same charity solicitors as in Ex. 6.3 and 6.4, DIA1 and DIA2, are talking to a pedestrian (PED), an exchange student from *Texas* (l. 12). DIA2 has been informing the pedestrian about the fundraising organization, in English (l. 1). DIA1, however, appears to approach the pedestrian not *qua* potential donor, but rather to exchange a moment of sociability: she moves into the interactional space and interrupts the ongoing conversation to compliment the pedestrian, in German, on her sweater (l. 2–3). It is here that DIA2 spontaneously steps in and preemptively responds to her coworker's complimenting action (l. 4):

Ex. 6.7) CH_BS_DIALOG_20200911_00.43.03

Preemptive offering of an informing about a focal participant's linguistic repertoire

```
          ((DIA2 has been informing PAS about the fundraising organization))

01 DIA2   n- but not (.) only the animals, that all [live on like- freely?
02 DIA1                                             [i muss-±kurz+unter±*breche.=#
                                                     I need to- quickly interrupt
   dia2   >>stationary-->>
   ped    >>stationary-->>
   dia1   >>gaze twd PED-->
   dia2   >>gaze twd PED-----------------------------------±.........±gaze DIA1-->
   ped    >>gaze twd DIA2/iPad-------------------------------+gaze twd DIA-->
   dia1   >>walks twd PED/DIA1-----------------------------------------*stops->>
   fig                                                            fig.6.15ab#
```


6.15ab

```
03        =ich find den pulli s::o [co:ol, (      )
           I    find the sweater so  cool   (      )
04 DIA2→                           [eh- >she‡ only speaks< English.
   dia1                                 ->‡gaze twd DIA2-->
05        (.)‡(0.2)‡
   dia1   ->‡.....‡gaze twd PED-->>
06 DIA1   oh.
07        (0.2)
08 DIA1   you look so beautiful.
09 PED    [hhh awwh ↑thank y(h)ou(h),
10 DIA2   [hhh.
11 DIA1   [this outfit is s::[o (      ).
12 DIA2                      [she comes from America Texas,
13 DIA1   oh ↑wo:[:w,
14 DIA2         [she's only here for- e::h since seven month,
15        (0.3)
16 DIA1   OH [↑W O:]:W,=an'[ how ] do you like it?
17 PED       [yeah.]       [yeah.]
18        (0.4)
19 PED    it's good but I like came during Corona,
```

DIA1 explicitly articulates, in German, her interruption of the ongoing conversation (l. 2, Fig. 6.15ab), rushing to deliver the reason-for-her-approach in the form of a praising assessment of the pedestrian's sweater (=*ich find den pulli s::o co:ol*,/"I find the sweater so cool", l. 3). As DIA1 is about the deliver the positive descriptor *co:ol*, DIA2 self-selects and interjects into the utterance to notify her colleague that her addressee *only speaks English* (l. 4). She places her interposed talk somewhat early and utters it quickly, thus working to preempt DIA1's turn

before possible completion. This *preemptive disclaimer* (cf. Chapter 5) stops the launched course of action and creates a sense of "urgency" (cf. Mondada, 2017) by immediately addressing the language issue as early as possible—as a prerequisite to be able to engage in the encounter. After a delay, DIA1 marks information receipt with <u>oh</u>., displaying a change in her knowledge state. She then goes on to redo the sequence-initiating action in English (*you look <u>so</u> beautiful.*, l. 8), thereby acquiescing to the pedestrian's linguistic preference made relevant via DIA2's interjected informing. Of note is that DIA1 does not provide a close rendition of the original utterance; while still bringing off a positive assessment, the code-switched resaying comes with considerable modification in that the assessment is more generic and directly compliments the entire person as the referent (whereas in the original utterance the pedestrian is complimented indirectly via an assessment specifically targeting her sweater as an owned referent). The pedestrian then immediately delivers her compliment response (*hhh awwh ↑thank y(h)ou(h),* l. 9; Pomerantz, 1978), and the interaction progresses onward with the use of English. Notably, DIA2 goes on to launch a *mediated* introduction (Pillet-Shore, 2011) between DIA1 and the pedestrian, constructing "who" the pedestrian *relevantly* "is" for her coworker, i.e., what categorial status she occupies, via third-person formulations (*she comes from America Texas, she's only here for- e::h since seven month,* l. 12–16). This exemplifies that various mediatory practices are implicated in brokering, beyond purely language-related concerns.

We observe how DIA2's interjection/disclaimer at line 4 informs DIA1 about her addressed recipient's linguistic preference, allowing her (DIA1) to linguistically recast her sequence-initiating complimenting action accordingly. The interjected informing thus works to facilitate the encounter by implying an other-initiation of language repair on behalf of the selected (other-language) next speaker, to elicit a preferred-language resaying of the prior utterance without explicitly asking for it (cf. Ex. 6.1 and 6.2, where translation is prompted

explicitly through overt solicitations). DIA2 uses the disclaimer as a vehicle to both *invite* the use of English instead of (Swiss) German, and *preempt* the pedestrian—the selected next speaker—from possibly having to do an explicit self-ascription of linguistic incompetence and requesting a change of language, which is an interactionally delicate matter in that they are disaligning actions (see, e.g., De Stefani et al., 2000; Markaki et al., 2013; Chapter 5). Thus, DIA2's interjected informing provides a new sequential slot for DIA1 to revise the linguistic design of her turn. DIA1 demonstrates her understanding of her colleague's volunteered informing as indeed an invitation to use English by producing a participant- (competence-) related switch to English in the next turn, thereby accommodating her talk vis-à-vis her American-English-speaking co-participant.

The above example provides some demonstration of how asymmetries in language, on the one hand, and some degree of epistemic primacy with regard to the matter being addressed, on the other hand, become relevant and intertwined, which a peripheral recipient may exploit as a license to step in and act as an interactional mediator by furnishing an unkowing addressee (cf. C. Goodwin, 1979) with a (linguistically fitted) informing. In line with this, the following Example 6.8 also shows a co-present third person—an unaddressed bystander (cf. Ex. 6.2, 6.3)—to treat linguistic and epistemic discrepancies as a license to step in and spontaneously offer assistance for a newcomer, here in the form of post-possible-sequence-completion clarification work. As we will see, the broker thus works to socialize an other-language newcomer into a system of shared informal norms within a community of practice.

The data for this excerpt are taken from an interaction on an urban public chess playground in German-speaking Switzerland (like Ex. 6.6 above). The chess playground is a catalyst for playful encounters between both familiars and "strangers" who congregate, play, and watch people (play). It is also a public arena with complex social dynamics and a framework of unwritten rules. In order to prevent the same players from monopolizing the

chess field, players orient to informal norms of participation through which they self-regulate their recreational space. In the present setting, players regulate who may play next via first-come-first-served waiting, and back-to-back consecutive games turn-taking (cf. Rogers, 2019 on the "got next" winner-stays system in university pickup basketball). The excerpt below documents a short transitional period between games: Adil has just played against Rainer, and the game was a clear affair in favor of Adil (see his teasing comments at lines 1 and 3, enacting a form of ludic antagonism). As Adil is rearranging the chess pieces to set up game two against Rainer, Bela, who has just arrived at the scene and only watched some of the final moves of the prior game, produces an addressee point toward Adil and then asks *two (round)?* while pointing toward the chess field (l. 4, Fig. 6.16/detail). Bela thus appears to use the request for information to claim the next game. This receives a confirming answer with *ZWEI.=ja zwei.*,/"two yes two", co-occurring with a head nod and a left hand gesture displaying the number two (l. 6). With this, Adil indicates that two games are to be played back-to-back. It is at this point that Christian—previously peripheral to, and within earshot of, the exchange—self-selects and comes in with a series of explicative add-ons that work to clarify Adil's response, thereby furnishing the newcomer Bela with relevant information he needs to be able to understand and participate in the activity.

Ex. 6.8) CH_BE_CHESS_20200714_01.53.01

Clarifying talk by offering additional informings

```
01 ADIL   ((laughs)) (.) komm rainer,=komm.
                        come Rainer   come
02        (1.7)
03 ADIL   •KOMM ‡GIB DIR +J(h)ETZT+ [mü+he.
           come  make an  effort now
04 BELA                          *[two+#(round)?*
   adil   •gaze twd BELA-->
   bela        ‡gaze twd ADIL, smiles-->
   bela             +........+pts A+points twd chess pieces-->
   chri                   *..............*looks twd BELA-->
   fig                          #fig.6.16
```

6.16=   detail

```
05          (0.3)
06 ADIL    ©∅ZW©EI©©.=ja zwei.©•
             two    yes two
           ©...©'2'©,,,,,,,,,,©
            ∅nods-∅
                              ->•turns twd his left-->>
07          (0.3)‡(0.5)
   bela      ->‡gaze twd his right-->
08 CHRI→   spät‡er.‡#
           later
   bela      ->‡...‡gaze twd CHRI, smiles-->
   fig              #fig.6.17
09          (0.6)*†(0.6)#†(.)*†
   chri      ->*gazes fwd--*gaze twd BELA-->
   chri         †shrugs†    †points twd chess field-->
   fig              #fig.6.18
```


6.17

6.18

```
10 CHRI→   die †erste#†mal.†
           the  first  time
             ->†LH '1'†,,,,,†
   fig                #fig.6.19
11 BELA    °ja †zw[ei.°
            yes two
12 CHRI→             [im‡mer†#zwei*†(mal).*†
                      always  two (times)
   chri      †.........†LH '2'†,,,,,,,†
   bela          ->‡gaze fwd-->>
   chri                      ->*,,,,,,,*
   fig                  #fig.6.20
```

```
                                                         6.19                          6.20
13       (4.8)
14 ADIL  HEY VICTOR,
         hey Victor
15       (0.7)
16 ADIL  VICTOR ISCH SPIELE NACHHER GEGEN IHN.=ER ISCH [(        ).
         Victor I'll play   after against him  he is    (        )
17 CHRI                                                 [tschou he,
                                                         bye    PRT
18       (0.9)
19 DANI  >tschou.<
          bye
```

For our purposes here, we will focus on Christian's turns at lines 8, 10, and 12. By addressing Bela with *später.*/"later" (l. 8, Fig. 6.17), Christian adds material to the prior turn and expands Adil's *ZWEI.=ja zwei.* answer, possibly orienting to the newcomer's need for a more-informative response. Christian, a bystander who has visibly attended to Adil and Bela's exchange (l. 4, Fig. 6.16/detail), thereby displays his peripheral recipiency of the prior talk, while simultaneously mobilizing his knowledge of the informal norms of the space as a "ticket" into interaction. He asserts his relative epistemic authority on the matter, and positions himself as a "regular" (D'Antoni & De Stefani, 2022; Laurier, 2013) of the chess playground.

While Christian's German-language *später* seems not, at first glance, to be fine-tuned with regard to recipient design in that it is language-disaligned with Bela's initial English-language *two (round)?* (l. 4), the volunteered brokering turns, and their multimodal packaging, retrospectively reveal that Christian in fact displays adjustments designed as being fitted to

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Bela's perceived linguistic abilities, based on the overheard language sample (Chapter 4; Hänggi, 2022): when a 1.3-sec silence develops at line 9, Christian shrugs (as if to communicate "you'll have to wait," Fig. 6.18) and quickly points at the chess field, before delivering a further explicative add-on with *die erste mal.*/"the first time" (l. 10). The pointing is emergently altered so as to provide an iconic gesture displaying the number one, in which the left thumb is extended (Fig. 6.19). This is timed to co-occur with *erste*. The semantic redundancy between what is said and bodily enacted thus serves to enhance the intelligibility of the utterance.

The turn design is hearably "non-standard," and there is both endogenous and exogenous evidence that Christian designedly renders the talk as such, reminiscent of the notion of "foreigner talk" (Hinnenkamp, 1987). The utterance is nominal-only and has non-standard article declension: the feminine definite article *die* is deployed (in lieu of the neuter pronoun *das* in Standard German). Such overgeneralization of the Standard German feminine gender is a common and well-documented feature of so-called *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*, guest workers' pidgin German (cf. Ex. 5.18 *keine problem*). At line 11, Bela claims understanding of the playground's participation system by receipting Christian's turns with the German-language °*ja zwei.*°/"yes two". He thereby appears to recycle Adil's response (l. 6) to his initial request for information, simultaneously aligning with Christian's language choice. Bela's turn at line 11 moreover provides Christian with an updated language sample, allowing him to further gauge Bela's perceived linguistic repertoire (note that *zwei*, although perfectly intelligible and locally treated as unproblematic, is produced with the phonology of a German-as-a-second-language speaker [svaɪ]). In turn-final overlap, Christian further adds *immer zwei (mal).*/"always two (times)" (l. 12). As Christian says this, he brings up his left hand with an outstretched thumb and index finger, indicating the number two (Fig. 6.20).

So, Christian addresses Bela with three structurally minimal, economic constituents/TCUs (cf. Svennevig, 2018 on "installments") that are characterized by a certain reduction in linguistic complexity and turn-size, compactness, and telegraphicity, which is characterizable as "non-standard." Each simplified, telegraphic-elliptic utterance is timed to co-occur with gestures and postural orientations that mutually elaborate each other in a gestalt-like fashion, thus enhancing the on-line parsing and overall intelligibility of the turns. These are all features that recall the notion of "foreigner talk"—a variety that is aimed at "safeguarding comprehension" (Hinnenkamp, 1987: 148) vis-à-vis co-participants who are considered to have very limited or no command of the locally relevant language.

That this is in line with the endogenous analysis performed *in situ* by Christian vis-à-vis Bela can be more fully appreciated when we ground the above-mentioned local observations in episode-external background information (cf. Auer, 1984a; Moerman, 1988). Ethnographically, and from data not reproduced here (but see below), we know that Christian is an L1 speaker of Swiss German, i.e., the local Bernese variety, who learned Standard German at school (as is commonly the case in the medial diglossic situation in German-speaking Switzerland). This further points to Christian's linguistic choices as having been produced "for cause," i.e., as having been demonstrably recipient-designed and fitted to Bela's perceived linguistic abilities, rather than simply being a result of "imperfect" learning of Standard German. Data-internal evidence of this is found at line 17 when Christian, after his exchange with Bela, begins to leave the space and greets another fellow chess enthusiast, Dani (l. 17). To do so, he uses the typical local (Bern/Bienne) salutation *tschou* (an integrated form of the Italian *ciao*; Marti, 1985: 264). This provides some demonstration of Swiss German being his habitual language when talking amongst friends and acquaintances. There are compelling grounds, then, for retrospectively treating Christian's brokering turns at lines 8, 10 and 12 as contextually sensitive, recipient-designed instantiations of foreigner talk. This not only reveals his real-time

analysis of who he considers his unacquainted recipient to be, at this moment, along linguistic-social lines—which implies "ethnification" (Day, 1994) through the ascription of identity predicates that are made relevant and procedurally consequential—, but also displays an orientation to mediating and promoting understanding by clarifying Adil's original response in linguistically and interactionally fitted ways.

6.3.3 Where self- and other-initiated brokering intersect: Mediational dynamics within a single interactional episode

The trajectory of my argument to this point has been that previously unacquainted people, confronted with (actual or anticipated) language-related trouble in an utterance's understanding or production, either

i.   *explicitly request* assistance from a co-present third person, who is thereby cast into the role of *ad hoc* broker, or

ii. spontaneously take up a mediatory role by *voluntarily and/or anticipatorily offering* help for the benefit of those who are oriented to as in need of it.

While the prior sections discussed a diverse range of methods of self- and other-initiated brokering separately, this section turns to the examination of a case in which methods of self- and other-initiated brokering are intimately related within a single encounter. We will see that the organization of brokering in these materials is different in that the encounter is characterized by a participation framework that involves more than one potential broker (cf. Harjunpää, 2017; Mondada, 2012; Traverso, 2012). Multiple participants display their orientation to differing entitlements to step in and collaborate in providing help, and brokering appears to be motivated by both relatively greater linguistic expertise and some degree of epistemic primacy with regard to the matter being addressed (cf. Ex. 6.7, Ex. 6.8).

Example 6.9 below shows a multiperson chance encounter between two groups of hikers—Aurora (AUR), Bruno (BRU), Louis (LOU), and Nora (NOR) on the one hand, and Chiara (CHI), Dagmar (DAG), Flavia (FLA), and Ruth (RUT), on the other. The region in which the encounter takes place is a southern alpine valley located in a trilingual canton in Switzerland, where (Swiss) German, Italian, and Romansh are spoken (the area here is predominantly German-speaking). As the two groups are about to pass by one another, Chiara and Flavia, visibly exhausted from their uphill-hike, ask the fellow hikers coming from the opposite direction whether the next village is far away and about the condition on the trail ahead. We will see that the response to their question occasions interactional trouble, and the collective resolution of a lexical difficulty, or the explanation of the concept being referred to, takes up most of the encounter. For the present purposes, we focus analysis on the first 47 lines of the encounter.

Ex. 6.9a) CH_GR_HIKE_20200725_halbzeit

```
01          (2.0)+(0.3)∅(0.3)◎(0.6)
   aur  >>walks fwd-->>
   bru  >>walks fwd-->
   lou  >>walks fwd-->
   nor  >>walks fwd-->>
   chi  >>walks fwd-->
   dag  >>walks fwd-->
   fla  >>walks fwd-->
   rut  >>walks fwd-->
   chi        +gaze twd BRU-->
   dag             ∅gaze twd BRU-->
   fla                  ◎gaze twd BRU-->
02 BRU   griessech mitnang.=
         hello     everybody
02 CHI   =[grüzi.
           hello
03 FLA    [(grüzi).
            hello
04 DAG    [griessech. (.) [mitnand.
           hello            everybody
05 AUR                    [griezi.
                            hello
06 NOR   [°griezi.°
           hello
07 RUT   [grüezi.
          hello
08 CHI   [+†kommen† sie *⊥von Valsis?β*#
           are you.FRM coming from ((name village/valley station))
         +stops, turns twd BRU-->
          †......†points uphill w/ walking stick-->
   bru                   *at CHI's  lvl*
   fla                   ⊥stops, turns twd BRU-->>
   rut                             βstops, turns twd BRU-->>
   fig                         #fig.6.21
```


6.21

```
09          (.)λ(0.2)
   dag       λstops, turns twd BRU-->>
10 BRU   >ja,<%
          yes
             %slows down-->
11 NOR   >↑jäβ†wohl.<
          that's right
   rut    ->βgaze twd NOR-->
   chi    ->†,,,-->
12          (.)+(.)
   chi   ->+gaze twd NOR-->
13 CHI   [eh::
          uh
14 FLA   [ist sehr βweit† noch?+
```

