How Wild can it Get? Managing Language Learning Tasks in Real Life Service Encounters

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Abstract This chapter explores how experientially based pedagogical activities that involve participation in real life service encounters provide occasions for developing L2 interactional competence. The data comprises novice L2 students' self-recorded interactions in service settings and videorecordings of classroom planning activities and de-briefing discussions, where the students reflect on their experiences. The analysis traces what kinds of occasions for learning arise as the students move between the classroom and the real-world service settings. The findings show that the different phases of the task complement each other in supporting the development of interactional competence. The preparation phase enables students to plan initiating actions, but does not prepare them for contingencies of interaction in the wild. When carrying out the task in real world circumstances, occasions for learning can arise as students adapt to the interactional contingencies of the encounter and put their repertoire to use in interaction with others in the full ecology of the activity. Retrospective discussions enable detailed analysis of experiences as well as focused learning activity, whereby the participants develop an experientially based understanding of the interactional tasks, language practices, actions, organization and communicative norms pertaining to the social activity.

1 Introduction

This chapter explores second language learners' situated practices of carrying out teacher-assigned learning tasks that aim to connect classroom learning to everyday social interactions outside the classroom. Previous studies clearly show that the learning potentials of pedagogic tasks arise from the way that the participants interpret the task, exploit it for their current needs and purposes, and manage its accomplishment with others (e.g. Mori 2002, Kasper 2004, Hellermann 2008, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler 2010). In this chapter, we discuss the interactional accomplishment and learning potential of tasks based on L2 learners' language use experiences outside the classroom. More specifically, we analyse how the trajectory of a teacher-assigned task – including the preparation and debriefing phases in the classroom - creates occasions for developing interactional competence through adaptation, practice and analysis of language practices embedded in their social and material ecologies.

A growing number of CA-inspired studies of L2 interaction in the wild describe how language learning is grounded in the methods through which participants interactively accomplish social actions in different settings (Firth and Wagner 2007, Pekarek Doehler 2010, Lee and Hellermann 2014, Wagner 2015). To competently manage social activities, participants must collectively organize their actions through configurations of interactional methods related for instance to turn-taking and action sequences, and be able to fit their actions to the local contingencies and material ecologies of interaction (e.g. Nguyen 2016, Kurhila and Kotilainen 2017). Against this backdrop, the target of L2 learning is best captured in the notion of interactional competence, i.e. the ability to configure one's linguistic and other semiotic resources in and for accomplishing action, and the ability to coordinate social interaction in a context-sensitive way (Hall, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler 2011; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon Berger 2015). The development of such competence-for-action poses a challenge for language teaching: how

can teaching best support the development of L2 learners' repertoire of methods for context-sensitive interactional conduct and thus enable them to gain better access to membership in the community in which they interact? In this chapter, we explore the potential of everyday tasks integrated into the curriculum of L2 courses for novice and intermediate learners.

As previous studies show, mundane interactions can be co-constructed as learning environments: L2 speakers initiate and sustain learning activity by actively focusing on linguistic and interactional practices as objects of learning (Theodórsdóttir 2011a, 2011b; Eskildsen and Theodórsdóttir 2017, Kasper and Burch 2016). Recently, this research perspective has started to make an impact on language pedagogy. Departing from traditional task-based approaches in which tasks are defined in terms of what learners do in class, experientially-based pedagogical initiatives have developed social infrastructures for learning, for instance by making arrangements with local businesses, recruiting members of the community to act as "language coaches" and designing tangible materials that can be used to facilitate learners' participation in interaction (see e.g. Clark and Lindemalm 2011, Thorne 2013, Wagner 2015).

This study analyses interactions that were collected during one such initiative, launched with the aim of developing instructional practices in courses of conversational Finnish intended for learners at beginning or intermediate levels of proficiency. The courses were designed to give priority to learners' language use experiences outside the classroom. The aim was to help students recognize the potentials of everyday interactions for language learning and offer new opportunities for putting their interactional repertoires to use in natural settings. To this end, tasks designed around authentic service encounters were integrated in the course curriculum. Drawing on students' self-recorded interactions in service settings as well as preparatory and debriefing discussions in the classroom, this chapter investigates how the teacher-assigned task is interpreted by different participants, how it is interactionally managed in actual encounters with service providers, and what kinds of occasions the

task creates for learning-in-action as the participants move from the classroom to real life service settings and back again. In investigating these questions, we pay close attention to the way that the different social and material settings feature in task accomplishment.