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```
                is  very  far  still
    rut              ->βgaze twd BRU-->
    chi                    ->†
    chi                        ->+gaze twd BRU-->
15      (0.2)
16 RUT  [ehh [heh.
17 BRU       [jo.=
               yes
18 BRU? =viel% uf[e he, .h heh [heh hhh
          up a lot right
19 NOR          [doβ+⊥  isch  [öppe d hälfti.
                 here   is the half or so
20 RUT                        [¡jähhh,¡
                                yeah
    bru     ->%stops-->>
    rut            βgaze uphill/twd NOR-->
    chi            +gaze uphill/twd NOR-->
    fla            ⊥gaze uphill/twd NOR-->
    rut                 ¡nods--¡
21 CHI → ∆≠+†eh?+†
          huh
    lou  ∆stops-->>
    chi  ≠slight frown-->>
    chi   +....+torques twd RUT-->
    chi   †....†points back and forth between RUT and NOR/LOU-->>
22 LOU → halb#z+eit.+ #
          halftime
    chi     ->+....+gaze twd LOU-->
    fig     #fig.6.22#fig.6.23
```

Bruno, walking at the head of the group, produces a pluralized greeting in Swiss German (*griessech mitnang*/"hello everybody", l. 1), thereby explicitly addressing the oncoming hikers as members of a collectivity (Lerner, 1993). This receives a choral response through Swiss German return-greetings by Chiara, Flavia, and Dagmar (l. 2–4). Eventually, trailing members of the groups also engage in greeting one another (l. 5–7). Exchanging greetings *en passant* is a routine, everyday occurrence among fellow hikers, and the encounter is possibly complete at this point (see Sacks, 1992: II, 193 on "greetings-only" interactions).

As it happens, though, Chiara engages in more than only a greeting exchange: just before Bruno passes by, she comes to a halt, turns toward him, and asks *kommen sie von Valsis?*/"are you.FRM coming from Valsis" in Standard German (l. 8).[50] She singles out Bruno, who is walking at the head of the group, as next speaker by gaze-selecting him and using the second-person deferential pronoun *sie* (typically deployed when addressing "strangers" or distant acquaintances). Chiara thus furnishes her co-participants with a larger language sample, and her alternating to Standard German for a more independently produced utterance—beyond single words, set phrases and formulaic expressions—indicates that Swiss German is not her L1.[51] Moreover, she times the delivery of the pre-request in a way so that she is able to use the spatio-temporal "window of opportunity" (Mondada, 2022a) in which the group is still in front of Bruno to initiate the action. The delivery of the pre-request is also timed to coincide with a pointing gesture that points uphill (Fig. 6.21, note the use of the walking stick), in the direction from where Bruno and the rest of the group are coming, which she holds until the sequence-responding action is eventually produced (l. 11). During the production of Chiara's turn at line 8, Flavia and Ruth also stop and bodily orient toward Bruno, thus emergently establishing a stationary interactional space (Fig. 6.21).

Bruno next provides a go-ahead response with >*ja,*< and slows down his walking pace (l. 10), after which Nora responds, as a non-selected recipient, with >↑*jäwohl.*< in Swiss German (l. 11). This prompts Ruth (l. 11), and eventually Chiara (l. 12), to direct their gaze at Nora. Of note is that Nora's answer format contrasts with that of Bruno: the response particle (translatable as "that's right!") is more agentive in that it goes beyond simply *affirming* the terms of the prior question, rather *confirming* the propositional content of the polar (yes/no)

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[50] Fictitious toponym.

[51] While the transcript does not do adequate justice to the participants' actual *in-situ* pronunciation, the delivery of Chiara's greeting at line 2 already shows signs of Swiss German not being her L1, as indexed in the monophthongal realization of *grüzi* [ɡrytsɪ] (see also Flavia's greeting, l. 3), vs. the diphthongal *griezi* [ɡrɪətsɪ] or *grüezi* [ɡryətsɪ] used by Aurora, Nora, and Ruth (l. 5–7), all L1 speakers of Swiss German.

question (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2012). Notice also how Nora uses high pitch and volume. Through her agentive confirmation token, Nora appears to claim personal epistemic entitlement to what is being asked about as in her territory of knowledge, i.e., knowledge of the local "common-sense geography" (Schegloff, 1972). She thus puts herself forward as a knowing recipient and possible spokesperson for the collectivity. In line with Lerner (2019: 396), "[i]n a sense, [she] is not responding as an other-than-addressed participant at all but as a nascent member of an interactional team."

Importantly for the present discussion, we also observe that Nora's Swiss German answer is disaligned with respect to the language of the initiating action—whereas the response particle >*ja,*< produced by Bruno is linguistically indeterminate, or "bivalent" (Woolard, 1998), in that it could belong to both Swiss German and Standard German. The Swiss German speakers can thereby be seen to check their Standard-German-speaking co-participants' receptive knowledge of Swiss German, and test how far they can go without having to code-switch to Standard German. Put another way, the participants here open up a language negotiation sequence (Chapter 5).

After the go-ahead responses to Chiara's pre-request, it is Flavia who produces the information request proper *ist sehr weit noch?*/"is very far still" at line 14, still gazing toward Bruno. This instantiates a division of labor between Chiara and Flavia in the sequential buildup of the incipient interaction, which is also a way of enacting their belonging to the same collectivity, i.e., of "doing being" a party (Schegloff, 1995). Moreover, Flavia's turn is non-standard in format and possibly a carry-over from her L1, Italian. Being a pro-drop language, pronouns are not always required grammatically in Italian; the absence of the personal pronoun *es* (grammatically required in Standard German) in the German-language turn at line 14 is thus a possible sign of L1 transfer. Bruno answers minimally in Swiss German with *jo.* (l. 17). He then latches on with a somewhat more elaborate response (l. 18), and Nora self-selects and

comes in in overlap with *d̲o isch öppe d hälfti.*/"here is the half or so" (l. 19). Notice again the language disalignment between the initiating action in L2 German and the responding actions in Swiss German. With this, Bruno and Nora can be seen to continue to test their co-participants' receptive competencies in Swiss German in a wait-and-see fashion. Chiara, Flavia, and Ruth start to (re-)direct their gaze toward Nora as she produces line 19. And Ruth eventually acknowledges her (Nora's) taking the floor with the Swiss German *jähhh*/"yeah"*,* and a concurrent head nod (l. 19), thereby claiming understanding and providing proof of (at least) some level of productive competence in Swiss German.

Chiara, however, displays non-understanding of Nora's turn by torquing her torso toward Ruth and Flavia and directing the Italian-language OCRI *eh?* at them, which is accompanied by a slight frown and her pointing back and forth between Ruth and Nora (l. 21, Fig. 6.22 and 6.23). This embodied repair display, co-occurring with and held beyond the OCRI, points to language-related comprehensibility (and not audibility) as the possible trouble-source (Oloff, 2018). In seeking help from Flavia and Ruth in a momentary Italian-language aside, Chiara here engages in self-initiated brokering. Furthermore, Chiara's alternating pointing gesture seems to indicate her relinquishing the floor as focal participant (as if to communicate "you continue/take over"), in a bid to reshape the interactional space and focal participation of the moment.

It is in this sequential context that Louis, who has just come to a halt (l. 21), interjects himself into the ongoing interaction by self-selecting and proposing the repair solution *ha̲lbzeit*/"halftime" (l. 22). With this, he shows himself to be concerned with promoting understanding between the previously focal participants, while simultaneously treating the language-based understanding problem as a collective problem that warrants intervention and assistance by anyone capable of doing so. Notably, Louis' repair solution is in Standard German, aligning with Flavia and Chiara's prior language choices. Selecting Standard German

(in lieu of Swiss German) here instantiates a real-time language assessment in the next turn, displaying Louis' understanding of Flavia and Chiara's perceived linguistic abilities and preferences, as well as orienting to Chiara's repair-initiation as being related to a more consequential language- (dialect)-related understanding problem. Further, while Nora's previous answer to Flavia's distance-related question incorporated a spatial-geographical measure with the turn-initial indexical *do*/"here" (l. 19), Louis' *halbzeit*-response is a sports metaphor that introduces a temporal measure, delivered in a playful tone. This is possibly employed as a solution to an interactionally delicate task that Louis here faces: as responding "too literally" (e.g., by way of offering a simple Standard German resaying of line 19) would suggest that Chiara hasn't grasped the meaning of line 19 and imply an ascription of incompetence, the jocularity in Louis' response appears to serve as a device to circumvent, or at least mitigate, such an inference.

Though language-aligned, the humoristic utterance is less accessible and not straightforwardly understandable (not just for L2 speakers, as it turns out). We will see that Louis' volunteered repair solution—a "joke" of some sorts—emerges as a problematic linguistic item whose explanation takes up most of the ensuing interaction.

Ex. 6.9b) Continuation of Ex. 6.9a

We noted above that the participants, from this point on, are concerned with coming to a local working understanding of the explanandum *halbzeit*. The remainder of the interaction shows that the categorization of the trouble is not straightfoward, however. While several participants are struggling with the linguistic item, it is ambiguous as to what exactly the interactional problem entails: does it concern matters of language proficiency, semantics, calculation, or some combination of all of these? The analysis below is addressed to these issues, showing the participants' collective effort to secure intersubjectivity.

Ex. 6.9b) Continuation of Ex. 6.9a

```
22 LOU    [halbz+eit.+
            halftime
23 DAG?   [(            ).
   rut    >>gaze twd NOR/LOU-->
   chi    >>points back and forth between RUT and NOR/LOU-->l.29
   chi      ->+....+gaze twd LOU-->
24 NOR    hhh=
25 RUT    =$ha+lbβ+z[ei$t?β
            halftime
26 NOR           [dr halb [wäg jä.
                  half of the way yeah
27 CHI→                  [quanto?#
                          how much
   chi    $1 step back$
   chi      ->+...+gaze twd RUT-->
   rut          β........βgaze twd CHI-->
   fig                        #fig.6.24
28        (0.2)†
   chi      ->†,,,-->
29 CHI    °(di lì,)°†
            from there
                  ->†
30        (0.2)+(0.2)+(.)≠
   chi      ->+.....+gaze twd LOU/NOR-->
   chi              ≠slight shrug-->
31 RUT    ¡hal≠b#zeit.+¡
            halftime
   rut    ¡RHhorizontal¡
   chi      ->≠
   chi              ->+...-->
   fig        #fig.6.25
```


6.24   6.25

```
32 NOR    [die hälfte.
            the half
33 CHI →  [al+bzeit?=[was ist,
            halftime? what is
34 RUT              [ja.
                    yes
   chi    ...+gaze twd RUT-->
35 LOU    •hh h•β
   lou    •....•turns twd AUR-->
   rut        >βmiddle distance gaze-->
36 RUT    ¡[äh:,¡
           uh
37 AUR →  [me#β[tà  strad-]•
            halfwa-
38 BRU →      β[HALBE+STRE]•β+CKE.•
                halfway
```

```
rut    ¡.....¡RH horizontal gesture-->
rut       ->β.............βgaze twd BRU-->
chi            ->+.......+gaze twd BRU-->
lou                 ->•,,,,,,•gaze twd CHI-->
fig       #fig.6.26
```
39   **(.)β(.)β**
```
rut    ->β...βgaze twd CHI-->
```
40 RUT   **hal[be str<u>e</u>cke.**
             halfway
41 BRU   **[halbe strecke.**
                  halfway
42   **(0.2)**
43 AUR   **((clears throat))+**
```
chi                  ->+...-->
```
44 RUT→ **was wir+¡bis [jetzt gemacht¡ haben.**
             what we've done until now
45 NOR→   **[<u>nochmal</u> so viel [wie das h.**
                       again   as much   as   this
46 LOU→   **[•Au[ro•ra?**
                                          Aurora
47 CHI→   **[<u>ah</u>:β+.h (.)β+albe strecke. ≠oh#:<u>o</u>.≠**
                                             ah   halfway   oho
```
chi    .......+gaze twd RUT-------------------+.......+gaze twd BRU-->>
rut        ->¡,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,¡
lou                             ->•.....•gaze twd AUR-->>
rut                                  ->β.......βgaze twd NOR/LOU-->>
chi                                                      ≠shrugs≠
fig                                                      fig.6.27#
```


6.26   6.27

At line 25, Ruth initiates repair by repeating *halbzeit?* with upward intonation, thereby flagging

the utterance as problematic. Ruth says this as Chiara is still pointing alternatingly between

Louis/Nora and Ruth (l. 21–29, see Fig. 6.22–6.24), in a bid to delegate speakership. This is

also accompanied by her taking a step back and shifting her gaze toward Ruth (l. 27). With this,

Chiara displays her orientation to reshaping the interactional space and bodily deselects herself

as possible focal participant. Nora then comes in in terminal overlap and attempts to clarify in

Swiss German, again using a spatial measure: *dr halb wäg jäh.*/"half of the way yeah" (l. 26). This, however, is overlapped by Chiara's upwardly intoned Italian-language repair initiator *quanto?*/"how much" (l. 27), directed at Ruth (and possibly Flavia) when they are bodily oriented toward one another and share mutual gaze in a momentary in-group aside (Fig. 6.24).

After a 0.2-sec silence, Chiara expands the Italian-language turn with °*(di lì,)*°/"from there" with slightly rising intonation (l. 29). When no response is forthcoming (l. 30)— projecting possible repair-related trouble—, Chiara begins to direct her gaze toward Nora and Louis, possibly inviting help, and eventually produces a slight shrug that indicates her non-understanding (l. 30). Chiara's intra-group repair initation is met with a repair solution by Ruth after a half-second silence: she repeats *halbzeit.* with a downward intonation contour, while simultaneously providing a horizontal gesture (a back-and-forth motion by the right hand; l. 31, Fig. 6.25). In the next turn, Nora provides another repair solution with *die hälfte.*/"the half" (l. 32). It is thus only here that she addresses Chiara with a switch to Standard German, subsequent to her overhearing the prior Italian-language aside exclusively between Chiara, Ruth, and Flavia. After having initially provided a (Swiss German) repair solution for Ruth (l. 26), Nora can thus be seen to here work together with Ruth as co-explainers "for" Chiara. While Nora's alternation to Standard German at line 32 is a display of recipient design in terms of language choice, the underlying issue that is addressed appears to be the conceptual problem with the sports metaphor *halbzeit*, rather than language as the trouble-source. Evidence for this is offered when Ruth gives a repair solution (l. 31) that is language-disaligned with Chiara's prior repair initiators *quanto?* °*(di lì,)*° deployed during their aside in Italian—their shared in-group language.

In overlap with this at line 33, Chiara initiates yet another repair by producing the maximally specific word-clarification request (Mazeland & Zaman-Zadeh, 2004)

albzeit?=was ist,/"halftime what is"[52] in L2 German while looking at Ruth (l. 34). Language choice here contributes to publicly, "more transparently" exposing her difficulty, the request for help possibly being produced sensitive to the other overhearing co-present persons (cf. Chapter 4: Ex. 4.6). This provides an occasion for others to step in and offer help. Thus, we observe that each of Chiara's other-initiations of repair increases in its degree of specificity relative to the previous one: from an initially generalized to a maximally specific, "stronger" (Schegloff et al., 1977: 369) verbal initiator. In her appeals for assistance (self-initiated brokering), Chiara goes from the the monosyllabic interjection *eh?* (l. 21), followed by the question word *quanto?* (l. 27), to the maximally specific repeat of the trouble-source + question word in *albzeit?=was ist,* (l. 33) when the repair sequence is still not resolved. This clarification-seeking trajectory involving a set of three other-initiations of repair (characterized as a "multiple" in prior work; Schegloff et al., 1977: 369, fn. 15; Schegloff, 2000: 212–213) attests to the structural complexity and elaborateness of the overall repair sequence, and shows that the participants are struggling with the identification of the trouble-source.

Ruth displays her recipiency with *ja.*/"yes" (l. 35) and then goes on to display "thinking" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986) by averting her gaze from Chiara, shifting it to middle distance, and eventually producing an *äh:,*/"uh" (l. 35–36). Simultaneously with this, there is an audible outbreath from Louis, who begins to orient his head toward Aurora standing to his right (l. 35, Fig. 6.26). It is in this sequential context that Aurora, who has previously been both interactionally and physically peripheral to the conversation, enters the ongoing word explanation activity by self-selecting and providing the Italian-language *metà strad-*/"halfwa-" as a code-switched repair solution (l. 37). Aurora's translatory turn publicly reveals her understanding of Chiara's perceived linguistic abilities, indicating that she understands Italian

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[52] Notice the non-aspirate pronunciation of the German "halbe", captured as *albe* in the transcript, suggesting marked Italian phonology (see also l. 47).

to be the preferred language for that particular recipient. Thus, "translation" here serves both as repair *and* as optimizing recipiency for a currently non-understanding recipient. Notice also how Aurora's volunteered translatory turn makes public that Italian is part of her linguistic repertoire, biographical knowledge that the group presumably shares. This retroactively accounts for Louis' turning toward Aurora (l. 35, Fig. 6.26) as an embodied appeal for linguistic assistance, when the interactional trouble continues to persist.

Aurora's Italian-language repair solution is, however, overlapped by Bruno proposing yet another repair solution in a louder voice (*HALBE STRECKE.*/"halfway", l. 38). As with Nora's previous turn at line 32, here too the repair solution is language-aligned by alternating to Standard German as a *lingua franca* solution, thus displaying some level of accommodation to Chiara's linguistic preferences. Moreover, we observe that the sequential placement of Bruno's turn contributes to establishing a local equivalence between *metà strada* and *HALBE STRECKE* (both spatial-geographical measures), hearable as a "double translation" of sorts (Traverso, 2012: 170). Ruth can be seen to perpetuate this local equivalence in the next turn (l. 40), when she repeats *halbe strecke.* while simultaneously producing a horizontal iconic gesture to indicate a line (l. 38–47, Fig. 6.26). With this, she repeats the same gesture that she has provided at line 31 (Fig. 6.25), but which Chiara had not seen. The repair solution is then incrementally elaborated upon by both Ruth and Nora through activity-centered paraphrases in Standard German (*was wir bis jetzt gemacht haben*/"what we've done until now", l. 44; *nochmal so viel wie das h*/"again as much as this h", l. 45), which serve as post-translatory clarifications of *halbe strecke.* Of note is that up to this point, Chiara has not yet verbally receipted the repairs. This is perhaps what prompts Louis, much like at line 35, to turn toward and summons Aurora at line 46, thereby orienting to eliciting linguistic help from another L1 speaker of Italian and expediting the translatory activity. However, Chiara overlaps Louis' utterance-in-progress with a claim of understanding (l. 47), thereby finally providing for the

resolution of the lenghty repair sequence. She receipts the repair with a turn-initial change-of-state token (*a:h*), a repeat (*albe strecke.*), and the reaction token *oh:o.* accompanied by a shrug, which works as a post-positioned multimodal stance marker (Fig. 6.27). Notice also how Chiara times the delivery of her claim of understanding to co-occur with gaze reorientation toward Bruno (l. 47), thereby demonstrating how brokers—here the producer of the repair solution that ultimately emerges as the successful one—are implicated throughout the brokering segment (cf. Ex. 6.4).

In sum, this section offered an example in which requests for help and offers of assistance from co-present third persons intersect in an effort to resolve an interactional difficulty that involves, but is not limited to, linguistic proficiency. In the moment-by-moment unfolding of the encounter, multiple participants are having difficulties with a linguistic item. This halts the progressivity of the larger course of action and occasions multiple participants to seek and offer help and collaborate in the face of the emergent trouble. The analysis showed how the participants, in their efforts to resolve the nascent trouble, contingently reshape the participation framework of the moment, interactionally partitioning between currently knowing and currently unknowing participants (cf. C. Goodwin, 1979; Schegloff, 1995: 34 on "the informed" and "the uninformed"). This shifting participation between "co-explainers" and "explainees" leads to the emergence of transient "interactional teams" in which members team up as facilitators and "assisting consociates" (Lerner, 2019; cf. also Gan et al., 2023) for the benefit of currently non-understanding participants. We saw that once Ruth, an L1 speaker of Swiss German, publicly displays her understanding of the meaning of *halbzeit* (which itself is an *in-situ* interactionally achieved matter and not an *a priori* given, illustrating that the trouble appears to be conceptual in nature and goes beyond a purely language-related difficulty), Chiara is subsequently singled out as an individual in need of assistance. Multiple persons were thus shown to collaboratively act as an alliance of language brokers, and the example provides

some demonstration of how brokering—implicating various intersecting facilitatory practices, such as producing descriptions, simplified paraphrases, explanations, clarifications, or translatory utterances—is socially distributed within and across participants who may, or may not, "know" each other.

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter focused on the organization of language brokering in multiperson chance encounters between previously unacquainted interactants who turn out to be of mixed language competencies. My aim with this chapter was to elucidate the interactional work that goes into mundane forms of language brokering and investigate how people, during the initial moments of their chance encounter, request and are offered *ad hoc* linguistic help by who is immediately (made) available in the local surround. To do so, I examined first-contact situations in which participants display themselves to be, or are oriented to as, having language-related difficulties. These range from punctual trouble in the production or understanding of a single utterance within otherwise fairly "transparent" (Müller, 1989) language constellations (Ex. 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, 6.9), to more consequential problems with the overall language of the encounter in relatively "opaque" multilingual configurations (Ex. 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8). The analysis explored methods of *self-* and *other-initiated brokering* through which co-present third persons spontaneously come to act as interactional mediators, in an effort to promote participation and facilitate understanding between previously unacquainted people whose shared linguistic resources turn out to be relatively limited. The chapter thereby enriches our understanding of situated language brokering, adding to a burgeoning body of CA work on mundane third-party mediating practices in asymmetrically multilingual multiperson interaction (e.g., Bolden, 2012; De Stefani et al., 2000; Greer, 2015; Greer & Ogawa, 2021; Harjunpää, 2017, 2021a, 2021b;

Markaki et al., 2013; Merlino, 2012; Merlino & Mondada, 2013; Raymond, 2014b; Skårup, 2004; Traverso, 2012).

The chapter provided empirical insight into what constitutes language brokering during the early moments of chance interactions between previously unacquainted people, and how it furnishes participants from different linguistic backgrounds with a resource for creating and maintaining the necessary "architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 1984a: 254) when dealing with occasioned language-related interactional trouble. We saw that assistance from a co-present third person permits participants to secure intersubjectivity and proceed with local courses of action, and in some cases it is language brokering—the distributed, pooled linguistic resources made available within the immediate environment—that allows for a more sustained encounter to happen in the first place. Members do achieve practical ends in spite of contingencies related to their linguistic diversity, and a fine-grained analysis of the interactional organization of impromptu language brokering demonstrates participants' linguistic abilities as much as their struggles.

Analysis showed that language brokering occurs in the sequential environment of "first topic" (Schegloff, 1986) introduction within the larger opening phase, wherein the reason for the encounter is, or has been, formulated and is progressively elaborated upon. In the cases examined above, and across the larger dataset, people thus do not "broker" greetings—if they are deployed. This seemingly simple observation displays endogenous expectancies regarding both the normative sequential organization of openings and the comprehensibility, or transparency, of routinized formulaic utterances, of which greetings are perhaps the most familiar form and which arguably do not require a high level of language proficiency.

Moreover, the collection of cases provided some demonstration of the distribution of labor in the mobilization and provision of linguistic assistance. Depending on the multilingual constellation, individuals were shown to achieve both fleeting and more sustained shifts from

being at the periphery of an encounter to taking up a more focal brokering role, being at its center, and *vice versa*. We saw that this involves moment-by-moment rearrangements of bodies and participation frameworks within emergently reconfigured interactional spaces (Mondada, 2009). Individuals—mutually "ratified" participants to a larger ongoing encounter, as well as ostensibly uninvolved, "unratified" people outside of an ongoing conversation (glossable as "bystanders," "overhearers," etc. in Goffman's terms)—were shown to continuously negotiate focal and peripheral participation (Greer & Ogawa, 2021; Harjunpää, 2021a). Thus, we observed that far from being static, participation—entailing the differentiated, shifting, and fluid situational identities (Merlino & Mondada, 2014) members take up within the participation framework of the moment—as a language broker is a dynamically unfolding process that is contingent upon local communicative needs (C. Goodwin, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004).

What the foregoing analyses suggest is that multilingualism is an *occasioned* interactionally achieved (vs. *a priori* given) matter that is socially distributed within and across participants and collectively made available in the local ecology (cf. C. Goodwin, 2004). By contrast with other, more institutionalized ways of organizing mediatory interaction, language brokering does not occur consistently throughout the unfolding larger activity, only emerging sporadically and episodically. The role of language broker or facilitator is not formally preallocated, multiple participants can collaborate in facilitating the interaction (cf. Harjunpää, 2017; Mondada, 2012; Traverso, 2012), and the need for language brokering is assessed and negotiated on the spot, occasioned locally when (potential) trouble emerges (Müller, 1989).

We saw that brokers do not necessarily have to be "language experts" with relatively greater access to linguistic resources (such as L1 speakers of a locally relevant language), but can also simply be coordinating intermediaries with knowledge of others' linguistic repertoires. Language brokering thus invites examination of the coordination work undertaken during the

nascent moments of the chance encounters. The emergent and contingent nature of the impromptu public interactions documented here affords an opportunity to highlight praxeological and procedural aspects of everyday multilingualism-in-interaction. Not only do the data permit us to see some of the members' methods by which linguistic assistance from a co-present third person is mobilized and provided on an improvised basis as participants strike a balance between progressivity and intersubjectivity (Markaki et al., 2013), but they also highlight matters of participation in multiperson interaction. That is, the analysis reveals some of the coordination work involved in both setting up and emergently reshaping the participation framework as others' linguistic resources are progressively discovered and made relevant, and how transitions to and from language brokering are multimodally orchestrated. A focus on the organization of language brokering thereby elucidates how the very conditions for sustained social interaction to take place are being negotiated here and now.

Finally, the present chapter sheds empirical light on a central, yet often overlooked, aspect of everyday public life in that it offers an account of some of the ways through which members orient to a "public space" as public. The examples illustrate how the publicness of interactional space, i.e., its mutual accessibility and public accountability (see Mondada & Tekin, submitted), is endogenously oriented to as a resource for action. Individuals—including unknown others who are incidentally co-present and ostensibly outside of an ongoing interaction—were shown to not only monitor and track their local surround, but also insert themselves into interaction and provide help with linguistic troubles. Although a lack of shared competencies can present serious difficulties to an encounter, language-related interactional trouble can become a resource for interactants (instead of merely being an obstacle to intersubjectivity and progressivity), and language brokering can have a "bridging" function in a double sense: beyond mediating asymmetrical linguistic proficiency, the need for *ad hoc* linguistic help furnishes previously peripheral individuals with an occasioned resource to

interject themselves into an ongoing interaction as focal participants. Analysis illustrates how responding to others' language-related interactional trouble—difficulties that become recognizable and publicly available when in public open space—can work as an effective "ticket" (Sacks, 1992) to talk to "strangers." Such difficulties can be used as a vehicle for topic generation and getting to know each other (e.g., sparking "intercultural" moments in which participants begin to topicalize, or otherwise orient to, each others' different linguistic and cultural backgrounds; cf. Bolden, 2014; Egbert, 2004; Mori, 2003). By studying the practices that are deployed during moments of spontaneous language brokering in public places, we not only gain empirical insight into how people multimodally coordinate participation and language choice; we also learn about the interactional opportunities this creates for people to engage with others in a shared space.

7 ON THE INTERACTIONAL NEGOTIATION OF A DUAL-RECEPTIVE MODE OF LANGUAGE ALTERNATION: A SINGLE CASE ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

The three preceding chapters examined a range of issues related to the negotiation and coordination of language choice and participation during openings of impromptu public interactions. In particular, they showed how previously unacquainted participants emergently discover and continuously assess each other's perceived linguistic competencies and preferences, and how such on-line, moment-by-moment evaluations of samples of each other's linguistic repertoires help to recipient-design language choice and shape the linguistic regime that the nascent encounter eventually will take. We saw that in virtually all of the chance encounters discussed, multilingual participants, at the very beginning, display a default expectation that their incipient interaction will proceed monolingually; that is, in the present data, they overwhelmingly orient to the necessity of selecting a single language to the exclusion of others and the requirement that a commonly shared "base language" (Auer, 1995, 2000) be found and used during the encounter. This interactionally negotiated *one-language-only/one-language-at-a-time* policy displays a normative orientation by the participants that production—and not merely comprehension—of a locally proposed language is a prerequisite for sustained social interaction to take place.

However, having *productive* proficiency in a shared language is not absolutely necessary to understand and interact with each other. Another way that participants can mobilize their multiple linguistic resources is through insisting on *receptive* competencies in

the locally relevant language(s). They thereby co-construct their exchange as multilingual, with each participant primarily speaking their individually preferred language/variety while relying on receptive knowledge of their co-participant's language/variety for establishing mutual understanding. This chapter focuses on the ways in which one such form of *receptive multilingualism* is interactively achieved and perpetuated in the contingent unfolding of a chance encounter between unacquainted people. While (socio)linguists have begun to devote more attention to issues related to receptive multilingualism, this chapter aims to show how the adoption of an interactional lens can produce novel empirical insights into the ways in which this "dual-receptive" (Greer, 2013a) mode of language use is actually worked into being in the early moments of interaction and jointly sustained throughout an encounter. An interactional lens reveals not only how receptive multilingualism emerges moment by moment as a viable language regime for the encounter at hand, but also highlights the *variety* of multilingual interactional practices at play to sustain the interaction. Thus, it allows us to see some of the "production" aspects that are involved in the interactional achievement of understanding—that is, "reception"—, moving beyond an exclusive focus on the receptive side of receptive multilingualism.

In the following, I will first provide a brief background on the notion of receptive multilingualism and discuss where this mode of language use fits in the sequential organization of multilingual talk-in-interaction (§7.2). Through a single case analysis, I will then examine how an impromptu encounter between unknown people develops sequentially into, and stabilizes as, an overall dual-receptive mode of multilingual interaction. More specifically, I will describe how the previously unacquainted parties interactionally negotiate an unstated pattern of language alternation in which each focal participant elects to use their individually preferred language/variety (French and Italian/L2 German, respectively), while at the same time claiming and demonstrating sufficient receptive knowledge of the other's language/variety

(§7.3). The chapter concludes with some discussion of the diverse practices involved in achieving this multilingual interactional mode, and links with other linguistic regimes (§7.4).

7.2   Background

The ways that participants cope *in situ* with linguistic diversity are manifold, and the diverse ways that available linguistic, embodied, and material resources are mobilized in social interaction exhibit a local, *emic* definition of multilingualism that participants themselves deem adequate for whatever it is they are doing. For instance, we saw in the three preceding chapters that in an effort to bridge occasioned language-related interactional trouble, unacquainted participants may, if possible, acquiesce to the other's locally displayed linguistic preference or resort to the use of a common *lingua franca*, thereby displaying an orientation to the need to agree upon a single language-of-interaction (Chapters 4 and 5). Or they may mobilize a co-present broker for impromptu linguistic help (Chapter 6). But a focus on these local, interactionally negotiated solutions for dealing with emerging linguistic and interactional difficulties does not tell the whole story. To minimize and/or overcome potential language barriers and troubles of intersubjectivity in more or less extreme exolingual situations, participants may, for example, also engage in an on-the-spot multilingual *bricolage* (Mondada, 2018b), mixing their available (and possibly fragmentary) linguistic resources *ad hoc* and in recipient-designed ways. Alternatively, they may choose to insist on receptive competencies in the locally relevant language(s), orienting to the deployed language varieties what Rehbein et al. (2011; see below) describe as *linguae receptivae*.

The present chapter focuses on this latter form of language contact and mode of multilingual interaction, as a situated accomplishment between unacquainted participants who emergently discover and adjust to each other's linguistic competencies and preferences. In this section, I will first provide an overview of the broader literature concerned with receptive

multilingualism (§7.2.1), and will then briefly review previous investigations of the linguistic regime with a focus on naturalistic talk-in-interaction (§7.2.2).

7.2.1 Receptive multilingualism

Language varieties are sometimes so closely typologically related that they show considerable structural overlap. This may allow people to draw on cognate vocabulary and morpho-syntactical and phonological features for (partial) receptive understanding, and can result in a mode of interaction where interactants from varied linguistic backgrounds make consistent alternating use of their respective preferred languages/varieties without having to resort to a shared language-of-interaction. This phenomenon of understanding-without-speaking, often facilitated by cross-linguistic similarities between languages/varieties, has been conceptualized variously as, e.g., "intelligibility of closely related languages and dialects" (Casad, 2005), "intercomprehension" (Bonvino & Jamet, 2016; Conti & Grin, 2008), "semicommunication" (Braunmüller, 2002; Haugen, 1966; Zeevaert, 2007), or "receptive multilingualism" (Rehbein et al., 2012; ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007) in prior literature. Although they have varying connotations (e.g., note the obvious problems with the use of the *semi* prefix to denote the phenomenon; or receptive multilingualism is sometimes misleadingly also referred to as *passive* multilingualism), and can apply to interactions in both typologically close and distant language varieties, these concepts generally refer to the ability to understand multiple languages without necessarily being able to speak, or "produce," them. Following Rehbein et al. (2012), who zoom in on the receptive component by introducing the notion of *lingua receptiva*, the term *receptive multilingualism* is here used to refer to "a mode of multilingual communication in which interactants employ a language and/or a language variety different from their partner's and still understand each other without the help of any additional *lingua franca*" (2012: 248–249).

While there has been a proliferation of terminology and of ways of conceptualizing the phenomenon, research on aspects of this linguistic regime remains relatively peripheral overall. Instead, the focus by researchers other than the proponents of *lingua receptiva* has been primarily on instantiations of productive ("active") multilingualism, and its potentialities and challenges as well as the ability to alternate between languages/varieties in different contexts (such as in code-switching or translanguaging research). More recently, however, *lingua receptiva* has been underscored as a key component within a call for "inclusive multilingualism" (Backus et al., 2013) in language policy debates. The concept of inclusive multilingualism, a language policy proposal designed to reject an English-only or English-centric approach to the challenges of European multilingualism, is defined as including five (all addressed, more or less exhaustively, in this dissertation) "[...] communicative modes to overcome the limitations of foreign language competence:" the use of English as a *lingua franca*, regional *linguae francae*, *lingua receptiva*, code-switching, and translation/interpreting (Backus et al., 2013: 179).

An example of receptive multilingualism that received considerable academic interest is found in mainland Scandinavia between speakers of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish (e.g., Delsing & Lundin Åkesson, 2005; Haugen, 1966; Zeevaert, 2004). In this classic and well-documented case of what is sometimes called "inter-Scandinavian semicommunication" (Zeevaert, 2007), speakers have a long tradition of using their respective L1 when interacting, instead of resorting to a *lingua franca* or one of the languages/varieties spoken by the co-interactant(s). This is argued to foster a sense of Pan-Scandinavian identity, which is actively promoted at the political level. Receptive multilingualism was also attested in a wide variety of other language constellations. To mention but a few: Czech–Slovak (Nábělková, 2007), Dutch–German (Beerkens, 2010; Gooskens et al., 2015; Ház, 2005), Estonian–Finnish

(Verschik, 2012); Portuguese–Spanish (Jensen, 1989), Russian–Ukrainian[53] (Bilianuk, 2010), see Schmid (1994), Conti and Grin (2008), Bonvino and Jamet (2016) for a focus on a variety of Romance languages; Zeevaert (2007) and Gooskens (2019) for overviews including other, non-Indo-European and structurally more distant languages/varieties. A further focus was on receptive multilingualism and divergent language choice within intergenerational migrant families (e.g., Herkenrath, 2012) or transnational adoptive families (e.g., Fiorentino, 2020). Additionally, in a line of research on "indigenous" or "small-scale" multilingualisms, it was noted that receptive multilingualism is a common phenomenon in contexts where (the performance of) language affiliation is important, closely connected to ideologies of differentiation and often playing a pivotal role in the maintenance of multilingualism in a community (see Pakendorf et al., 2021; Vaughan & Singer, 2018). This is probably sufficient to illustrate that the ways individuals use the full range of their linguistic repertoire, including forms of receptive multilingualism between both typologically close and more distant language varieties, is not to be considered an anomaly, but an actual norm and productive resource that facilitates, rather than undermines, interaction in a wide variety of multilingual speech communities.

Relevantly for the present study, receptive multilingualism is widely considered an essential aspect of Switzerland's multilingualism. As a result of its official quadrilingualism and the principle of territoriality, Switzerland has traditionally given strong emphasis to receptive multilingualism in institutional language policy making (Lüdi, 2007b; Werlen, 2007). It is important to point out, though, that just because receptive multilingualism is actively administratively encouraged, such as in federal administrative contexts, does not guarantee that it will be practiced *in situ* and *in vivo*. And when it does occur, little is known about how the

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[53] Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 appears to have accelerated a shift in the dynamics of Russian–Ukrainian (receptive) bilingualism (Maxwell, 2023).

language regime is actually implemented moment by moment in situated actions. While receptive multilingualism has been documented in diverse multilingual environments, such as in corporate companies in the Upper Rhine region (Lüdi, 2013), the Swiss Army (Berthele & Wittlin, 2013), public interactions in the streets of the bilingual German-French cities of Biel/Bienne and Freiburg/Fribourg (Conrad & Elmiger, 2010), or bilingual German-Romansh or German-Italian families from Chur, capital of the trilingual canton of the Grisons (Cathomas et al., 2005), the ways receptive multilingualism is described often gloss over the locally situated practices deployed by the participants to constitute it in interaction because the studies overwhelmingly draw on data that do not come from audio-visual recordings. What these studies indicate, however, is that receptive multilingualism constitutes *but one among several* interactional resources that are often used in concert with each other when interacting in linguistically heterogeneous environments. In line with this, detailed analysis of naturalistic data revealed that the "Swiss model" (Kolde, 1981; Lüdi, 2007b) of receptive multilingualism—a "pure" *lingua receptiva*, everyone-uses-their-preferred-(national)-language mode of language use—often does not hold in actual practice and tends to alternate with moments of code-switching (where the language of the other is used productively; though note that this often does not work in a symmetrical way in the Swiss linguistic market, where (Swiss) German dominates and Italian- and French-speaking language minorities find themselves having to accommodate), *lingua franca* use, impromptu translation, *ad hoc bricolage* of available linguistic resources within mixed speech, as well as the mobilization of embodied and material resources (see, e.g., Lüdi, 2013; Mondada, 2012, 2018b).

The above paragraph points to an important aspect that characterizes extant research on receptive multilingualism: with some exceptions (see below), the majority of studies exploring issues related to receptive multilingualism drew on *post hoc* reporting for establishing empirical evidence, such as through interview or questionnaire/survey methodologies that

remove utterances from their interactional context, or gathered data (quasi-)experimentally within individual-cognitivist frameworks. In areas of research where aspects of receptive multilingualism are typically looked at, such as in language acquisition, the notion is often conceptualized in binary terms such as *receptive-productive* or *implicit-explicit* with regards to the nature of lexical knowledge. These dichotomies present a perspective on receptive multilingualism as a primarily psycholinguistic process of individual cognition, neglecting the question of how the language regime is produced and socially managed in situated interaction. As we will see, this is not a black and white issue; receptive multilingualism is *made possible* by the ways in which participants do recipient design work, thus showcasing "production" aspects involved in receptive multilingualism-in-interaction and moving beyond an overemphasis on its "receptive" side.

While prior research provides interesting insights into the diverse manifestations of receptive multilingualism and the issue of mutual intelligibility between languages/varieties, it is usually limited in what it can say about the detailed ways in which people actually manage the linguistic regime in interaction with one another; it often does not facilitate analyses that are *action-sensitive*, glossing over how receptive multilingualism and intersubjective understanding (Moerman & Sacks, 1988; Mondada, 2011) are *interactionally achieved* in and through the moment-by-moment practices that people deploy *in situ* within actual instances of naturally-occurring social interaction. I turn to this in the next section.

7.2.2 Receptive multilingualism-in-interaction

Receptive multilingualism has received very limited attention in the interaction-oriented literature. Although there is an emerging body of research on receptive multilingualism, only a handful of empirical studies to date addressed the ways in which the language regime is co-negotiated and practiced in real-time interaction. I am here following a line of researchers who

examined issues related to receptive multilingualism through an interactional lens by drawing on field recordings of spontaneous, naturally-occuring social interaction.

As discussed previously in Chapters 2 and 5, conversation analytic studies of language alternation documented that responding in another language is commonly treated as a marked pattern of language use, going against the structural preference for same-language talk across turns (Auer 1984a, 1995; Hazel, 2015; Li & Milroy, 1995; Mondada, 2018c; Nevile & Wagner, 2011; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002; Raymond, 2020; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002). Despite this observed dispreference for alternating language in second/responsive position, it should be noted that sustained divergence of language choice is not invariably "special" or marked, and that the interactional preference for linguistic alignment (*one language at a time*) is not universally relevant. In various multilingual interactional contexts, participants were shown to display a multilingual orientation and treat consistent inter- and intra-turn code-switching as an unmarked, expectable, default way of sequentially organizing talk-in-interaction (see, e.g., Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Auer, 1999; Gafaranga & Torras, 2001; Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998).

Gafaranga and Torras (e.g., Gafaranga 1999; Gafaranga & Torras, 2001) proposed the concept of "medium" in a bid to highlight the distinction between etic and emic notions of "language." The term is used to refer to various constellations/modes of language use in interaction, emphasizing that the locally oriented-to linguistic regime needs not be monolingual, but can also be multilingual, with switching itself as the "medium," as a register of its own (cf. Auer, 1999 on "language mixing;" Lüdi, 1987 and Lüdi & Py, 2003 on *parler bilingue endolingue*; Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998 on "layered code-switching"). Drawing on audio data from casual conversations amongst bilingual French-Kinyarwanda Rwandese friends living in Belgium and Catalan-Castilian service encounters in Barcelona, Gafaranga

and Torras (2001) proposed a taxonomy of different versions of the medium an interaction may take. Correspondingly, a bilingual interactional medium may be organized in a

i) "parallel mode," i.e., when one participant consistently uses language variety A while the co-participant consistently uses language variety B, resulting in a disaligned ("nonconvergent") mode of language use;

ii) "mixed mode," i.e., when both participants use language variety A and B (turn-internally and between turns);

iii) "halfway-between mode," i.e., when one participant only uses language variety A while the co-participant consistently alternates between language variety A and B.

Thus, although they do not use the term "receptive multilingualism," Gafaranga and Torras (2001) describe sequential-interactional patterns of language use that imply the importance of having at least receptive skills in the involved languages/varieties for the bilingual interactional medium to work. What the authors call "parallel mode" corresponds to the notion of *lingua receptiva* defined earlier. Speakers do not alternate languages/varieties within and across their own turns; code-switching only occurs on an inter-turn basis between different speakers. While responding in a language-disaligned fashion has been noted to often be taken as a mark of dispreference (see Chapters 2 and 5), by engaging in consistent inter-turn code-switching participants may help establish this sustained pattern of divergent language choice as unmarked in a given multilingual interactional context.

In previous CA-informed research positioning itself within interactional sociolinguistics or translanguaging studies, researchers described everyday routine practices of receptive multilingualism for accomplishing tasks in multilingual workplace environments. For example, using data from audio recordings at a supermarket in Luxembourg, Franziskus and

Gilles (2012) investigated how two employees who do not speak each other's L1 (French and German, respectively) resort to receptive multilingualism in their daily workplace activities. Consistent with previous observations, the analyzed mode of multilingual interaction is not one of "pure" *lingua receptiva*, however. The data show the interactants to occasionally code-switch into French, German, or Luxembourgish (often turn-internal, single-word insertions) as well as syntactically and lexically recipient-design their utterances to each other's limited receptive abilities, resulting in what the authors qualify as "a simplified form of receptive multilingualism" (2012: 68). In related work, Kahlin et al. (2021) draw on CA to analyze instances of receptive multilingualism at multilingual construction sites in Sweden, involving workers from Estonia, Poland, Sweden and the Ukraine. Similar to the multilingual practices observed in other multilingual environments, the data provide some empirical demonstration of participants' fluid use of their linguistic repertoires by showing them to draw on a variety of interactional practices beyond receptive multilingualism in order to get their work done (e.g., insertions of "Swedish-sounding institutionalized keywords" into other-language grammatical frames, occasioned use of *lingua franca*, spontaneous language brokering, mobilization of embodied resources).

Previous interactional research on issues related to receptive multilingualism has largely been concerned with the sequential organization of alternative choices of language within talk-in-interaction. Less well understood is the role that embodied resources play when people engage in this language regime. Mondada (2012) is one of the few exceptions to have adopted a multimodal conversation analytic approach to aspects of multilingual interaction that involve receptive multilingualism. Using video recordings of a multiperson workplace meeting, Mondada (2012) offers a single case analysis of the delicate interactional work that goes into multimodally organizing participation within a participant constellation that predominantly involves L1 speakers of French, with the exception of one English-dominant

participant. Importantly for the themes of the present chapter, Mondada discusses participants' work to produce an occasioned bilingual mode of interaction in which the focal participants primarily speak their individually preferred languages (French and English, respectively), while relying on their receptive competencies in the other language. Notably, the analysis not only addresses the sequential organization of alternative choices of language within this pattern of receptive multilingualism-in-interaction, but also elucidates how understanding is claimed, displayed, and negotiated at the embodied level. The study demonstrates how participants situatedly co-construct their exchange as mono- or bilingual in various linguistic regimes (monolingual *lingua franca* English, monolingual French, bilingual French-English, impromptu brokering work) to promote participation and facilitate understanding. It allows us to see that—and *how*—a change of the linguistic regime reflexively implies a change in the embodied participation framework of the moment, a reconfiguration of the interactional space, as well as a recategorization of the participants in terms of their linguistic competencies. The mode of multilingual interaction may be dynamically reshaped, sensitive to local contingencies, or changes may occur only once, in pivoting moments (such as when the discussion makes relevant the participation of a speaker whose competencies do not comply with the currently adopted language regime; Mondada, 2012: 222 ff.). This also highlights the need to examine these trajectories over extended moments in time (cf. Greer, 2013a), and not only "purely locally," so as to avoid reifying the notion of linguistic regime and attributing a single regime to an entire interaction.

Additionally relevant to the present discussion is Piccoli's (2016: 1333–1340) analysis of language negotiation practices in two incipient encounters between exhibitors and visitors/clients at an international children's book fair in Italy. Drawing on multimodal conversation analysis, Piccoli discusses two excerpts in which unknown participants choose to insist on their partial receptive competencies in the language of the other, explicitly treating

French-Italian and Italian-Spanish receptive bilingualism as preferred over resorting to English as a *lingua franca*. In addition to highlighting the importance of multimodality for achieving mutual understanding and further illustrating occasioned practices of recipient-design typical of exolingual interaction (such as the need to "talk slowly" and recourse to simplified and formulaic expressions, resulting in what is characterized as "foreigner talk;" 2016: 1336),[54] the data show the interactants to exploit the relative transparency of the Romance languages as an efficient facilitatory resource in the interactional context at hand. Notably, while in the present study the participants will be shown to progressively establish an *unstated* pattern of dual-receptive French-Italian language alternation (among other linguistic regimes), the first-time interactants in Piccoli's study *metalinguistically topicalize* their receptive competencies in the other's language in the initial moments of their interaction.

In other prior work centrally relevant to this chapter, Greer (2013a) built on the notion of *lingua receptiva* to longitudinally study multilingual interactional practices involved in a series of successive service encounters in western Japan between two Japanese hairdressers and their Bolivian client. The study shows how the participants display their preferences for language use during the nascent moments of their initial encounter, and documents changes in recipient design over time by demonstrating how they progressively negotiate a mode of interaction that sequentially develops into, and eventually sediments as, a pattern of "dual-receptive language alternation" (with the hairdressers primarily speaking Japanese and the client English as a *lingua franca*). Thus, the study tracks the interactional work involved in getting to know each other—including along linguistic lines—, showing how previously unacquainted participants emergently negotiate a form of receptive multilingualism-in-interaction which allows them to communicate smoothly and which they come to treat as normative within this context.

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[54] Cf. Ex. 5.18 *keine problem.*; Ex. 6.6 *englisch. er.*; Ex. 6.8 *die erste mal.*

Building on these previous investigations, the present chapter examines the interactional work undertaken by unacquainted participants to achieve and perpetuate receptive multilingualism as a viable mode of language use for their impromptu encounter. It describes how the dual-receptive pattern of language alternation is sequentially talked into being, and how the participants mutually adjust to each other's perceived linguistic competencies and draw on a range of embodied resources to facilitate understanding. In particular, the analysis will show how the interactants shift between diverse linguistic regimes and interactional spaces on a moment-by-moment basis, in an effort to resolve occasioned interactional trouble and collaboratively sustain intersubjectivity.

7.3   Data

This chapter presents a single case analysis of a chance encounter of two minutes between previously unacquainted people. The data come from video recordings of a day of wild mushroom foraging in the Alsace area in Eastern France, approximately 15 minutes driving distance from the border to Switzerland and Germany. Leo (LEO), an experienced mushroomer who has been picking mushrooms in the local area for over 30 years, invited his daughter Aurora (AUR), her friend Sabina (SAB), and Phil (PHI) to go wild mushroom hunting. The camera was operated by Phil, the researcher who shadowed the participants throughout the day. As they were moving through the woods, the mushroomers crossed paths with Pierre (PIE), a lumberjack who was chopping logs alongside a forest road. The two parties exchanged a moment of sociability, striking up a conversation about their immediate environment, the activities they are currently engaged in and, eventually, their personal biographies.

Leo is a first-generation migrant from the south of Italy who has been living in German-speaking Switzerland with his family since the 1980s. His general, trans-situational language preferences are his local, Southern Italian dialect (Calabrese) and Regional Italian. With his

daughter, Aurora, he primarily speaks Regional Italian (which was the dominant language of socialization in the family) and occasionally uses Calabrese dialect. For daily life in Switzerland, he makes use of German (or, more precisely, approximating so-called *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* (guest workers' pidgin German); see Auer, 1984a) as well as some Swiss German. Aurora went to school in German-speaking Switzerland and completed tertiary education there, with a Masters in French Linguistics and Literature. Growing up multilingual, she speaks Regional Italian (and some Calabrese dialect) at home with her family, while resorting to Swiss German and Standard German for most aspects of everyday life. Sabina, who got to know Aurora at university, is a (Swiss) German speaker of L2 French, and also has a family background in Swiss Italian. While Phil attempted to minimize his involvement during the field recordings, the transcript shows how he is being enlisted into the role of active participant in the initial moments of the chance encounter.[55] He is also a (Swiss) German speaker of L2 French, and speaks L2 Italian with Leo and Aurora. During mushroom hunting, Leo, Aurora, and Sabina speak in Italian, while Aurora and Sabina tend to code-switch to Swiss German when talking amongst themselves. Although ethnographically informed knowledge of participants' linguistic repertoires and habitual tendencies regarding language choice can certainly enrich the analysis, it is the job of the analyst to ground the relevance of this etic background information in the participants' interactional conduct publicly displayed *in situ*, rather than resort to it exogenously as an explanatory category (Schegloff, 1987, 1991).

It is also relevant to note here that dual-receptive multilingual interaction is extremely rare in the *First Five Words* corpus from which the data for this dissertation were drawn (see Chapter 3). In fact, this is the only case across the larger corpus of several hundreds of unplanned encounters in which unacquainted people ended up adopting this linguistic regime

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[55] On researchers' fluctuating participation roles in video-based fieldwork, see Katila et al. (2021), Mondada (2013).

in a somewhat sustained fashion. This perhaps provides a further line of evidence supporting the idea of an interactional preference for same-language talk *in the particular context under consideration here*, i.e., in spontaneous, chance encounters between unacquainted members of the public in a variety of Swiss (cross-border) environments. If what I gloss here as receptive multilingualism is the exception rather than the rule in our corpus (and, possibly, in the region in which the interaction took place), it is of some interest to analyze in detail those encounters in which dual-receptive multilingual interaction does occur. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to this.

7.4   Analysis

This section presents the analysis of the multilingual chance encounter, beginning with how the unacquainted parties move into sustained focused interaction, lay out their available linguistic resources, and set up the embodied participation framework within the first few moments of the multiperson interaction (§7.4.1). It will then go on to examine how the encounter develops sequentially into, and stabilizes as, an overall dual-receptive mode of multilingual interaction, while also discussing instances in which the participants momentarily engage in language brokering in an effort to uphold the intersubjectivity and progressivity of the interaction (§7.4.2). Finally, it will zoom in on a specific interactional moment that occasions a change of language use in the linguistic regime, but with the interactants continuing to practice receptive multilingualism for the remainder of their chance encounter (§7.4.3).

7.4.1 Entry into interaction

The analysis will begin by examining how the individuals bodily and verbally move into sustained focused interaction. As they are moving through the woods, the mushroomers cross paths with Pierre on a forest road. The transcript begins with the pre-opening phase of the

encounter, and the analysis will center on how the unacquainteds transition into a mutually

ratified state of jointly focused interaction by co-establishing a stationary interactional space

and displaying explicit metalinguistic orientations in the early moments of interaction.

Ex. 7.1a) FR_MH_FUNGHI_20201031_00.31.47