The analysis demonstrates that while the participants interpret the task in different ways, occasions for learning arise at different phases of the task. Collectively, the analyses of interactions at different phases of the task illustrate how opportunities for interaction-based language practice, analysis and reflection of one's L2 use experiences complement each other and can support the development of interactional competence.

2 Task accomplishment as an interactional process

Tasks that are designed to prepare learners for real-life interaction through purposeful and meaningful language use have long been at the center of language pedagogy. A whole program of research has evolved to investigate the relationship between pedagogical tasks, task performance and language learning (Skehan 2003, Bygate et al. 2001, Samuda and Bygate 2008, Gonzales Lloret and Ortega 2014, Bygate 2015). While quasi-experimental studies have mainly investigated the relationship between task types, their implementation and performance by measuring learning outcomes (e.g. Crookes 1989, Foster and Skehan 1996), another line of research draws attention to the differences between tasks as 'workplans' (Breen 1989, Ellis 2003) and the learners' interpretation and performance of the task (e.g. Coughlan and Duff 1994, Ohta 2001).

This study is concerned with the situated and multifaceted nature of tasks and the processes through which the different stages of tasks are collaboratively achieved. Conversation analytic studies demonstrate that task preparation and accomplishment involve complex, contingent interactional

processes (e.g. Mori 2002, Kasper 2004, Seedhouse 2005, Mondada and Pekarek Doehler 2004, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler 2010, see also Hellermann 2008, Markee and Kunitz 2013). Mori (2002), for example, analyses how L2 learners of Japanese and their co-participants accomplish a group task: planning and conducting a 'discussion meeting' with invited native speakers. Her analysis reveals that in spite of the goal of fostering information flow and balanced participation, the task generated interaction similar to structured interviews. Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler's (2010) analysis of task interactions in small groups describes not only how the same task is performed in different ways by different participants, but also how different kinds of learning potentials may emerge even when the participants are performing the same or similar tasks. Thus the way that students perform teacher-assigned tasks and learn from them cannot be predicted as the contingent development of talk cannot be planned (see also Mori 2002). In fact, planning itself is a complex collaborative activity and achievement that involves coordination of diverse linguistic and embodied resources (Markee and Kunitz 2013, Kunitz and Skogmyr Marian 2017, Lee and Burch 2017).

Conversation analytic studies have been mainly concerned with documenting the practices through which tasks commonly used in task-based language teaching are planned and configured in the classroom. However, recently empirical investigations have extended to new kinds of settings involving the use of digital technologies. Chapters in Seedhouse (2017), for example, describe real-life cooking tasks in a "Digital kitchen", i.e. a kitchen adapted for language learning purposes using digital technology, as learning environments. Kurhila and Kotilainen (2017) show how the underlying authentic goal of preparing a meal motivates the participants' actions and creates opportunities for learning as the students actively use the available interactional and technological resources to resolve linguistic problems. So far only a handful of studies have examined how language learning tasks are configured in physical settings outside the classroom. Thorne et al. (2015) and Hellermann et al. (2017) analyse how small groups of English language learners accomplish game-like tasks using mobile

digital technology (GPS-enabled iPhones) (see also Hellermann, Thorne and Haley, this volume). These studies shed new light on the role of the digital resources and the physical environment in the accomplishment of the activity.

The development of L2 interactional competences involves adjusting interactional practices to perform actions in order to build social activity while responding to the local contingencies of situations of language use. The use of interactional practices in performing the task is also influenced by the complex contextual web of each setting (Nguyen 2016). For a better understanding of the ways in which the contextual specifics and interactional contingencies of tasks feature in L2 use and development, more research on L2 learners' participation in real life tasks in different situations, spaces and physical environments is needed. This chapter explores the potentials and occasions for learning that emerge as different groups of participants engage in the turn-by-turn accomplishment of teacher-assigned tasks that centered on the L2 speakers' participation in real life encounters in everyday business settings. Tracing the students' interactions across settings enables close analysis of how they interpret the task instructions and how they draw on and modify their repertoire of linguistic and interactional resources in the social and material ecologies of interaction in the classroom and in the wild. The analysis illustrates how the students' interactions in the wild and the classroom are interconnected and build on each other, contributing to a trajectory that supports the development of interactional competence.