```
01        (1.4)†(.)+#(0.4)•(1.1)•(0.3)#
  pie     >>stationary-->>
  leo     >>walks fwd-->
  aur     >>walks fwd-->
  sab     >>walks fwd-->
  aur        †gaze twd PIE-->
  leo          +gaze twd PIE-->
  pie                   •.....•turns, faces LEO-->
  fig            #fig.7.1          #fig.7.2
```



```
02 PIE    bonjou[r,
          good morning
03 LEO         [ban•jou,•
            good morning
  pie           ->•....•looks down-->
04        (0.4)
05 AUR    bonjour,
          good morning
06        (0.3)+(.)+
  leo       ->+...+gazes fwd-->
07 AUR    °tschuldigung.°⁵⁶
           sorry
08        (0.3)•(0.3)•(1.1)
  pie       ->•.....•gaze twd LEO-->
09 PIE    >ah oui.‡††+=vous cherchez< des châtaignes?
           ah yes    you're searching for chestnuts
  sab           ‡turns to face PIE-->
  aur           †turns to face PIE-->
  leo            +turns to face PIE-->
10        (0.5)*(.)∅©(1.0)
  leo       ->*stops-->>
  aur            ∅stops-->
  sab             ©stops-->>
11 PIE    y en a plus beaucoup d' châtaignes?
          there aren't many chestnuts left
12        (0.7)+(.)†
  leo        +turns twd AUR-->
  aur          ->†gaze twd LEO-->
13 LEO    °parla tu [(così-)°
          you.SG speak (so-)
14 SAB            [hhh heh
```

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[56] Aurora has just accidentally stepped on Sabina's foot. The turn at line 7 is responsive to that.

While approaching Pierre, who is busy with chopping wood, from the back, Aurora and Leo direct their heads toward the lumberjack (l. 1, Fig. 7.1).[57] This initial sighting from a distance is unilateral and precedes the incipient encounter. There is an asymmetry in mobility between the parties, with Pierre being physically preoccupied in a stationary position whereas the group is mobile: Leo is walking ahead of Aurora and Sabina and displaying interest in the roadside wood-cutting activity. After some time (possibly hearing the mushroomers' footsteps in fallen leaves; cf. Mondada, 2016: 351), Pierre begins to turn his upper body toward Leo and gazes at him (l. 1, Fig. 7.2). Soon thereafter, Pierre issues a greeting in French (l. 2), which Leo reciprocates in French (l. 3). Although Leo's French is rudimentary, which can be inferred from his markedly "non-standard" pronunciation of the return-greeting [bɑnʒʊ], his convergent language choice in second/responsive position not only aligns with Pierre's displayed linguistic preference, but also reveals an orientation to the normativity of using one language only (in this case the local language). With this, Leo indicates that French is potentially available as a language-of-interaction, at least for the time being (Mondada, 2018c). During the production of Leo's return-greeting, Pierre begins to shift his gaze down (l. 3), whereas Leo continues to look toward Pierre while walking straight ahead. Next, Aurora too deploys a French-language greeting token while also maintaining her mobility (l. 5), followed by Leo disengaging his gaze from Pierre (l. 6). At this point, a 1.7-second silence occurs (l. 8). There is thus an emerging possibility that the encounter will be of a "greetings-only" (Sacks, 1992: II, 193) type. During this silence at line 8, however, Pierre brings his gaze back to Leo (and possibly to the basket that he is holding), and then produces an upwardly intoned, *ah*-prefaced noticing in French (>*ah oui.=vous cherchez*< *des châtaignes?*/"ah yes you're searching for chestnuts", l. 9). Note how the turn-initial change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984b) enacts the "just-noticed-ness" of

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[57] Sabina's gaze behavior is not available here because she is partially out of shot.

the candidate activity in which the passers-by are engaged. Moreover, Pierre shows himself to be orienting to spatio-temporal contingencies with the sped-up delivery of his turn, temporally adjusted to the progressivity of Leo's walk and uttered to his back shortly after he has walked by. Pierre can thus be seen to make use of a last spatio-temporal window of opportunity (Mondada, 2022a) to engage in a more sustained focused encounter. His "environmental noticing" (Sacks, 1992: II, 87–97) makes a response relevant next and proffers a "locally sensitive" (Bergmann, 1990) first topic of conversation (Schegloff, 1968).

A verbal response, however, is not immediately forthcoming. While some time is needed to bodily readjust such that co-orientation and a stationary interactional space with Pierre can be established, Leo, Aurora and Sabina still let a whole second of silence pass (l. 10), indicating a problem of hearing or understanding. The silence is then broken by Pierre's turn-extension "there aren't many chestnuts left" (l. 11), produced with try-marked intonation and renewing the opportunity for a response from the co-participants. Once again, this is followed by a sizable silence (l. 12), during which Leo eventually turns toward Aurora, his daughter standing closely behind him, to address her in an Italian-language aside (l. 13). Together with low voice and bodily orientation, language choice is here used as a resource that allows for the reorganization of the participation framework and interactional space of the moment (Greer, 2013b; Mondada, 2004, 2012). Leo thereby prioritizes negotiating spokespersonship (Lerner, 1993) within the multiperson party, or, in other words, settling the matter of "who is talking to Pierre" (cf. Chapter 6: passing on overall focal participation as an instantiation of language brokering). With the quiet °*parla tu (così-)*°/"you speak (so-)" in Italian, Leo other-selects his daughter as focal participant—thus displaying not only knowledge of Aurora's relatively greater linguistic competencies in French, but also familial entitlement to oblige her to talk (cf. Rossi & Stivers, 2020)—in a designedly "private" fashion, while at the same time retrospectively exposing his limited productive proficiency in French as the

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source of his trouble with the prior questions. In this way, Leo presents himself as unable to talk to Pierre and conduct the interaction in French, but considers that an encounter is engaged and attempts to mobilize co-present others' competencies for "speaking." Leo's utterance is overheard by Sabina, who chuckles in overlap (l. 14).

Ex. 7.1b) Continuation of Ex. 7.1a

```
15        (.)+(.)†
   leo     ->+gaze twd PHIL/cam-->
   aur         †gaze twd PHIL/cam-->
16 LEO    filippo△†parla con△#lui.△
          Filippo  speak with him
                  △.........△points twd PIE△,,,,-->
   aur         ->†gaze twd LEO-->
   fig                    #fig.7.3
17        (.)△(.)
   leo    ,,,△
18 SAB    .hhh [heh
19 AUR         [h hhh
20 PIE         [(a:h).
                (ah)
21 LEO    lui parla francese.△+°parla△te.°△
          he  speaks French      speak.PL
                          △.......△points twd PIE△,,,-->
                          ->+gaze twd PIE-->>
22        (.)△(.)
   leo    ,,,△
23 SAB    hh (0.4) [oui† il y en†% a %encore quelques [uns.
                    yes there are still some left
24 PIE             [mais moi-                        [j' parle aussi le portugais
                    but  me-                          I  speak also    Portuguese
   aur             ->†........†gaze twd PIE-->>
   leo                         %nod%
25        si vous voulez,
          if you  want
26        (0.2)
27 SAB    h hh
28 LEO    ∅'pure il basilese parli?∅ h (0.2) [bene.#
           also the Basel dialect you speak? h good
29 PIE                                       [(l') portugais oui.
                                              Portuguese yes
   aur    ∅repositions  behind  LEO∅
   fig                                       #fig.7.4
```

A small silence develops at line 15, and when Leo gets no response from Aurora, he then goes on to address Phil via gaze and personal name in an Italian-language directive to "speak with" Pierre (note how the production of the third-person pronoun *lui*/"him" is timed to co-occur with the stroke of his pointing gesture toward Pierre; l. 16, Fig. 7.3). Thus, through this, Leo explicitly and publicly nominates Phil as the next speaker and spokesperson for the collectivity.

Leo's turn, however, receives no uptake from Phil. This absence of response is likely related to Phil's involvement in filming as his exclusive activity. However, Leo's assuming a mediatory role eventually draws laughter from Sabina and Aurora (l. 18–19). In overlap with this, Pierre produces a change-of-state token (l. 20), publicly claiming that he has achieved a new knowledge state with regard to his co-participants. Leo then pursues a response from Phil by first stating Pierre's displayed linguistic identity and the projected language of the encounter, and then appending a quiet directive to talk to him (*lui parla francese. °parlate.°*/"he speaks French. speak.PL", l. 21), which coincides with another pointing gesture toward Pierre. Of note is that Pierre's use of *parlare*/"speak" (cf. l. 13, 16) orients to some generic activity; it does neither specify the action to be done nor the topic (as a verb like *rispondere*/"respond" would, for example).

Yet another silence develops at line 22. It is at this point that Sabina—a previously uninvolved, non-addressed recipient within the multiperson party—interjects herself into the ongoing interaction by self-selecting and responding, in French, to Pierre's previous assertion (l. 23). She thereby aligns with Pierre's language choice, showing herself to be capable of language brokering by promoting the progressivity of the interaction (we can also note that Leo nods in approval once Sabina's French-language turn is underway, l. 24).

Pierre, however, appears to display an orientation to the group's lengthy "intra-side" side sequence (Mondada, 2004) as relating to a problem in language expertise: he offers to renegotiate the language of the encounter by announcing that he "speak[s] also Portuguese if you want" (l. 24). Through his use of the glottonym *portugais*, Pierre not only overtly topicalizes his linguistic repertoire, but also reveals an orientation to recipient-design considerations by proffering an ascription of the unacquainted co-participants' candidate linguistic identities (in this case a possible Romance language), based on language samples overheard from their aside. Interestingly for the present purposes, the claim of linguistic competence in Portuguese, notably produced in French, here appears to orient to a requirement that shared *productive* competencies be found (*j' **parle** aussi le portuguais si vous voulez,*).[58] He thereby widens the repertoire of possible linguistic options for the encounter. The proposal to switch languages and "speak Portuguese" is not taken up, however. Sabina responds by chuckling (l. 27), and Leo then produces the code-switched understanding check in Italian *'pure il basilese parli?/*"also the Basel dialect you speak?", which is followed by a positive assessment (*bene*/"good", l. 28). With this, Leo displays a hearing of Pierre's turn as claiming that he (Pierre) speaks the Basel dialect. It indicates that he has, at least, understood the *j' parle aussi*/"I speak also" component of the turn. Moreover, by continuing to respond in Italian, Leo

---

[58] It is difficult to tell from the video whether Pierre is using the final TCU *si vous voulez,/*"if you want" at line 25 for singular address (as a deferential *vous* addressing Leo) or plural address referring to the group.

perpetuates his (competence-related) preference for Italian. In overlap with *bene*, Pierre then corrects Leo's hearing in French with (*l') portugais oui.*/ "Portuguese yes." (l. 29). It is also at this point that Aurora spatially repositions herself behind Leo (l. 29, Fig. 7.4), thereby embodiedly deselecting herself as potential focal participant (see De Stefani & Mondada, 2010: 153–156, 2018: 262–264).

At this point in the interaction, the participants have co-established an embodied participation framework and stationary interactional space within which two primary participants (Leo and Pierre) engage in focal dyadic interaction in the co-presence of two interactionally and physically peripheral participants (Aurora and Sabina, Fig. 7.4). With regard to language choice, Leo's and Pierre's consistently language-disaligned turns-at-talk have been (re)negotiating the language of the encounter in a sustained fashion after the initial greeting exchange, with each sticking to, and thus tacitly "pushing for," their own preferred language. At the same time, however, they both display an interest in continuing the exchange, mobilizing various resources and going to great lenghts to be able to "speak together" despite the absence of a common language. Notwithstanding this sustained divergence of language choice and the extended metacommunicative negotiation within Leo's group, the participants relatively unproblematically demonstrate to each other an adequate understanding of what is happening and there does not appear to be more consequential trouble in understanding each other's other-language contributions.

7.4.2 Stabilization of the dual-receptive mode of language use + language brokering

In the prior sub-section, we saw how the participants show themselves to be concerned with finding a shared base language in the opening phase by laying out their possible resources and displaying explicit metalinguistic orientations to re-organizing participation, but with no choice being made. This sub-section illuminates how the encounter develops sequentially into, and

stabilizes as, an overall dual-receptive mode of multilingual interaction. It shows Leo to begin to interact with Pierre and commit to the encounter by proffering a new topic for talk, while at the same time exemplifying how peripheral participants can momentarily assume important mediatory roles for supporting both intersubjectivity and the progressivity of interaction.

Ex. 7.2a) Continuation of Ex. 7.1b