3 Data

The data for this study was collected during three university courses of Finnish as L2 that aimed to support the development of novice learners' interactional repertoires by using real-life tasks. The

participants were young adults with beginning and intermediate level of proficiency in Finnish. At the beginning of each course, the students' needs and experiences of the L2 community were discussed in the classroom using a mapping activity (Clark and Lindemalm 2011, Wagner 2015). After this the teachers and the researchers collaborated in planning out-of-classroom tasks that involved participating in service encounters in a local network of businesses[1] and videorecording the interactions. The service providers had given their consent for the recordings. Service encounters were chosen as the focal activity type because they were seen to offer novice learners opportunities for interaction that have real social and material outcomes for the participants. Although often routinized and structurally predictable (see e.g. Hasan 1985), service encounters are interactively accomplished (see e.g. Kidwell 2000) and involve challenges for L2 speakers (see e.g. Shively 2011). Service encounters typically involve script-relevant knowledge and understandings (Edwards 1994, 1997, cf. Schank and Abelson 1977), i.e. knowledge based on participants' expectations about typical event sequences, including actions, vocabulary and embodied conduct. Thus the participants could be expected to draw on their prior experience of service encounters in order to understand each other and to plan and carry out the relevant tasks. As the analysis will show, students also draw on such experientially-based knowledge and understandings in organizing their interactions at different phases of the task. The pedagogical framework for the task involved three steps: in the pre-task phase, the students prepared for the interactions 'in the wild' by discussing patterns of language use in service encounters and planning how to go about the task. Next, the students participated in the service interactions in pairs and videorecorded them with their own mobile devices. Third, back in the classroom, the students watched the videos and discussed their experiences in small groups.

[1] The network of service providers included cafés at the University, a paper shop, a restaurant, a bicycle repair shop, hairdressers and a tourist information office. The idea for creating the network was based on earlier pedagogical initiatives, in particular *Språkskap* in Sweden (Clark et al. 2011) and *The Icelandic Village* hosted by the University of Iceland (Wagner 2015).

The data for this study is drawn from a collection of 41 service encounters recorded by students and altogether approximately 21 hours of group discussions conducted in the classroom. The task assigned by the teacher instructed the students to extend ordinary service encounters by asking one or two questions in addition to conducting their business. The analysis focuses on the detailed ways in which the L2 speakers initiate and manage the task in specific situations; in particular how they adapt their interactional repertoires and respond to the dynamic contingencies of the interaction.

The data has been transcribed according to the conventions for transcribing multimodal interaction developed by Mondada (2012, 2014). The embodied conduct of the speaker is described in the line below the translation line in italics. Different symbols indicate the timing and duration of a participant's bodily or material actions.

In the following, we analyse interactions by four different participants at different stages of the task. We trace the participants' situated practices as they prepare for the service encounters and discuss them retrospectively in the classroom. The excerpts presented below illustrate the diversity of situations encountered by the students and the contingent ways in which occasions for learning arise and are acted on through the trajectory of the task.

4 Analysis

Among the challenges that the students faced in planning and carrying out the task was the need to work out how to conduct the learning task while attending to the real world business in the service encounter. In the preparation phase the students discussed the content and linguistic aspects of the questions they wanted to ask and also rehearsed them. However, conducting a task in a context-sensitive way also involves consideration of the overall structural organization of the encounter and the

material ecology of the setting (see also Nguyen 2012, 2016). Thus asking questions – even in such routinized and often highly constrained interactions as service encounters – involves multiple challenges for L2 speakers. In addition to choosing appropriate vocabulary and morphosyntax to formulate a turn that is recognizable as a question, the L2 speaker has to adjust these in such a way that the turn fits the real world circumstances of the encounter and the sequential organization of the encounter where verbal and bodily actions intertwine. Meaningful questions also need to show consideration for the relevant categorical identities – customer and service provider – and their relative epistemic status (Heritage 2012: 7). This involves considering what participants know about the specific situation, or what can be inferred on the basis of general knowledge (Stivers 2011), as well as adapting to the contextual contingencies.

In the analysis to follow, we show how the task was interpreted and carried out by different students and how the different phases of the pedagogical task provide different affordances for learning. Excerpt 1 shows a case in which the actual service encounter is carried out in a pre-planned manner. The retrospective peer-discussion in the classroom, however, makes it relevant to revisit and clarify some of the linguistic constructions used in the situation, which motivates learning-relevant activity. Excerpts 3–5 exemplify how a student pursues a personal learning project that is oriented to throughout all the phases of the pedagogical task. This project deals with a grammatical issue (comparative forms of adjectives) that is practiced, repaired and repeated many times during the task. The consequentiality of real life interactions is exemplified in excerpts 6–10. In these cases the students experience trouble and face unforeseen interactional needs arising from the contingencies of the interaction. This leads to elaborate discussions back in the classroom, in which the students identify and analyze both the service provider's and their own interactional conduct in detail in an attempt to make sense of and account for their experiences.

4.1 From preplanned interactional conduct to learning activity

Excerpt 1 illustrates how the task is carried out in a preplanned way, resulting in an interview-like situation (cf. Mori 2002): the interaction unfolds through question-answer sequences. Here Ella is visiting a university shop. She asks two questions that she had planned in the classroom.

Excerpt 1[2]. Ella in the University shop

```
01 Ell:   ja m(h)oi eh he
          and h(h)i eh he

02 Cle:   +mo:i
           hi
          +smiles, nods

03 Ell:   eh minulla on kysymys:
          eh I have a question

04 Cle:   +jo[o
           yes
          +nods

05 Ell:      [*aa: mitä te *myyt?
              aa: what do you sell
              *smiles      *moves head forward towards clerk

06        (.)

07 Cle:   meillä on myynnissä kirjoja,
          we sell books

08 Ell:   joo
          yes

09        (.)

10 Cle:   kyniä, *(.) opiskelutarvikkeita, *(.)
          pens        study materials
   Ell:          *nods                    *nods

11        postikortteja, *(.) postimerkkejä, *(.)
          post cards          stamps
   Ell:                  *nods               *nods

12        yliopistotuotteita, *(.) ja sittel lahjatarvikkeita
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[2] The starting and ending points of Ella's embodied conduct in extracts 1 and 2 are indicated by the sign *. The embodied conduct of the co-participants (the clerk in Extract 1 and Alan in Extract 2) is indicated by the sign +.

university products and then gift products
Ell: *nods, smiles

13 Ell: ***joo-o hyvä.**
yeah good
**nods twice*

14 **(.)**

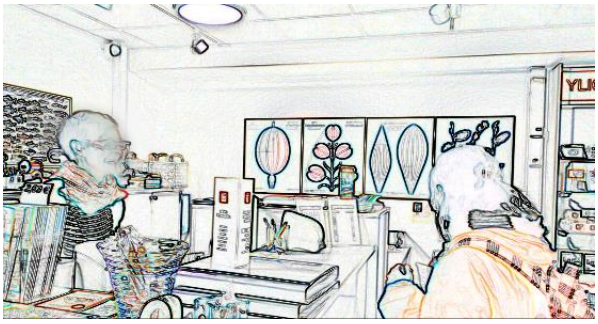

Fig. 1

15 Ell: ***eh mikä on, *(.) (ek ih) *(.) mikä on suosittu matka:**
eh what is what is a popular souve:
**points upwards with LF index finger*
**turns head right towards paper in right hand (fig.1)*
**turns gaze back to clerk*

16 ***(0.4) (egh) eh (.) mikä on suosittu *matkamuisto?**
what is a popular souvenir
**turns gaze towards paper* **gaze back to clerk*

17 **(.)**

18 Cle: **aika moni tykkää ostaa näitä <edullisia tuotteita>.**
quite many (customers) like to buy these inexpensive products

Ella opens the interaction with a greeting ‘ja moi’ (‘and hi’), which is produced with laughter. After the greeting sequence, she initiates a pre-sequence (l. 3-4) which establishes an interactional space for asking the questions she has prepared in class. This sets up an interview-like participation framework, where Ella adopts the role of interviewer and the clerk is positioned as interviewee. The clerk’s alignment with this arrangement is seen in her response (the particle ‘joo’ accompanied with nodding, l. 4). Ella’s turn in line 5 is recognizable as a question: it makes relevant the service provider’s epistemic status and addresses items on sale in the shop. However, it does not show consideration for what Ella herself as the customer can be expected to know on the basis of prior experience of book

shop encounters and also on the basis of what is visibly available in the material surround. This clearly departs from a routine service encounter in a shop. The clerk answers Ella's question through a list-construction naming items that are for sale (l. 7, 10-12). Ella co-participates through verbal and embodied recipient activity: a continuer (l. 8), nodding (l. 11-12) and smiling (l. 12). When the clerk reaches completion of her extended turn (l. 12), Ella produces a sequence-closing evaluative response that does not acknowledge the possible newsworthiness of the clerk's answer. Instead, it resembles a teacher's third turn in a teacher-initiated IRE sequence.