```
30        (0.6)△(.)
  pie    >>gaze twd LEO-->
  leo    >>gaze down/twd wood-->
  leo        △...-->
31 LEO    [c'è △ molto  △lavo△ro+ qua eh?
           there's a lot of work here right
32 PIE    [(                      )
           (                      )
  leo    .....△pts down△,,,,△
  leo                     ->+gaze twd PIE-->
33        (0.4)
34 LEO    △c'è△  molto  △lavo△ro eh?
           there's a lot of work right
          △...△pts  down△,,,,△
35 PIE    $ouais.$•h
           yeah
          $nods--$
              ->•gaze down/twd wood-->
36        (0.2)+(0.2)%(0.3)%(.)
  leo      ->+gaze down/twd wood-->
  leo            %nods-%
37 LEO    buono eh?
          good right
38        (0.8)
39 PIE    $ben. (.)$(.) c'est •pour chau↑ff+er,
           well         it's  for  heating
          $shrugs--$
                      ->•gaze twd LEO-->
  leo                           ->+gaze twd PIE-->
```

Having co-established the embodied participation framework and stationary interactional space described earlier, Leo goes on to proffer the physical activity in which Pierre is engaged as a "talkable" (Schegloff, 1986: 116)—despite earlier not having been successful in mobilizing help from the other members of the party. Once again, he uses Italian to do so: *c'è molto lavoro qua eh-*/"there's a lot of work here right" (l. 31). His talk is timed to coincide with a pointing gesture toward the logs, enhancing the emergent intelligibility of the utterance, or at least its reference. The turn-in-progress is, however, overlapped by Pierre (not audible for transcription, and likely also not for Leo; l. 32). Leo then redoes the question in the clear, again accompanied

by a point toward the ground (l. 34). This second attempt is met with an immediate agreement token in French and a concurrent head nod (l. 35). Thus, Pierre displays adequate parsing of the turn, and possibly some receptive competencies in Italian, by producing an appropriate response at a transition-relevance place, while once again strongly marking his individual preference for French over Italian when it comes to speaking (recall Chapter 5). Next, Leo produces a nod, thereby tacitly claiming understanding, and goes on to pursue further topical talk with a code-switched candidate positive assessment in Italian (*buono eh?*/"good right", l. 37). Pierre does not align in second/responsive position, in a double sense: the lengthy silence at line 38 and the turn-initial *ben*/"well" accompanied by a shrug project an incipient nonstraightforward response, which he then delivers in French with *c'est pour chau↑ffer*/"it's for heating" (l. 39). With this, he appears to respond to Leo's pointing gesture toward the logs. The response, moreover, disaligns not only with regards to the action preference of the preceding turn, but also again on the level of language choice.

We can thus see how throughout these first couple of sequences, the participants talk into being a Romance dual-receptive pattern of language alternation, with Leo deploying Italian in first/initiating position while Pierre consistently resorts to French in second/responsive position. Crucially, what allows this mode of language use to work (for all practical purposes) and the encounter to progress, is some level of receptive competencies in the involved languages, which the participants display to one another through the sequential organization of talk and embodied conduct in interaction.

The linguistic regime and the participation framework of the moment are, however, momentarily reorganized in what happens next:

Ex. 7.2b) Continuation of Ex. 7.2a

```
39 PIE    $ben. (.)$(.) c'est •pour chau↑ff+er,
           well         it's  for  heating
         $shrugs--$
                         ->•gaze twd LEO-->
   leo                              ->+gaze twd PIE-->
40       (.)£(0.5)
   pie      £smiles-->
41 AUR   %hhh h%•[heh △ouais.△£•
                       yeah
42 SAB          [h hh
   leo   %nods-%
   pie       ->•gaze  twd  AUR•gaze twd LEO-->
   leo                △......△points twd wood, back and forth-->
   pie                    ->£
43 LEO   nackher verkauf?△=was mackt ihr?
         after  sell/sale what do you do
                         ->△
44       (0.2)△(.)
   leo        △...-->
45 LEO   ver△kaufe?△
         sell
         ...△points at wood△,,,-->
46       (.)△(1.2)
   leo   ,,,△
47 PIE   .h (.) pour l' fourneau ça.
               for the stove    this
48       (1.3)
49 PIE   £euh: r- $†qu'est-ce que vous avez dit? >euh répétez.<#£
          uh   r-   what have you said          uh  repeat
         £frowns-------------------------------------------------£
                   $head poke, leans fwd-->
   aur             †gaze twd PIE-->
   fig                                              fig.7.5#
```


7.5= detail

```
50       (0.2)+(.)$†(0.3)△(0.4)△†(.)†
   leo      ->+gaze down-->
   pie           ->$
   aur            ->†gaze twd LEO†...†gaze twd PIE-->
   leo                 △.....△points down/at wood-->
51 AUR   vous+•vendez.#
         you.FRM sell
   leo      +turns twd AUR-->
   pie      •gaze twd AUR-->
   fig             #fig.7.6
```

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7.6

```
52        (.)△†(.)△(0.3)
   leo    ->△,,,,△
   aur     ->†gaze twd LEO-->
53 LEO    [(eh dopo che fa c-)
           (PRT after what does he do w-)
54 PIE    [non£†c'est pas pour +ven∅dre.£
           no   it's  not  for   selling
              £lateral head shakes------£
   aur       †gaze twd PIE-->
   leo                    +turns to face PIE-->
   aur                    ∅nod, lateral head shake-->
55        (.)∅(0.6)·
   aur    ->∅
   pie         ->·gaze twd LEO-->
56 LEO    △li △vende△ n[o?△
           you.FRM sell them right
57 PIE              [c'est $perso$nnel.$
                     it's   personal
   leo    △...△RH up△,,,,,△
   pie                    $.....$pts twd himself$,,,-->
58        (.)$(0.4)
   pie    ,,,$
59 AUR    °ah.°
           ah
60 LEO    ah △perso△nale△$ah.△=[°tuqui-°$ (0.2) tutti questi?
           ah personal    ah     all t-        all  these
61 PIE                        [ouais.
                              yeah
   leo      △.....△ptsP△,,,,△
   pie                $nods---------$
62        (1.0)
63 PIE    tout ça oui.
           all this yes
```

When there is no immediate verbal uptake from Leo in third position (he is motionless and remains fixedly gazing at Pierre, l. 40), it is Aurora who steps in and receipts Pierre's turn with some chuckling and the French *ouais*/"yeah" (l. 41). With her self-selection as a currently peripheral, non-addressed recipient within the participation framework of the moment, Aurora treats Leo's embodied conduct (l. 50) as displaying difficulty providing an adequate response and thus orients to trouble with progressivity of the sequence—although both focal participants are displaying willingness to talk to each other (see Chapter 6 on "other-initiated brokering").

Once again, notice how Aurora displays an orientation to her relatively greater competence in French as entitling her to step in as language broker (while possibly also invoking her category membership as Leo's daughter). Moreover, by aligning with Pierre's language choice in third position, and thus acquiescing to his displayed language preference, Aurora departs from the dual-receptive mode of language use that Leo and Pierre have interactionally co-constructed in prior talk (just like Sabina did at l.23).

Notably, it is also at this point that Leo abandons Italian for the first time after the greeting exchange and uses German to produce another sequence-initiating action. He thereby displays an orientation to Italian as a linguistic option that is not very productive here; his use of German after multiple attempts in Italian retrospectively treats Italian as inefficient for securing mutual understanding, while perhaps also orienting to his prior hearing of Pierre as claiming that he (Pierre) speaks *basilese*. He issues a candidate answer question (Pomerantz, 1988), asking if Pierre intends to sell the wood (*nackher verkauf?=was mackt ihr?*/"after sell/sale?=what do you do?", l. 43). This display of productive proficiency in German in this sequential-interactional locus shows an orientation to altering the linguistic regime of the interaction, effectively proposing German as a possible *lingua franca*. Through this bid to transition away from the overall Romance dual-receptive mode that has been co-established, Leo's choice of German instantiates an attempt to check out the possible availability of another language present in the cross-border Alsatian setting at hand. While his pronunciation gives the German-language turn a "non-standard" timbre (with marked Italian phonology, e.g., the hard pronunciation of the German *ch* in *macht* as [makt], vs. [mɑxt]), Leo demonstrates advanced productive proficiency and pragmatic competence by deploying the polite, distance-marking address pronoun *ihr*. When no response is forthcoming, Leo repeats the question with try-marked intonation, but this time designed as an elliptical, syntactically simplified guess that consists of the standalone infinitive verb form *verkaufe?*/"sell" (l. 44–45). The onset of his turn

again coincides with a pointing gesture toward the wood, thereby enhancing the emergent intelligibility of the utterance. Pierre's response to this second attempt (*.h (.) pour l' fourneau ça*/".h (.) for the stove this", l. 47, with the indexical *ça* referring to the same referent as the one pointed at by Leo) is, however, substantially delayed (l. 46), alerting his co-participants to possible difficulties in understanding. By continuing to make use of French for implementing the SPP, Pierre disaligns with, and thus tacitly declines, Leo's first-position language proposal (see Chapter 5) and effectively maintains the dual-receptive pattern of language alternation.

There is no verbal uptake from Leo, who remains fixedly gazing at Pierre. A gap develops (l. 48), and Pierre then breaks the silence with a repair initiation that is implemented both embodiedly (by frowning and leaning forward, Fig. 7.5/detail; Oloff, 2018) and verbally (*euh: r- qu'est-ce que vous avez dit? >euh répétez.<*/"uh r- what have you said uh repeat", l. 49). This delayed *post-response other-initiation of repair* (Schegloff, 2000: 219–222; Wong, 2000) thus occurs not in next-turn position (Schegloff et al., 1977), but sequentially displaced from it. That is, Pierre targets line 45—Leo's German-language *verkaufe?*/"sell"—as a trouble-source turn only significantly later, after he (Pierre) has already delivered a first, candidate response. The fact that it is only here that Pierre initiates repair on Leo's question is indicative of his trouble in understanding the prior talk. It retrospectively reveals how Pierre let the understanding problem "pass *for now*" (Schegloff, quoted in Wong & Olsher, 2000: 116, emphasis in original), evidencing his momentary setting aside that he has not fully grasped Leo's preceding German-language FPP.

This repair initiation is met with yet another sizable silence, during which Leo shifts his gaze toward the ground and points at the wood (l. 50). It is in this sequential environment that Aurora, who has been monitoring Leo's linguistic and embodied conduct (l. 50), again self-selects and interjects herself into the ongoing interaction by volunteering, in French, a repair solution on behalf of her dad. Aurora's unsolicited assistance displays her overhearing and

active monitoring of her dad's difficulty in providing an answer, while simultaneously promoting the progress of the sequence. Typical of brokering, this instantiates a locally contingent departure from, or "relaxation" of, the otherwise normative selected-speaker-should-speak-next turn-allocational rule in monolingual talk-in-interaction (cf. Lerner, 2019; Sacks et al., 1974; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Both the position and composition of Aurora's interceding turn contribute to its being recognizable as a translation of a previously delivered utterance.[59] She intercedes by translating the German-language trouble-source into French (*vous vendez*/"you sell"), thereby treating Pierre's prior repair initiation as indexing a language-based understanding problem, rather than an acoustic problem, as his post-positioned *>euh répétez.<*/"uh repeat" at line 49 could suggest (indicating an effort on his part to try to understand the German-language turn). Moreover, the occasioned translatory turn is produced with downward, terminal intonation (vs. Leo's rising, try-marked intonation at l. 45), thereby further flagging the utterance as providing a translation of a previously delivered first-pair part, rather than producing the action *de novo*, "for another first time" (Garfinkel, 1967) (see Harjunpää, 2017: 223 on "prosodic downgrading" in third-party mediated other-language resayings).

Meanwhile, Leo shifts his head and torso toward Aurora, adopting a body torque posture (l. 51, Fig. 7.6; Schegloff, 1998), before addressing her in Italian. He thus creates a new interactional space in an aside, language choice delimiting the participation framework of the moment (Greer, 2013b; Mondada, 2004, 2012). When Leo then seeks further clarification from Aurora (l. 53), his turn is overlapped by Pierre's French-language, sequentially due answer *non c'est pas pour vendre*/"no it's not for selling" (l. 54), which coincides with small lateral head shakes. Aurora subsequently displays understanding by nodding and reciprocating the head

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[59] For an analysis focusing on this brokering segment, see Chapter 6 (Ex. 6.5).

shake (l. 54–55). Leo, however, is struggling to understand Pierre's contribution; after having bodily reoriented himself toward Pierre (l. 54), he directs another repair initiation at him with the understanding check *li vende no?*/"you.FRM sell them right" (l. 56, using the polite form of address in the third-person singular).[60] Thus, he redoes the distantly prior German-language candidate guess (l. 45). In terminal overlap with this, Pierre says *c'est personnel*/"it's personal" (l. 57), which can be seen as showing traces of foreigner talk. It is at this point that Leo receipts Pierre's answer with an *ah*-prefaced repetition/quasi-translation of *personnel* in Italian (*personale*), followed by another change-of-state token (l. 60). Leo's duplication of *ah*, the emphatic (and somewhat celebratory) delivery of the receipt at a notably higher volume, and the concurrent pointing gesture toward Pierre (l. 61) publicly and accountably demonstrate understanding. And intersubjectivity is then restored with Pierre's third-positioned French-language confirmation token *ouais*/"yeah" and an accompanying head nod (l. 61).

We have here, then, evidence of the effectiveness of Pierre's recipient-designed *c'est personnel* and some demonstration of how receptive multilingualism is made possible by a pre-adjustment by Pierre. Moreover, the stretch of interaction enables us to see how the semantic, phonological, and morphological closeness and transparency of the lexical items *personnel* and *personale* provide the participants with an occasioned facilitatory resource whereby they can bridge linguistic problems and achieve mutual intelligibility (we also saw this earlier at l. 24 and 28 with *parler* and *parlare*; cf. Auer, 2007: 322–323 on "near-homophonous diamorphs"), demonstrating their receptive competencies in the respective Romance languages. Further exemplification of how the participants interactionally achieve French-Italian "intercomprehension" is provided when Leo then rushes to append a follow-up question in Italian (*tutti questi?*/"all of these", l. 60), which Pierre confirms with the code-switched "echo

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[60] While it is plausible that *li vende no?* could also be heard as "he sells them right?" due to Italian not requiring personal pronouns in subject position, there is evidence that this is not the case. It seems more likely that the turn is heard by Pierre as a direct address ("you.FRM sell them right") as Leo gaze-addresses Pierre (l. 54) while producing the utterance, and it is Pierre who then comes in and responds in turn-final overlap (l. 57).

answer" (Svennevig, 2003) *tout ça oui*/"all this yes" in French (l. 63). We can thus observe that there is reciprocal adjustment in both Pierre's and Leo's use of their own languages.

In sum, after having briefly explored the possibility of an alternative, monolingual regime consisting of German as a *lingua franca*, Leo and Pierre contingently renegotiate the previously adopted mode of language use in which they each resort to their individually preferred language. Thus, they perpetuate the talk as dual-receptive multilingual interaction, beginning to treat their divergent linguistic choices as equally acceptable, and responding in another language as relatively unmarked behavior. This also illustrates that language selection can be renegotiated at any time by the participants, not only in openings. In what follows, we will see that while Pierre cements his interactionally enacted preference for French (which can be attributed to a lack of productive proficiency in Italian or German), Leo continues to disalign with his co-participant's language choice (attributable to his limited productive competencies in French), while simultaneously showing himself to be oriented to recipient-design concerns by moving around in his multilingual repertoire to facilitate understanding and promote participation.

7.4.3 *Mais vous habitez en france ↑vous?*

This sub-section addresses how Leo and Pierre sustain an overall dual-receptive pattern of language alternation for the remainder of the encounter. Analysis will focus in particular on a specific interactional moment in which a shift of topic occurs. This turns out to be procedurally consequential in that it occasions a change of language by Leo, who begins to use German primarily (while occasionally resorting to formulaic, token-like French-language utterances).

Ex. 7.3) Continuation of Ex. 7.2b

```
63  PIE   tout ça oui.
           all this yes
64         (0.2)
```

```
65  LEO   .h ah schön h=buono h
          .h ah nice  h good  h
66        (1.3)
67  PIE   j' chauffe à bois hein.=c'est mieux.
          I  heat with wood PRT   it's  better
68        (0.2)
69  LEO   ah jä:. c'est bon. .h h heh
          ah yeah that's good
70  AUR   hhh hm
71        (0.2)
72  LEO   im winter [v-
          in winter  v-
73  PIE→           [$mais£ vous$ habitez $en france #↑vous?$£
                    but   you   live    in France  you
                    $.........$pts  LEO$,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,$
                       £frowns---------------------------£
    fig.                                          #fig.7.7
```


7.7=   detail

```
74        (0.2)
75  LEO   .h .tsk no. (.) i∆ abate∆ i::n ba∆sel.∆
          .h .tsk no     I  abate  in  Basel
                         ∆p hims∆lifts hand, pts twd his right∆,,,∆
76        (0.7)
77  PIE   basel?
          Basel?
78        (0.2)%∅(0.3)%∅
    leo        %nods--%
    aur        ∅nods--∅
79  PIE   ah voilà c'est pour ça.
          ah right that's why
80        (0.4)
81  LEO   aber∆do i:n eh hirsch∆feld⁶¹ habe ∆viele coll-∆eh kollege. (.) italiänisch.
          but here in uh Hirschfeld    have  many coll- uh friends     Italian
             ∆...............∆pts  right∆,,,,,,,,,,∆
82        (0.2)
83  PIE   $a:h oui.$
           ah  yes
          $nods----$
84        (0.8)
85  PIE   °hirschfeld oui.°=i' y en a beaucoup hein d'italiens [à hirschfeld hein,
           Hirschfeld yes there are a lot of them PRT Italians in Hirschfeld PRT
86  LEO                                                        [%°oui.°%
                                                                 yes
                                                                %nods--%

87        (0.3)
88  LEO   c'est %beaucoup% jä.
```

---

[61] Fictitious toponym.