After this Ella initiates another question-answer sequence by asking about popular souvenirs (l. 15–16). Before verbally formulating her question she directs her gaze away from the clerk, projects continuation of her turn with a pointing gesture (Mondada 2007) and then visibly orients to a piece of paper with her notes, while also displaying trouble through speech perturbations and embodied activity. She then shifts her gaze and attempts to formulate the question she has prepared (l. 15), but has trouble remembering the lexical item for souvenir. At this point she turns her attention to the piece of paper once again and having checked the lexical item, manages to produce the question in its grammatically appropriate form (l. 16). Overall the interaction shows Ella's orientation to the task as language practice: recalling and reproducing the lexical items for formulating the questions that she had planned beforehand. Her conduct shows limited ability to adjust to the real-world circumstances of the service encounter. Yet with the support of her notes, she is able to perform recognizable questions and solicit answers from her co-participant.

The following retrospective reporting of this interaction in the classroom creates an occasion for further practice via language-focused activity (Kasper and Burch 2016) initiated by another student. Alan draws attention to one of the questions that Ella is reporting. This opens up a possibility for Ella to show her linguistic expertise.

Excerpt 2. Ella reporting in the classroom

10 Ell: ***öö me: kysymme: *(0.4)**
we ask (0.4)
points towards the paper on the table with LH index finger
touches the paper with LH index finger

11 **ää mitä te: (.) myyt, (.)**
what do you (.) sell

12 ***ja (.) mikä on: (.)**
and (.) what is (.)
moves hands away from table to lap

13 ***>mikä on< (.) <suosittu> (.) matka +(.) muisto? (.)**
what is (.) a popular (.) souvenir
*handles the papers on the table
Ala: *+points to paper*

14 **[ja:**
and

15 Ala: **[+*m- m- mikä on suosittu**
what is popular
+moves RH on the paper and points to it -->
*Ell: *points towards the paper with LH index finger above the paper -->*

16 **(.)**

17 Ell: **suo- [suosit[tu**
po- popular

18 Ala: **[ma- [matu- (.)**
so- souveno-

19 Ell: **mat(u)[ka]muisto eh heh***
souvenir eh heh
*Ell--> **

20 Ala: **[ka]**

21 Ala: **[ta- matukamuisto+**
so- souvenir
Ala--->+

22 Ell: **[°eh heh heh° joo heheh**
°eh heh heh° yeah heheh

23 Ala: **+mi- mi- mitä mitä se on *suosittu**
what what is it popular
+moves hand away from above the paper
*Ell: *points towards the paper with LF index*

24 Ell: **ee: (.) suosittu om *>popu+lar<**

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                popular is   'popular'
                           * turns gaze towards Alan
   Ala:                         +gaze towards Ella

25        (.)

26 Ala:   [+>sorry<
           +leans to Ella; gaze down to paper

27 Ell:   [popu-  >popular< (0.4) popular

28 Ala:   popular (.) [+joo.
          popular (.) yea
                       +nods

29 Ell:               [joo
                       yea

30        (.)


31 Ell:   *ja a- matokamuisto (.) on (.) sou*venir +(.) >souvenir<
           and a souvenir  (.)    is  (.)'souvenir' (.)'souvenir'
          *points towards the paper         *gaze toward Alan
   Ala:                                            +gaze towards Ella

32 Ala:   som:

33 Ell:   sou[venir]

34 Ala:      [so-so] souvenir?

35 Ell:   >joo joo joo >>joo jo<<
           yeah yeah yeah yeah yea-

36        (.) ((BOTH TURN GAZE BACK TO PAPER))
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In telling about her interaction, Ella again draws on her notes. She places the notes between herself and Alan on the desk, points towards the papers and even touches them as she starts to report the questions she asked in the shop (l. 10). Both participants then orient to the notes through their gaze and body and further pointing gestures. When Ella reports the second question, Alan points at the notes (l. 13) and then partially repeats the question (l. 15). This initiates a joint reading activity (Hellermann et al. 2017): Ella also points towards the paper and repeats the adjective *popular* (l. 17), while Alan continues by attempting to reproduce the word *souvenir* (l. 18, see also l. 20, 21). Alan seems to orient to the whole noun phrase as a trouble source. However, Ella's response – a repetition of the noun (l. 19) – addresses