```
              that's  a lot      yeah
                        %nods----%
89  PIE   mais i' y en a beaucoup aussi %(qu'on a mis dans l' trou),
          but there are a lot of them too (who we put in the grave)
    leo                                   %small nods-->
90        (0.5)%(0.2)
    leo       ->%
91  LEO   mhm.
          uh huh
92        •(0.3)
    pie   •gaze twd AUR/SIM-->
93  PIE   ça veut dire euh:: (.) moi j' travaillais dans les cimetières %aussi.%
          that is to say uh      me  I worked     in   the cemeteries  too
                                                            %nods--%
94        (0.3)
95  SAB   ‡∅a:[h.‡
            ah
96  AUR      [a:h.=∅•
              ah
    sab   ‡nods--‡
    aur    ∅r eyebrows, nods∅
    pie           ->•
97  LEO   =ah jä.
           ah yeah
98        (0.2) % (0.4) % (0.4)
    leo        %big nod%
99  PIE   j'ai connu beaucoup d'italiens.
          I   knew  a lot   of Italians
100       (1.3)
101 LEO   .h ich arbeite in eh:: (.) .h (.) peugeot.∆
          .h I   work    at uh      .h      Peugeot
                                             ∆...-->
102       (0.5)∆(0.6)
    leo   .....∆points fwd-->

          ((50 lines omitted: LEO and PIE continue on topic of local automobile
          factory))

153       (0.2)
154 LEO   .hhh okay,
155       (0.4)
156 PIE   hop ci[ao,
          PRT bye
157 SAB        [h heh
158 LEO   CIAO SCHÖ[NE EH,
          bye        PRT
159 PIE           [divertissez-vous bien [hein,
                    have fun                PRT
160 AUR                                    [cia:o merci,
                                            bye   thanks
```

Upon Pierre's confirmation that *tout ça*/"all this" (referring to the wood) is for personal use,

Leo delivers a change-of-state token and produces two positive assessments with *schön h*/"nice

h" in German and the appended *buono h*/"good h" in Italian (l. 65). The bilingual German-

Italian design of his code-switched responsive utterance once again does not align with Pierre's

linguistic preference for French. Lines 63–65 thus encapsulate the linguistic regime that the

participants have interactionally co-constructed and come to treat as normative in the

encounter-so-far, with Pierre consistently adopting French while Leo produces utterances in both German and Italian. Leo further actively displays his multiple linguistic resources when he receipts Pierre's French-language turn at line 67 with *ah jä:/*"ah yeah" in Swiss German, and then goes on to positively assess it in French with *c'est bon/*"that's good" (l. 69). While formulaic and minimal, with the assessment he demonstrates—for the first time after the initial greeting—some level of productive competence in French, thereby further displaying an orientation to accommodating his talk vis-à-vis Pierre.

This brings us to our target line 73: here, Pierre, somewhat unexpectedly in overlap with an emerging sequence-initiating turn by Leo (l. 72), launches a new conversational topic by addressing Leo via gaze and a pointing gesture and asking where he is from (*mais vous habitez en france ↑vous?/*"but you live in France you"). This shift in topic constitutes a shift in footing in that Pierre moves from "setting talk" about the immediate physical surroundings to a personal, "pre-topical question" overtly soliciting biographical information (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984). Crucially, the question implicates Leo's non-French background. It is here that Pierre shows himself to be engaged in trying to "place" his co-participant (i.e., seek his national/ethnic category membership) and make it an explicit topic of discussion (cf. Day, 1994 on "ethnification"). Similarly to a "misplacement marker" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973: 319–320), the turn-initial adversative conjunct *mais* indexes a departure from just-prior talk. And together with the use of the turn-final (right-dislocated) pronoun ↑*vous*, emphasized in its delivery through a high pitch and accompanied by a frown (Fig. 7.7/detail), Pierre enacts a display of disbelief, projecting a *no*-type response.

What is particularly interesting here is that when Leo indeed answers the category-eliciting question with *.h .tsk no. (.) i abate i::n basel/*".h .tsk no I abate[62] in Basel" (l. 75),

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[62] A detailed discussion of the hybridized utterance *abate* and the translatability, and presentation, of non-standardized multilingual data lies outside the aims and scope of the present chapter. However, the utterance enables us to see how Leo draws on and combines multiple linguistic resources, resulting in an occasioned linguistic *bricolage* (Mondada, 2018b). In this particular case, there is an assonance between Leo's *abate* and

Pierre eventually receipts this with *ah voilà c'est pour ça*/"ah right that's why" (l. 79). The self-categorizing informing thus appears to confirm a previous hunch about his co-participants' potential "non-localness"—possibly given off by the mushroomers' linguistic self-presentation, i.e., their electing not to speak French in a rural French area, which is treated as one feature bound to the category glossable as "non-local"/"foreigner." We can thus see how participants orient to language as "giving you away;" monitoring interactants' linguistic behavior (choice of language/variety, accent, and so forth) allows unacquainted participants to candidately "place" each other. *On-hearing categorizations* (Chapter 4; Hänggi, 2022) of this sort here bubble to the interactional surface. When Pierre is faced with the biographical fact that Leo indeed does not live in France, he (Pierre) indicates that this has not gone unnoticed: in saying "ah right that's why", Pierre implies a previously made inference about his co-participant's potential non-local domicile. This makes public to others his inferential categorial work and provides some evidence of how the occasioned identity category of "non-local" is made relevant, revealing Pierre's orientation to the group's linguistic behavior as category-bound.[63]

Of note is that while the overall conversation proceeds multilingually as a dual-receptive pattern of language alternation, the shift in topic is contextualized by code-switching: from this point forward, Leo abandons Italian and begins to consistently adopt German. Though Leo produces some minimal, formulaic, and recycled French-language uptake tokens (see lines 86, 88), the consistent use of German coincides with, and reflexively shapes, new topical talk. In prior CA literature on the sequential organization of alternative choices of language, this has been characterized as a "discourse-related" use of code-switching (Auer, 1984a). At the same

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Pierre's preceding French-language *habitez*/"live" (perhaps suggesting phonological recycling). Moreover, *abate* shows traces of possible L1 transfer from the Italian *abitare*/"live", while also resembling the German *arbeiten*/"work" (which Leo deploys later, at l. 101).

[63] This is reminiscent of Hinnenkamp's (1989) well-known analysis of the candidate other-categorization *Türkischmann Du?*/"Turkish man you?".

time, however, Leo's greater use of German in this sequential-interactional environment is also rich in identity work. That is, switching to, and maintaining, German after this situational shift appears to be used as a resource for performing an identity display: in this way, Leo talks into being the linguistic identity "competent user of German," demonstrating linguistic affiliation and "doing being" from a German-speaking society. Leo's choice of language can thus be seen to be topically sensitive, displaying his orientation to German as somewhat expected in this interactional context, while perhaps also retroactively making relevant his candidate understanding from line 28 that Pierre speaks *basilese*. This provides some demonstration of how language alternation can be occasioned by and exploited for identity-related purposes (having "polyvalent local meanings" in Auer's (1984a) terms, at the intersection of both "discourse-related" and "participant-related" code-switching).

Finally, we see that the "pre-topical question" (Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984) *mais vous habitez en france ↑vous?* is treated by Leo as an invitation to offer topical talk. His self-categorizing responsive utterance *.h .tsk no. (.) i abate i::n basel.* engenders further autobiographical talk, and we observe that the subsequent *aber*/"but"-prefaced volunteered informing about his having "many Italian friends" in the local area (l. 81) is hearable as an account that implicitly identifies him as Italian, thereby tacitly orienting to Pierre's categorization of him (Leo) as of hearably non-French origin. This then occasions autobiographical talk by Pierre that centers on "knowledge of Italians" (see lines 81, 85, 99). With this, national/ethnic category membership is mobilized as an explicit topic of discussion, exposing Pierre's orientations to Leo's foreign origin to public view. This category relevancy is co-constructed on a moment-by-moment basis, and the analysis demonstrates how by making "non-Francophone" relevant, Pierre makes "non-local"/"foreigner" relevant by association (Sacks, 1992).

7.5   Conclusion

The concern of this chapter was to provide an empirical account of what "receptive multilingualism" might look like in situated interaction. Issues related to receptive multilingualism have usually been studied under the rubric of intercultural communication, second language acquisition, bi-/multilingual education, language planning and language policy, language attitude, and related fields. Notwithstanding the important contributions of studies within these areas to our understanding of receptive multilingualism, there has been very little discussion of the ways in which people locally achieve the language regime. The present chapter adds to the existing body of research from an EMCA perspective by describing some of the moment-by-moment practices in and through which this mode of multilingual interaction is co-accomplished *in situ* in naturally-occurring interaction.

The single case analysis affords an opportunity to observe the interactional work undertaken by previously unacquainted participants to establish and sustain an overall "dual-receptive" (Greer, 2013a) mode of language alternation. Analysis of the ordinary chance encounter demonstrated how the participants display their orientation to each other's unknown but *in-situ* discoverable linguistic preferences and competencies, and how they come to treat the dual-receptive mode of language use as adequate-for-all-practical-purposes. Thus, by contrast with the preceding chapters, in which participants were shown to overwhelmingly orient to a one-language-at-a-time regime across language negotiation sequences, the example presented in this chapter showed how participants "make do" in the absence of a single shared language-of-interaction and opt for a *multilingual/everyone-speaks-their-preferred-language* regime.

More specifically, we saw how the two focal participants, Leo and Pierre, emergently co-constructed an unstated pattern of language alternation in which each of them used their individually preferred languages (French and Italian/L2 German, respectively) due to their

limited productive competencies in the languages of the other. They thus treated each other's languages as *linguae receptivae*, to adopt Rehbein et al.'s (2011) terminology. Equipped with good-enough receptive knowledge of the other's language(s)—itself progressively discovered, brought to relevance, and mutually adjusted in and through interaction—, they were able to pick up some French or Italian/L2 German as language samples and use that, together with embodied means, as a resource for achieving mutual understanding. The analysis showed how participants mobilize a range of multilingual and other multimodal resources that help establish and sustain dual-receptive multilingual interaction, thereby contributing to interactional studies that have begun to address how embodied as well as verbal/vocal conduct are critical to the achievement of receptive multilingualism (see Kahlin et al., 2021; Mondada, 2012; Piccoli, 2016).

Crucially, however, analysis demonstrated that the mode of multilingual interaction is not one of monolithic, "pure" *lingua receptiva*. Language regimes are not static, once-and-for-all affairs, but something that can be dynamically reshaped by the participants, contingent on local communicative needs. Not only was Leo shown to test out German as a potential *lingua franca* and mobilize formulaic knowledge of French in an effort to accommodate his talk vis-à-vis Pierre's linguistic preferences, but we also saw how the dual-receptive pattern of language use alternated with moments of language brokering in which previously peripheral, non-focal participants momentarily interjected themselves into the ongoing sequence as *ad hoc* interactional mediators to facilitate understanding and promote the progressivity of the overall encounter. The example thus provides further illustration of how multilingualism and linguistic competence are interactionally achieved matters that are socially distributed and collectively made available (Chapter 6; cf. C. Goodwin, 2004). This analysis also supports prior work on issues related to receptive multilingualism-in-interaction in demonstrating how participants shift between multiple linguistic regimes on a moment-by-moment basis within different

interactional spaces and embodied participation frameworks (Markaki et al., 2013; Mondada, 2012).

Moreover, the chapter aligns with previous research by Greer (2013a) in illuminating the details of how people talk into being and collaboratively maintain receptive multilingualism in a first-contact context. It thereby further contributes to our understanding of how interactants not familiar with each other's linguistic competencies and preferences emergently and progressively negotiate a mode of language use that they deem viable for all practical purposes, and how chance encounters between previously unacquainted people provide an opportune site for examining some of the ways in which language preference is used and oriented to as a membership categorization device (e.g., Cashman, 2005; Mondada, 2004; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002).

Finally, the analysis illustrated how interactants situatedly draw on the typological closeness between languages (French, Italian, and possibly Portuguese in the present case, complementing a familiarity with German) as a resource to facilitate mutual understanding. By closely describing how the participants arrived at a multilingual interactional mode in which they elected not to use their co-participant's language while still demonstrating their receptive knowledge of it through the sequential details of the talk, the analysis touched upon issues that might be of interest to areas of scholarship more specifically concerned with "intercomprehension" (Bonvino & Jamet, 2016; Conti & Grin, 2008) between Romance languages (see, e.g., Lüdi, 2013: 143–144; Mondada, 2018b: 185–188; Piccoli, 2016 for an interactional perspective).

Overall, this work helps further elucidate what it means to interact, and *demonstrate competence*, in a language "one doesn't speak." A praxeological, EMCA take on this phenomenon highlights the malleability of linguistic resources and participants' locally situated linguistic adaptability, the centrality of embodied resources, the dynamic character of

participation, and, ultimately, that there is nothing "passive" about the complexity of achieving

understanding in interaction.

8   CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I will summarize the main findings of the dissertation (§8.1) and consider some larger implications. In addition to the contributions outlined in the individual chapters, many of the issues raised in this work have broader relevance for research both within and outside of EMCA. Here, I will focus on the relevance of the dissertation for the three overarching topics that have occupied us throughout this work: multilingual interaction (§8.2), openings (§8.3), and interaction in public places (§8.4). The aim of this chapter is to lay out the nature of some of these contributions and touch on possible directions for future research.

8.1   Summary of findings

The larger project *The First Five Words: Multilingual Cities in Switzerland and Belgium and the Grammar of Language Choice in Public Space*, of which this dissertation is part, is a first attempt to ethnomethodologically and conversation analytically examine multilingual encounters as they occur spontaneously between previously unacquainted people in some public space. Using as data video recordings of naturally-occurring chance encounters collected across a diverse range of multilingual public places in French-, German-, and Italian-speaking Switzerland, my aim with this dissertation was to describe members' practices for coordinating language choice and participation, with a particular focus on (but not limited to) the opening phase of interaction. In what follows, I will summarize the key findings from each chapter.

After an introduction to the dissertation in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 I situated the study with respect to previous work on interaction in public places, openings, and language choice and code-switching, positioning it in the research tradition of ethnomethodology and

conversation analysis (EMCA). I suggested that the systematic naturalistic study of spontaneous multilingual encounters between unacquainted members of the public has been seriously neglected—one of the main reasons for this being methodological, as discussed in Chapter 3—, and with this dissertation I hope to have contributed to the rectification of this neglect. I highlighted that while there is a considerable amount of literature on each of these domains of inquiry, they have mostly been studied in isolation of each other. The focus of the present research brings these strands of work together by exploring the intersections between research into multilingual practices, an EMCA approach to the sequential, micro-temporal, embodied, and categorial organization of openings, and a Goffman-inspired take on interaction between "strangers" in public places.

In Chapter 3, I presented the fieldwork settings in which the data for this work were gathered, and discussed EMCA principles for collecting, transcribing, and analyzing data. Additionally, I outlined some of the methodological and practical challenges relating to fieldwork in public open space and the capturability of the target phenomenon. I exemplified the *modus operandi* adopted within the larger *First Five Words* project that facilitated the documentation of chance encounters in complex open space environments by discussing multi-source recording set-ups based on a combination of *zoning* and *participant shadowing*.
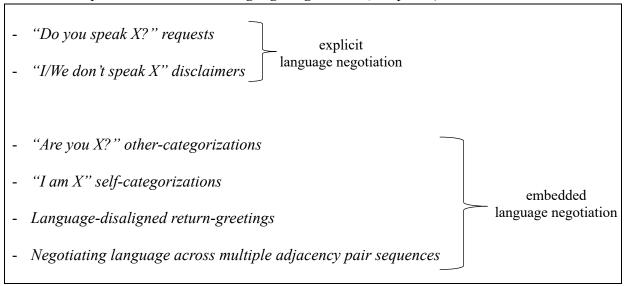
In Chapter 4, I addressed the question of how fellow users of a public place select a language to use when spontaneously striking up a conversation by focusing on *overhearing as a resource for recipient design*. Operationalizing Goffman's (1981) analytic category *overhearer* from a members' perspective, it was shown that unacquainted individuals who happen to populate, and share sensory access to, the same environment can take advantage of their co-proximity and the resultant permeability of participation boundaries to (pre-)adjust their first words when spontaneously engaging with incidentally co-present others. I offered several examples of how people who are within earshot of one another accountably display,

and exploit, their "overhearership" as an occasioned resource for accomplishing a variety of linguistically fitted, recipient-designed actions in various sequential locations within the larger opening phase of the interaction. Overhearing provides important cues to tailoring language choice to particular recipients' perceived linguistic preferences, without needing to engage in language negotiation practices and overt metalinguistic topicalization of language preferences in the early moments of interaction (Chapter 5). Overhearing, then, constitutes an economic solution to the generic practical problem of language choice when preparing the entry into interaction with unknown others. Moreover, the chapter underscored the importance of taking account of the multimodal details of pre-openings and other possible preliminaries to jointly focused encounters, demonstrating that the boundary between "focused" and "unfocused" interaction is fundamentally porous. By showing how people orient to social information "given off" (Goffman, 1963) by other co-present individuals in a gathering, and draw categorial inferences based on overhearing other-language talk, the study serves as a contribution to the previous literature by expanding the notion of "on-sight" (Paoletti, 1998) to on-sight-*and-hearing* categorization, demonstrating the consequentiality thereof for how co-present people open a face-to-face interaction.

In Chapter 5, I described some moment-by-moment practices through which previously unacquainted participants collaboratively negotiate the language(s) in which their impromptu interaction is to be conducted (Table 8.1). The bulk of the chapter was dedicated to what I termed "Do you speak X?" requests and "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers, offering an analytic description of sequences of *explicit language negotiation*. I described how the turn design of these actions (language-*aligned* vs. language-*disaligned*) can have different interactional consequences and position the speaker as relatively more or less aligning and affiliative, and how they occasion language-related pre sequences or insertion sequences in and through which language choice gets metacommunicatively dealt with in the first few turns-at-talk during the

opening phase. In the conclusion of the chapter, I provided brief illustrations of what I glossed as *embedded language negotiation*. This refers to a set of more subtle forms of interactionally (re)negotiating language choice in that language choice is not explicitly topicalized. Participants were shown to indirectly flag and ascribe linguistic preferences and competencies through "I am X" self-categorizations and "are you X?" other-categorizations that make linguistic expertise relevant as a category-bound attribute. I then described how inter-turn language alternation *by itself* also provides unacquainted participants with a resource for (re)negotiating the language-of-interaction and checking on each other's linguistic abilities and preferences. I illustrated how participants can embeddedly propose the use of an alternative language simply by starting to use that language, leaving it to the co-participant to see the turn as an invitation for a change of language. Thus, it was shown how language (re)negotiation can be conducted in an *en passant* manner throughout an entire encounter, without explicitly topicalizing language choice.

Table 8.1 *Explicit and embedded language negotiation (Chapter 5)*

- *"Do you speak X?" requests*	explicit language negotiation
- *"I/We don't speak X" disclaimers*	
- *"Are you X?" other-categorizations*	embedded language negotiation
- *"I am X" self-categorizations*	
- *Language-disaligned return-greetings*	
- *Negotiating language across multiple adjacency pair sequences*	

In Chapter 6, I asked how participants to incipient encounters deal with the potential trouble of not sharing a common language, or having limited shared linguistic resources with

unknown others. I explored this issue by focusing on how co-present third persons come to act as *ad hoc* interactional mediators, or *language brokers*, in an effort to facilitate understanding and coordinate participation between two or more previously unacquainted participants who turn out to be of unequal language competencies. I provided several examples of how participants, in the early moments of interaction, request and are offered spontaneous linguistic help by who is immediately (made) available in the local surround. Through a description of what I termed *self-* and *other-initiated brokering*, I showed that language brokering entails a larger set of multimodal facilitatory practices deployed by a third party (including, but not limited to, impromptu translation, transferring focal participation, volunteering a repair solution, offering an informing about a focal participant's linguistic repertoire, etc.), furnishing linguistically diverse people with a productive resource for methodically dealing with interactional moments in which mutual understanding is jeopardized due to the asymmetrically multilingual (exolingual) participant constellation. Examination of the collection of instances of *self-initiated brokering* revealed some of the diverse ways in which focal participants explicitly *request* linguistic assistance from a peripherally available third person in an effort to bridge language-related interactional trouble. In the case of *other-initiated brokering*, I showed how previously peripheral, non-focal individuals can use their relatively greater access to linguistic resources as a contingent right, or "ticket" (Sacks, 1992: II, 195), to step in and momentarily interject themselves into the ongoing interaction to broker (actual or anticipated) trouble by voluntarily *offering* linguistic help, without their assistance being overtly solicited. Typical of brokering, this instantiates a locally contingent departure from, or "relaxation" of, the otherwise normative selected-speaker-should-speak-next turn-allocational rule in monolingual talk-in-interaction. Moreover, data showed that it is not only "language experts" with relatively greater access to linguistic resources (such as L1 speakers of the locally relevant languages) who take on brokering roles, but also coordinating intermediaries who simply have

knowledge of others' linguistic repertoire. Thus, the chapter also highlighted matters of participation in multiperson interaction and provided further illustration of the interactional work that goes into coordinating language choice and participation in these encounters. What this analysis ultimately suggests is that multilingualism is an *occasioned* interactionally achieved (vs. *a priori* given) matter that is socially distributed within and across participants and collectively made available in the local surround.

In Chapter 7, I provided an account of what *receptive multilingualism* might look like in situated interaction. Through a single case analysis of the only encounter in the wider corpus where we find this language regime, I examined in detail how participants talk into being and jointly sustain a "dual-receptive" (Greer, 2013a) mode of language alternation, in which they each use their preferred language(s) while still demonstrating their receptive knowledge of the other's language(s) through the sequential details of the interaction. Thus, in contrast to the three preceding chapters, in which unacquainted participants were shown to display a default orientation to converging on a shared language to the exclusion others, this chapter revealed how participants "make do" in the absence of a single shared language-of-interaction and opt for a *multilingual, lingua receptiva* regime. Importantly, the chapter demonstrated not only how receptive multilingualism emerges moment by moment as a viable language regime for the encounter at hand, but also highlighted the variety of multilingual interactional practices participants deploy to sustain the interaction. It was shown how the dual-receptive pattern of language use—itself accommodation-laden—alternated with moments of *ad hoc* language brokering (Chapter 6), token-like code-switching into the co-participant's preferred language, and *lingua franca* use. This not only shows that the language regime of an encounter may be dynamically renegotiated, sensitive to local contingencies, but also permits us to see how receptive multilingualism-in-interaction is *made* possible through participants' practices of mutual adjustment. Participants were shown to tailor their talk to each other's perceived

linguistic competencies. In this way, they made their emergent and gradually developing understanding about each other's ethnolinguistic identities and their on-the-fly assessments of each other's language abilities publicly available. It was suggested that this kind of adjustment instantiates a form of recipient design that highlights "production" aspects involved in the interactional achievement of understanding, thus moving beyond an exclusive focus on the "receptive" side of receptive multilingualism. The single case analysis affords an opportunity to observe the delicate interactional work undertaken by previously unacquainted participants to make social interaction happen, despite their mutual linguistic limitations.

8.2   Implications for research into multilingual interaction

In adopting an EMCA approach, the dissertation has distinctive empirical and conceptual contributions to make to multilingualism research. Essentially, the study contributes to a *praxeological approach to multilingualism-in-interaction and language alternation*. Take the street fundraising activity, for example, which provides particularly vivid illustrations of this and some of the ways in which participants may skillfully exploit the local interactional contingencies of language choice *as a resource for practical social action*. For instance, recall Ex. 5.19: in an effort to reject the incipient encounter, a group of pedestrians presented themselves as "non-Francophone" by producing a code-switched (French-accented) "we don't speak French" disclaimer, even though it was apparent to the charity solicitor (and, by extension, the analyst) that they were merely attempting to momentarily "pass for" non-Francophones. In so doing, the pedestrians displayed their orientation to an anticipated larger course of action, and exploited the ironic claim of incompetence in French as a way to block, or disalign with, the charity solicitor's interactional project. This is one of many examples in the present work that highlight how participants exploit code-switching—including *tokenistic switching* into bits of languages/varieties in which far-from-"balanced" multilinguals only have

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limited proficiency (an area of research that has thus far largely evaded systematic interactional analysis; but see, e.g., Franceschini, 2002 on "quasi-Italian;" Mondada, 2018b on "bricolage linguistique;" Rampton, 1998, 2005 on "language crossing")—as a local resource in the service of practical social action. The analysis thus also sheds empirical light on a situated and praxeological (vs. essentialist, specular) view of identity, in which category membership is claimed, displayed, produced, sustained, and resisted in locally situated ways within moment-by-moment courses of action (Antaki & Widdcombe, 1998; Auer, 2005).

At the outset of this dissertation, we considered the seemingly simple question of how previously unacquainted people choose, or recipient-design (Schegloff et al., 1974: 727), and negotiate the language(s) in which their impromptu interaction is to be conducted. Offering potential answers to this question has been an overarching theme woven throughout the empirical chapters. In this way, the dissertation contributes to a body of research that has explored practices of language negotiation in the sequential organization of alternative choices of language. More specifically, the findings of the present work shed further empirical light on sequences of "participant-related" code-switching (Auer, 1984a, 1995), which has tended to be given less analytic attention than "discourse-related" code-switching in many previous investigations of language alternation. Looking at chance encounters between previously unacquainted people in multilingual public space has provided a "perspicuous" (Garfinkel, 2002: 181) site for examining the practices through which language choice is locally negotiated in the early moments of interaction, i.e., how participants display their personal preferences for language use and (lack of) linguistic expertise and progressively adjust their linguistic choices based on their emergent understandings of previously unknown others. The present study differs from previous research into language negotiation in that its findings are not based on a specific community of practice and environment; it documents multilingual encounters as they occur spontaneously in a range of situational contexts, i.e., ones that are both institutionally-

specific and more ordinary. Earlier on, in Chapter 5, we caught a glimpse of how everyday casual interactions, like impromptu dog-walk encounters, appear to be organized differently with regard to language choice from public interactions in more institutionally-specific environments, like street interviews or fundraising. Language choice in the chance dog-walk encounter was shown to be worked out in a more embedded and dilatory fashion, and appears to be more flexible in terms of its directionality. In the street fundraising and vox pop examples, by contrast, participants were shown to make relevant "standardized relational pairs" (Sacks, 1972) such as "charity solicitor–donor" or "interviewer–interviewee," and overwhelmingly display an orientation to the approached party as having the right to choose their preferred language. Such practices of linguistic adjustment not only meet practical needs, but can also be seen as a way of doing "good customer service" (or may in some cases even be mandated by language policy from above; see Debois, in prep.). The sketches in Chapter 5 are cursory, however. Further research is needed to gain a better understanding of how the relative institutionality or informality/mundane nature of an encounter is made consequential for the trajectory of language use.

The progression of Chapters 4 through 7 moves from the analysis of how overhearing language samples in the local surround serves as a guide for initial language choice (Chapter 4), to the examination of practices of explicit language negotiation (Chapter 5), to a focus on moments of *ad hoc* language brokering in what turn out to be more exolingual interactions (Chapter 6), to the investigation of how a "dual-receptive" (Greer, 2013a) mode of language alternation is progressively negotiated and jointly sustained (Chapter 7). Thus, each empirical chapter described different (monolingual/one-language-at-a-time or multilingual) modes of language use that chance encounters between previously unacquainted people may take, involving code-switching, the use of English as a *lingua franca*, regional *linguae francae*, *linguae receptivae*, or language brokering. Different linguistic regimes suggest different local

definitions of multilingualism and diverse, creative solutions adopted by the participants to deal with some of the basic problems of language choice with which they may be faced in chance encounters with unknown others. A focus on such encounters sheds new light on how participants progressively discover the linguistic options at their disposal to effectively and efficiently engage in interaction and the diverse range of practices involved to jointly sustain the interaction. The empirical chapters demonstrated some of the different ways that previously unacquainted people multimodally organize their multilingual chance interactions and flexibly draw on (perhaps limited) productive and receptive linguistic resources to deal with linguistic diversity. In this way, the dissertation offers a holistic empirical account of what "inclusive multilingualism" might look like in naturally-occurring, situated interaction, and constitutes a response to calls for studies that describe "how the modes are actually used in various relevant life domains, including business and work, healthcare, schools, transport, tourism, media, etc., in naturalistic and experimental settings" (Backus et al., 2013: 209).

As pointed out above, the EMCA approach adopted here also highlights the significance of taking seriously the fundamentally multimodal character of action. In the empirical parts of this work, we find plenty of examples that provide demonstration of the gestaltic multimodal organization of action, and the analyses showed in detail how language choice negotiations, language brokering, and receptive multilingualism-in-interaction crucially involve multimodal negotiations of participation. The present work thus joins a line of relatively recent video-based research into multilingual interaction that takes embodied behavior into analytic consideration (e.g., Greer, 2013a, 2013b; Greer & Ogawa, 2021; Harjunpää, 2017, 2021a; Markaki et al., 2013; Merlino, 2012, 2014; Mondada, 2004, 2012, 2018b, 2018c, in prep.; Oloff, 2018; see also the special issue on "bodily practices in action formation and ascription in multilingual interaction" introduced by Piirainen-Marsh et al., 2022). It sheds welcome empirical light on the role of embodiment in multilingual interaction, thereby contributing to the articulation

between the study of multilingualism and multimodality—which remains a *desideratum* of research, as studies of multilingual interaction have largely maintained a focus on verbal conduct alone.

More broadly, a conceptual contribution of this work is the demonstration of how an EMCA lens reveals the fundamental significance of sequence organization, on the one hand, and the centrality of *members' own orientations* to the distinction between languages/varieties, on the other, for multilingual interaction. This contrasts with presently popular theories of multilingualism like translanguaging (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Otheguy et al., 2015), which presupposes a disregard for the distinctness of languages/linguistic codes on the part of the participants. The emic approach to the sequential organization of code-switching presented here, however, yields empirical support of the contrary: the collections of interactional phenomena overwhelmingly show participants to keep the involved languages/varieties clearly separated in predominantly "participant-related" (Auer, 1984a, 1995) cases of code-switching in and through which they display their preferences for language use and (lack of) linguistic competencies in the early moments of interaction. While it often appears of little importance for translanguaging scholars whether or not interactants display a *demonstrable orientation* to the distinctness and separability of languages/linguistic codes, an emic, EMCA approach to language choice shows how the participants themselves accountably exploit the difference between languages/varieties as an interactional resource. Despite its theoretical appeal and political importance, translanguaging falls short of adequately capturing the members' perspective critical to an EMCA approach. Though the translanguaging framework is often touted as a requisite solution to study complex multilingual phenomena as observed in today's globalized, "superdiverse" spaces, the translanguaging literature lacks comprehensive empirical evidence of multilingual practices that were not addressed before in previous research into code-switching, language mixing, crossing, and the like (Auer, 2022). With all

the current interest in translanguaging, it may be salutary to remind multilingualism scholars of the value of adopting a granular sequential-interactional lens to code-switching *sensu* Auer in order to deal with multilingual practices observed in what could be characterized as "superdiverse" settings. I hope to have contributed to this with the present work.

8.3   Implications for research into openings

Openings are arguably one of the most well-researched objects of study in CA, and they were shown to be a locus of important interactional work. This dissertation described an understudied yet major "organizational job" (Schegloff, 1986: 116) that gets done in and through openings: negotiating a shared language-of-interaction, or overall linguistic regime. In doing so, this study adds to a body of previous conversation analytic work in this area (Greer, 2013a; Hazel, 2015; Heller, 1978; Mondada, 2018c, in prep.; Piccoli, 2016; Rasmussen & Wagner, 2002; Raymond, 2014a, 2020; Torras & Gafaranga, 2002), bringing together research into the sequential organization of openings and language choice. Negotiating language was shown to be accomplished both overtly through "do you speak X?" requests (§5.4), "I/We don't speak X" disclaimers (§5.5), or the assistance of a language broker (Chapter 6), and *en passant* in the course of the ongoing activity without topicalizing language choice (not necessarily restricted to the opening phase of interaction; see Chapter 4 and §5.6). We saw in Chapter 5 that in the former case, asking outright about a change of language, or inviting it via an "I/We don't speak X" disclaimer, launches an insertion sequence specially devoted to the (re)negotiation of language choice. In these openings, participants thus overwhelmingly address language-related concerns at first possible opportunity, immediately after the opening turn. In and through such inserted sequences addressing language choice, participants establish the language of their encounter explicitly at a metacommunicative level, before they can then move on to the main business of the interaction (cf. Raymond, 2014a). Sequentially delayed

requests or invitations for a change of language (relative to earlier moments in the interaction when they could have been relevantly performed) were shown to be treated as accountable; they frame the talk-so-far as *pro-forma aligned* at the level of language choice, and, in this praxeological context, possibly prompt inferences about genuine inability vs. unwillingness to conduct the encounter in the locally proposed language. By describing the ways in which participants formulate/design and sequentially place their requests and invitations for a change of language, and the ways in which these bids for a change of language are subsequently dealt with by co-participants, the dissertation (especially Chapter 5) showcased how the sequential progression of these openings between unfamiliar people, in which language-related concerns become procedurally consequential for the trajectory of the incipient interaction, differs considerably from the organization of monolingual openings. More broadly, the present work illustrated how openings are crucial for studying not only how a shared language-of-interaction is established *in situ*, but also how unfamiliar people identify and categorize each other, "do being plurilingual" (Mondada, 2004), and how multiple linguistic resources intersect with embodied resources in the early moments of interaction.

The observations reported here support De Stefani and Mondada's (2010, 2018) findings on the sequential organization of openings of "stranger encounters" in public places. Across the corpus, previously unacquainted people were shown to systematically bypass an identification sequence and an exchange of "howareyous," moving directly into first topic. We saw that in more task-oriented, institutionally-specific environments like the vox pop or street fundraising examples, the approaching party—i.e., the radio reporters and the charity solicitors—ordinarily dispenses with standalone greetings and states the reason-for-the-approach outright (which might be preceded by a pre-sequence aiming at establishing necessary pre-conditions for the encounter, e.g., asking about language competence (§5.4: Ex. 5.2) or checking on availability, see Mondada, 2022a). With such "ticketed" entries (Sacks,

1992: I, 553), initiating parties reveal their concern for being accountable; they indicate right away that their reason for initiating contact is genuine and innocuous (cf. Goffman, 1963). This instantiates one way that participants display an orientation to their unacquaintedness as consequential for the entry into interaction. The omission of greetings likely depends on the local praxeological context and the type of public space individuals are navigating. For example, notice the differences in how the openings between hikers (Ex. 6.8) or mushroomers (Chapter 7) in the countryside and the charity solicitors' approaches of pedestrians in a busy city street (Chapter 5) are interactionally organized. In the former, more casual and less institutionally-specific chance interactions, there is no glance-available, task-related reason-for-the-encounter apart from perhaps incidental co-presence. "Greetings-only" (Sacks, 1992: II, 193) exchanges are thus more expectable and do occur in these kinds of encounters, which in turn provides a window into how participants orient to and categorize the type of public space in which they find themselves.

Throughout this work there has been insistence on not reifying the dichotomy between "unfocused" and "focused" interaction (Goffman, 1963), instead aiming to show how this distinction blurs when we consider video data of how individuals multimodally organize their entry into interaction (D'Antoni et al., 2022). Interactional video analysis permits us to see the fundamental preliminary (micro-)sequential, embodied, and categorial practices that are involved in moving into interaction. Video data provide us with a sense of how in contrast to the relatively clear-cut beginning of a phone call, co-present openings are considerably less straightforward and remain perhaps even more challenging in public open space, where would-be interactants often sight each other from afar and come together in a more dilatory fashion. The empirical analyses provided some illustration of how such public face-to-face encounters emerge gradually out of a situation of physical co-presence, and showed the multiple embodied resources that would-be interactants, preceding any verbal contact, mobilize to coordinate entry

into interaction and co-establish a common interactional space (Mondada, 2009). In a related vein, the data allow us to better understand and problematize the notion of pre-opening (Mondada, 2010; De Stefani & Mondada, 2018). In line with Mondada (2022a), detailed video analysis of the moment-by-moment emergence of co-present openings demonstrated how would-be interactants, well before the publicly accountable opening of jointly focused interaction, subtly but recognizably respond to each other as they prepare their entry into closer contact. They do so *gradually* by (possibly asymmetrically) monitoring each other during the approach, exchanging glances, adjusting their pace and walking trajectories, etc. These micro-sequential adjustments (De Stefani, 2021; Mondada, 2018a, 2021a, 2022a) occur well ahead of any verbal contact, suggesting that conceptually mapping out clear boundaries between pre-openings and openings is perhaps not so productive.

I also introduced the larger *First Five Words* project, of which this study is part, as a contribution to research into chance interactions between "strangers," particularly to an understanding of openings thereof. There are some important differences between the present study and much of what can be found in most earlier interactional analyses of encounters between previously unacquainted people. The first is in the kind of data used. Previous work in this area largely draws on semi-elicited data from non-chance encounters pre-arranged for research purposes and overwhelmingly involves previously unacquainted people coming together in some private territory or institutional setting. So, the findings are not drawn from observations of spontaneous, often relatively fleeting, and possibly singular encounters between individuals inhabiting (or "staffing;" Garfinkel, 2002) a shared public place. A second difference has to do with their analytic focus. The majority of previous interactional work on encounters between unacquainted people falls within an emerging line of research on "first" or "initial" encounters that primarily focuses on describing various facets of "getting acquainted" as a recognizable conversational activity. This contrasts with the current study, in which I have

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been concerned with "stranger" interactions in which "getting to know one another" was not the reason-for-the-encounter. While the dissertation also illustrated, in a sense, social relationships *in statu nascendi*, the chief goal was to describe the moment-by-moment emergence and multilingual organization of chance encounters between unfamiliar people, who might never meet again. Despite the diversity of settings, activities, and categories of people involved, what the present cases share in common is the overwhelmingly "monofocal" nature (Wakin & Zimmerman, 1999) of the encounters. We saw that the chance encounters often revolve around a singular concern, such as the business of getting people to donate to charity, conducting an interview, or asking directions; or they are centered on "bridging device[s]" (Goffman, 1963: 126) in the immediate environment, like dogs, objects, or other attention-worthy public events *via* which parties may interact and which they may turn into a "something for us" (Sacks, 1992: II, 563). These are some of the ways in which unfamiliar people can be seen to orient to, and reflexively constitute, the anonymity of their encounter. Overall and more broadly, by exploring the emergence and organization of naturally-occurring, video-recorded chance interactions between previously unacquainted people, the dissertation contributes to wider sociological scholarship on "strangers" from an EMCA perspective.

8.4   Implications for research into interaction in public places

As part of the larger *First Five Words* project, the present work also contributes to the introduction of EMCA to a thus far underexplored site of sociality—namely, public open space. Public space is far from an uncontested concept and disparate definitions abound in the literature. From an EMCA perspective, public space, and public life, is a contingent achievement accomplished in social interaction, rather than a static location or material receptacle in which encounters simply take place. The dissertation provided some illustration of how members orient to and locally produce a "public space" as public. For example, Chapter

6 showed how language-related interactional troubles—difficulties that become recognizable and publicly available when sharing public space—can be locally oriented to as a resource for action. Incidentally co-present individuals ostensibly outside of an ongoing interaction were shown to not only monitor and track their local surround, but also insert themselves into interaction and provide help with linguistic troubles, taking on the role of *ad hoc* language brokers. In doing so, they can be seen to exploit the witnessability and accountability of action when inhabiting a shared space, thereby making it public (see Mondada & Tekin, submitted). Moreover, as touched upon above, the specific ways that people initiate an encounter may provide cues about how they categorize the type of "public space" they are navigating. For example, we saw that itinerary requests among hikers in the countryside (Ex. 6.9) are recognizably different from those between pedestrians in urban public space (see Mondada, 2009). This is, however, an area where further research exploring the possible consequentiality of the setting and activity is needed.

A praxeological, EMCA approach calls for an emically sensitive lens through which to view and analyze interaction in public places. Consequently, and relatedly to the above, it would be somewhat misleading to view public space as a "world of strangers" (Lofland, 1973). While individuals may, of course, have no knowledge of each other's personal biographies, they still "know"—and identify—each other categorially when out and about in public (Gardner, 1995; Goffman, 1971; Lofland, 1973; Mondada, 2002; Sacks, 1992; Smith, 2022; Watson, 2005). Using "stranger" as a generic "master categor[y]" (Watson, 2005: 201) in the analytic description of the category-rich arena that is public space risks privileging a category that is, more often than not, exogenous to the interaction and not locally relevant. The present study offered some empirical illustration of this.

Methodologically, a key challenge for naturalistic video-based research is that of finding suitable technological solutions to effectively capture the emergence of transient,

sporadic, chance encounters in complex public open space environments. The larger *First Five Words* project, including the research reported here, is an attempt to do that. It offers a source of inspiration for future video-based research into interaction in public places, and, as such, can be seen as an innovative contribution to the corpus of EMCA studies.

This dissertation can be seen as a first step toward integrating three lines of research—multilingualism, openings, and interaction in public places—that, to my knowledge, have not been directly linked. It offered a detailed exploration of simple yet captivating moments of language contact between previously unacquainted members of the public. The mere idea that people who have never met before and might not share many linguistic resources spontaneously engage in and sustain an interaction is a remarkable facet of everyday public social life. It might not be something we would typically scrutinize through a scholarly lens. One does not require a degree in linguistics or knowledge of academic theories to appreciate the complexity or seemingly trivial nature of such "stranger encounters." This is not to say that the organization of multilingual chance interactions of this sort lacks academic, societal, or political significance. It is akin to how Sacks (1992) observed and analyzed instances of people greeting each other or users of a public place striking up a conversation. His intention was not to promote change in greeting patterns or the ways we should approach "strangers," but to appreciate the profound intricacies and methodicity found in our everyday actions. This dissertation aimed to shed light on these nuances.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions follow Jefferson (2004) for verbal/vocal conduct (A.1.1; see Hepburn & Bolden, 2017 for a detailed explanation), and Mondada (2018a, in press b) for embodied conduct (A.1.2). The guidelines and the text presented here are reproduced from Mondada (2021b, in press b).

A.1.1 Transcribing verbal/vocal conduct

Temporal and sequential relationships, including tempo

`wo[rds]`	onset and end of overlap (simultaneous talk), at the
`[word]s`	start of a turn or within the turn;
`word=`	latching (no intervening beat of silence) between
`=word`	turns by different speakers;
`(0.5)`	elapsed measured time (pause or silence);
`(.)`	micro-pause (less than 2/10 of a second);
`no:, no::`	lengthening/stretching of the sound before the colon;
`>word word<`	accelerando/rushed/compressed talk: increase in tempo relative to surrounding talk;
`<word word>`	rallentando/stretched-out talk: slowing down in tempo relative to surrounding talk;
`wo-`	word abrupt ending through oral or glottal cut-off before a word is complete.

Speech delivery

`word.`	pitch movement at the end of a prosodic unit: falling to low;
`word,`	pitch at end of unit rising to mid;
`word?`	pitch at end of unit rising to high;
<u>`word`</u>	there is stress or accent prominence on the underlined syllable;
`WORD`	much higher volume relative
`WOrd`	to the surrounding talk;
`°word°`	low volume: quieter than the surrounding talk;
`°°word°°`	particularly low volume/quiet voice.

Uncertain hearing, transcriber's comments

`(word)`	transcriber's uncertain hearing;
`(word)/(nerd)`	transcriber's alternative hearings;
`(   )/xxx`	stretch of talk unintelligible for the transcriber;
`((cough))`	descriptions and comments;

Other audible features accompanying talk

`.h .hh .hh`	audible inbreath; longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters;
`h hh hhh`	audible outbreath; longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters;
`ha heh hihi hu`	laughter; different vowels indicate the quality of laugh tokens;
`hhuh khhh`	additional details regarding laughter onset may be added;
`.pt, .tsk`	audible opening of mouth and movements of tongue, lips, etc.

Translations are intended to be as close as possible to the original (without becoming opaque to the reader). The goal has not been to create idiomatic counterparts in English, but to aid in reading and comprehending the source material. There are instances where glosses are used (e.g., when referring to particles as PRT or indicating formal address with FRM). See §3.3 for a discussion of translation choices.

A.1.2 Transcribing embodied conduct

Transcriptions of embodied conduct follow the conventions and their presentation as laid out by Lorenza Mondada (in press b, and on https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription, providing detailed step-by-step guidelines that are reproduced here; see also Mondada, 2018a for a conceptual discussion).

Identification of the participants doing the embodied action

Every embodied movement is attributed to a participant, who is identified by their pseudonym and by a symbol consistently used for the same participant throughout the transcript.

1) Example:

```
* delimits gestures done by DIA
+ delimits gestures done by PED
```

Sometimes, several lines are used indicating different embodied actions done by one participant at the same time. In this case, different symbols are used—similar symbols are selected in order to have a visual link between different actions of the same person.

2) Example:

```
* for gestures done by DIA
```

• for gaze by DIA

+ for gestures done by PED1

± for gaze by PED1

$ for gestures done by PED2

£ for gaze by PED2

etc.

If the embodied action is done by the current speaker, its description is not preceded by their identification in the margins.

3) Example:

```
01 DIA    >tsch*uldigung madame,<*
          excuse me     Ma'am
              *LH point twd  PED*
```

If the embodied action is done by another participant, they will be identified in the margins. Capitals are used for the identification of the speaker and the normal font for the identification of the participant doing the embodied action.

4) Example:

```
01 DIA1  die dame mit der wunderschönen• ho:se,=n kl•eine moment zeit für de WWF,
         the lady with the gorgeous       pants  a small  moment of time for the WWF
   ped                                   •gaze at DIA1•
```

Multiple relevant embodied movements done by a participant at the same time are described in different lines (bracketed by different symbols):

5) Example:

```
04 PED1  [äh *kein spichen †deutsch.*†=no french.
         uh  no   speak    German
             *small head shakes-----*
                         †shrugs---†
```

Note that in some cases, when there are numerous lines referring to several participants, and for the sake of clarity, all of the participants doing embodied actions are identified, including the speaker:

6) Example

```
03 DIA    †aber†du:†:,†Ødu blibsch† bi† mir©†stah,†hhh heh heh© .h h h h
          but  you    you stop for me
   dia    †....†pts PED†,,,†      †...†pts P†,,,,,†
   ped             ->Øslows down walking pace-->
   ped                                  ©.................©turns off earphone-->
```

Timing

Every embodied action has a temporal trajectory that is delimited by two identical symbols, one indicating when the action begins and the other one when it ends. These two symbols are inserted either in the line of talk or in a measured indication of time, in order to allow for the synchronization of the verbal/silent conduct and the embodied conduct. These two symbols are spatially vertically aligned, one above the other, in order to represent their simultaneous unfolding. The description of the action is inserted between these two symbols.

7a) Example:

```
08 PED    *sorry,°but- *h°
          *shakes  head*
```

7b) Example:

```
08 CHR    später.
          later
09        (0.6)†(0.6)†(.)
   chr         †shrug†
10 CHR    die erste mal.
          the first time
```

If an embodied action begins on a line and continues either on the next line or some lines later, its description is followed by an arrow pointing in the direction of the next symbol that indicates its end. In this way, the arrow works as an instruction for the reader to search, in the following lines, for the next arrow pointing at the same symbol, closing the scope of that annotation.

8) Example:

```
06 DIA    kännet *sie de WWF?
          do you know the WWF
   ped          *frowns-->
07        (.)*(.)
   ped     ->*
```

If an embodied action begins in the middle of a silence, then the silence has to be segmented

into smaller temporal fragments in order to insert the symbol/landmark.

9) Example:

```
04 DIA    churzi frag,
          quick   question
05        (0.5)†(0.3)†
   dia         †.....†pts twd WWF booth-->
06 DIA    kännet sie de W†WF?
          do you know the WWF
                        ->†
```

Note that if an embodied action is timed with(in) a pause, there is always an identification of

the participant doing it in the margin.

If an embodied action begins before the beginning of the extract, this is indicated by an initial

double arrow:

10) Example:

```
01 REP    madame +bonjour, excusez-moi, est-ce que vous+ avez la chance de parler
          Ma'am   hello   excuse  me   are you fortunate enough to speak
          >>w fwd+adjusts to her left-----------------+
02        français?•
          French
```

If an embodied action ends after the end of the extract, this is indicated by a final double arrow:

11) Example:

```
10 DIA    a:h of∅ ↑course.+=d' you know this as- (.) assocation >double u double u
   ped        ->∅stops-->>
   dia                ->+stops-->>
11        eff<?
```

Trajectories of embodied actions

Embodied actions have a temporal trajectory, which can be roughly described by distinguishing

(1) a preparatory phase, (2) a recognizable shape of the action, (3) a retraction or withdrawal

phase. Their annotation is inspired by conventions used by Kendon (1990) for gestures and

Goodwin (1981) for gaze. For all embodied movements, the trajectory is indicated in the following way:

... *dots* indicate that the embodied action is emerging,

,,, *commas* indicate that the embodied action is withdrawing, retracting.

The embodied action itself is described when it has reached its recognizable shape, which can also be maintained for some time.

12) Example:

```
03 DIA    aber du::, du blibsch† bi †mir  †stah,†hhh heh heh☺ .h h h h
          but  you   you stop for me
   dia                            †....†pts P†,,,,,†
```

Timing and transcription of silent actions

Silent embodied actions are transcribed by reference to their temporality, indicated on the numbered line, measured in fragments of seconds.

13) Example: A dialoger approaches a pedestrian.

```
01        (0.5)•(0.8)±(0.8)☺(0.5)+(1.3)
   ped    >>walks fwd-->
   ped    >>gz dwn•gz fwd/twd DIA-->
   dia    >>scans env±sees PED, sustained gz at her-->>
   ped                ☺puts on sunglasses-->
   dia                   +walks twd PED-->
```

Descriptions of embodied actions

Descriptions of embodied actions are bracketed by the symbols delimiting their length in time.

They are shortly described, and abbreviations can be used as well:

14) Example:

```
09 DIA2  AH•†MAIS△C'EST[PAS△GR]A[VE†±LES][GARS,=l'français]*c'e:st-△•[ça△va au]ssi.
         AH BUT  IT'S   NO BIG DEAL  GUYS        French     that's  is fine too
10 DIA1            [h  heh]        [m o r g a n e  h]        [h heh heh]
11 PED1                  [o:†h  ]
   ped1  ->•gz twd DIA2------------------------------------------•
   dia1  ...†open  hand  point DIA2†
   dia2        △.........△splays out arms----------------------△,,,,△
   dia1                         ->±
   dia2                                         ->*stops-->>
```

The following abbreviated prepositions and adverbs are often used:

w   with

twd   toward

fwd   forward

Actions are often abbreviated in the following way:

gz   gazes

lks   looks

pts   points

wks   walks

The following initials are often used:

R   right

L   left

H   hand

RH   right hand

Figures

Figures are temporally positioned within the ongoing action. The exact moment to which the figure refers with respect to the relevant line of talk/silence is indicated by the symbol #. The symbol is placed both on the line of the talk/of the measured time and on the line dedicated to the figure (indicated by fig in the margins).

15) Example:

```
15 PED→  uh (0.3)©sorry:©ick# sprecke nur© ein© bi#schen deut[sch.=sprecken©sie&
                     I    speak   only a   bit   German   do you.FRM speak
16 DIA                                                   [a†::::h
   ped         ©......©RH to chest-----©....©pinching hand gesture------©...-->
   dia                                               †throws up hands-->
   fig               #fig.5.7           #fig.5.8ab
17 PED   &english?
          English
```

5.7

5.8a

5.8b

Appendix 2: Consent forms

A.2.1 Consent form in English

Informed Consent Form

FOR RECORDING AND RESEARCHING AUDIO & VIDEO DATA

The research project "*The First Five Words: Multilingualism and the Grammar of Language Choice*", organized by the University of Basel and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF), studies phenomena of bi- / multilingualism in Switzerland. It analyzes how unacquainted persons spontaneously engage in interaction in multilingual cities in Switzerland, thereby shedding light on language practices in present-day, urban environments. It aims to empirically demonstrate that multilingualism in action is negotiated locally, *in situ*, by participants in everyday life. Little is known about how people choose and negotiate the language of conversation when addressing an unknown person – who might speak the local language, but also a language of immigration or tourism. We are thus interested in the way in which unacquainted individuals open interactions and negotiate the appropriate language. In what language do they greet each other? How do they choose German, French or another language when addressing an unknown person? To answer these questions, the project collects audio and video data of interactions in public space. This data collection and its study rely on the collaboration of the participants, for which we thank them in advance: their support advances scientific research!

I / We, the undersigned

_____

- I / We hereby authorize the research team (led by Prof. Dr. Lorenza Mondada; Philipp Hänggi and Julia Schneerson) of the University of Basel to audio and video record the interactions in which I / we participated on……………………..

- I / We hereby authorize the scientific use of audio and video data, both in recorded form as well as in their transcribed and anonymized form (see below):
  a) in scientific texts (articles, chapters, books, university degree projects, or theses)
  b) in scientific presentations (presentations at conferences, seminars, workshops)
  c) in university teaching.
  NOTE: extracts used in these contexts do generally do not exceed 30 seconds.

- I /we reserve the right to request the deletion of a record or part of a record if I / we consider it inappropriate.

- I / we acknowledge that for all these scientific usages the recorded data will be ***anonymized***, meaning that:

  a) transcripts of these data use pseudonyms and replace any information that may lead to the identification of participants
  b) audiotapes presented at conferences or in teaching will be 'bleeped over' if a participant's name, address or a recognizable phone number is mentioned. These sensitive details will therefore be replaced by a noise;
  c) nevertheless, for technical reasons, the project cannot anonymize videos. In any case, the researchers will do their utmost not to use extracts that could compromise participants who have been filmed.

Place and date: _____   Signature(s): _____

A.2.2 Consent form in French

Autorisation

**POUR L'ENREGISTREMENT ET L'EXPLOITATION
DE DONNEES AUDIO ET VIDEO**

UNI
BASEL

FNS-NF
FONDS NATIONAL SUISSE
SCHWEIZERISCHER NATIONALFONDS
FONDO NAZIONALE SVIZZERO
Swiss National Science Foundation

Dans le cadre du projet de recherche « *The First Five Words : Multilingualism and the Grammar of Language Choice* », organisé par l'Université de Bâle et soutenu par le Fonds National Suisse (FNS), nous nous intéressons aux phénomènes du bi- / multilinguisme en Suisse. L'objectif général est de démontrer empiriquement que le multilinguisme en action est négocié localement, *in situ*, par les participants dans la vie quotidienne. On sait peu sur la façon dont les gens choisissent et négocient la langue d'une interaction dans les premiers moments d'une rencontre lorsqu'ils s'adressent à une personne inconnue - qui peut parler une des langues locales, ou une langue d'immigration ou de tourisme (*Lingua Franca*). A cet égard, nous nous intéressons, entre autres, à la manière dont des inconnus ouvrent l'interaction et négocient la langue appropriée. Dans quelle langue se saluent-ils ? Comment choisir l'allemand, le français ou une autre langue lorsqu'on s'adresse à quelqu'un qu'on ne connaît pas ? Il s'agit donc d'interactions dans lesquelles on ne sait pas à l'avance dans quelle langue on doit approcher un interlocuteur inconnu dans l'espace public. Pour pouvoir répondre à ces questions, le projet recueille des enregistrements audio et vidéo d'interactions dans l'espace publique. Ce recueil de données ainsi que leur étude repose sur la collaboration des participants, pour laquelle nous les remercions d'avance : leur soutien fait avancer la recherche scientifique !

Je soussigné(e) / Nous soussignés

_____

- j'autorise/ nous autorisons par la présente l'équipe du Prof. Dr. Lorenza Mondada, Philipp Hänggi et Julia Schneerson (Univ. de Bâle / Suisse) à enregistrer en audio et vidéo les interactions auxquelles j'ai / nous avons participé le ……………………..

- j'autorise/ nous autorisons par la présente l'utilisation scientifique des données, sous leur forme enregistrée aussi bien que sous leur forme transcrite et anonymisée (cf. infra) :
  a) dans des textes scientifiques (articles, chapitres, monographies, projets de baccalauréat universitaire, mémoires ou thèses)
  b) dans des présentations scientifiques (exposés à des congrès, séminaires, workshops),
  c) dans des enseignements universitaires.
     NOTA: les extraits utilisés dans ces contextes n'excèdent en général pas 30 secondes.

- je me réserve / nous nous réservons le droit de demander l'effacement d'un enregistrement ou d'une partie d'un enregistrement si celui-ci ne me/nous convient pas.

- je prends / nous prenons acte que pour toutes ces utilisations scientifiques les données ainsi enregistrées seront ***anonymisées*** : ceci signifie
  a) que les transcriptions de ces données utiliseront des pseudonymes et remplaceront toute information pouvant porter à l'identification des participants ;
  b) que les bandes audio qui seront présentées à des conférences ou des cours seront « beepées » lors de la mention d'un nom, d'une adresse ou d'un numéro de téléphone identifiables (qui seront donc remplacés par un « bruit » qui les effacera) ;
  c) qu'en revanche, pour des raisons techniques, le projet ne peut pas anonymiser les vidéos ; il s'engage à ne pas diffuser d'extraits compromettant les personnes filmées.

Lieu et date: _____   Signature(s) : _____

A.2.3 Consent form in German

Einverständniserklärung

**FÜR DIE AUFNAHME UND DIE UNTERSUCHUNG
VON AUDIO- & VIDEODATEN**

Im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts "*The First Five Words: Multilingualism and the Grammar of Language Choice*", organisiert von der Universität Basel und gesponsert vom Schweizerischen Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (SNF), interessieren wir uns für Phänomene des Bi- / Multilingualismus in der Schweiz. Generell geht es darum empirisch aufzuzeigen, dass Mehrsprachigkeit in Aktion lokal, *in situ*, von den Beteiligten ausgehandelt wird als etwas Allgegenwärtiges im Alltag. Es ist wenig darüber bekannt, wie Menschen die Sprache einer Interaktion in den ersten Momenten einer Begegnung wählen und verhandeln, wenn sie mit einer unbekannten, noch nie zuvor gesehenen Person sprechen - die eine der lokalen Landessprachen, oder aber auch eine Einwanderungs- / Tourismussprache (*Lingua Franca*) sprechen mag. Diesbezüglich interessieren wir uns unter anderem also dafür, wie fremde Leute Gespräche eröffnen und die passende Sprache dabei aushandeln. In welcher Sprache begrüssen sie sich? Wie entscheiden sie sich für Deutsch, Französisch oder eine andere Sprache, wenn sie jemanden ansprechen, den sie nicht kennen? Es handelt sich also um Interaktionen, bei denen man nicht im Vornherein weiss, in welcher Sprache man sich einem unbekanntem Gegenüber im öffentlichen Raum annähern soll. Das *First Five Words*-Team der Uni Basel wäre überglücklich, wenn Sie uns in dem Projekt unterstützen würden. Bereits im Vorfeld möchten wir uns deshalb bei allen Beteiligten ganz herzlich bedanken: Ihre Teilnahme fördert die wissenschaftliche Forschung!

Ich, die Unterzeichnende / Wir, die Unterzeichnenden

_____

- erlaube/erlauben hiermit dem Forschungsteam von Prof. Dr. Lorenza Mondada, Philipp Hänggi und Julia Schneerson (Universität Basel, Schweiz) Audio- und Videoaufnahmen der Interaktionen, an denen ich/wir am .... teilgenommen habe, zu machen.
- erlaube/erlauben hiermit, dass die Aufnahmen für wissenschaftliche Zwecke, in ihrer Form als Videoaufzeichnungen, sowie in transkribierter, und anonymisierter Form (s. unten) genutzt werden dürfen:
a) in wissenschaftlichen Texten (Artikel, Kapitel, Monographien, universitäre Seminar-, Abschluss-, und Diplomarbeiten)
b) in wissenschaftlichen Präsentationen (mündliche Präsentationen im Rahmen von Kongressen, Seminaren, Workshops),
c) in der universitären Lehre.
BEMERKUNG: In diesen Kontexten beträgt die Länge der gebrauchten Videoaufzeichnungen generell nicht mehr als 30 Sekunden.

- räume mir/räumen uns das Recht ein, die Löschung von einem Teil oder den gesamten Aufnahmen zu verlangen, wenn sie mir/uns nicht entsprechen.
- nehme/nehmen Kenntnis davon, dass die Audio- / Videoaufnahmen für alle wissenschaftlichen Zwecke (s. oben) ***anonymisiert*** werden. Dies bedeutet:
a) dass für alle Transkriptionen der Aufnahmen Pseudonyme gebraucht werden und jegliche Information, die zur Identifikation der Teilnehmer führen könnte, ersetzt werden;
b) dass die Audioaufnahmen, welche im Rahmen von Konferenzen, Lehrveranstaltungen, etc. gebraucht werden, bei Bezugnahme auf einen identifizierbaren Namen, eine Adresse, Telefonnummer, etc. „gebeept" werden – der Name, die Adresse, etc. wird durch ein « Piepen » ersetzt;
c) dass das Projekt, aus technischen Gründen, die Audio- / Videoaufzeichnungen hingegen nicht anonymisieren kann; sich aber dahingehend verpflichtet keine kompromittierende Aufzeichnungen der gefilmten Personen zu verbreiten.

Ort und Datum: _____   Unterschrift(en) : _____

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