the problem as one of word recognition. Ella's pronunciation departs from the standard, but she does not show any orientation to a linguistic problem. Next Alan repeats the noun in the same form (l. 21), while Ella laughs and accepts the word ('joo'; l. 22)

In line 23 Alan initiates a new sequence requesting clarification on the meaning of the adjective and Ella responds by offering an English translation ('popular', l. 24). However, her pronunciation causes trouble for Alan, who initiates repair in English (l. 26). After further repetition by Ella (l. 27), Alan recognizes the word and accepts it (l. 28). In line 31 Ella continues the activity by clarifying the meaning of the noun, again by translating it into English. She also repeats the word twice to ensure that it is recognizable for Alan. Alan then produces a try-marked repetition (l. 34), which Ella accepts with repeated affirmative tokens (l. 35).

During this language-focused sequence Alan orients to Ella as the knowing participant. This opens up an opportunity for Ella to show her linguistic expertise on the vocabulary items that she has used during the interaction in the shop and to share this expertise with Alan. Importantly, however, it is her partner, who initiates the language-focused activity. Alan's active participation shows his orientation to learning the relevant vocabulary and enables Ella to adopt a position of epistemic authority. In addition, the written notes compiled during the preparation phase provide crucial material resources that support participation both in the service encounter and the retrospective discussion. The fact that the relevant linguistic information is distributed among the material and human resources in the situation enables the participants to initiate and sustain a focus on lexico-grammatical practices for interaction. These excerpts illustrate that interactions outside the classroom provide occasions for practicing linguistic resources for interactional conduct and may engender future learning activity.

4.2 Pursuing a learning project

The following excerpts illustrate how the participants draw on embodied conduct, the physical environment and experientially based knowledge when rehearsing their planned interaction, and how they adjust their conduct to the real-life circumstances of the service encounter. In addition, excerpts 3 - 5 illustrate how a learning project is constructed and sustained as the participants move from the classroom to a real-life service setting and back to the classroom. The notion of project comes from Levinson (2013: 122), who uses it to describe a plan of action that at least one participant is pursuing in interaction. In Excerpts 3–5 the project becomes visible in the practices through which the participants orient to morphological features in Finnish when practicing, acting out and retrospectively discussing the interactional task of asking an information-seeking question in a university café.

Finnish is an inflectional language and learners have been shown to orient to the difficulty of finding accurate inflectional elements in their repair practices, in particular word-search sequences (see Kurhila 2006). The focal student in the next excerpt, Alan, shows a similar orientation through sustaining focus on inflectional forms of adjectives while planning and formulating a question at different phases of the task. Excerpt 3 comes from the pre-task phase in the classroom, where Alan is rehearsing his planned interaction in a café with Mike. In line 1 Alan practices a question he intends to ask in a café he plans to visit: are the two coffees available equally strong. Formulating the question makes relevant knowledge of the inflection of the adjective 'vahva', in this case the plural partitive case 'vahvoja'. In the excerpt to follow, also the comparative form ('vahvempi', stronger) becomes relevant[3].

Excerpt 3[4]. Alan practicing

[3] The comparative forms of adjectives in Finnish are formed through morphosyntactic means: in singular the appropriate forms in nominative case are vahva (strong) – vahvempi (stronger) – vahvin (strongest).
[4] In excerpts 3, 4 and 5 the sign + is used to indicate the duration of Alan's embodied conduct. The co-participant's (Mike in Ex. 3 and the clerk in Ex. 4) embodied conduct is indicated by the sign ^.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

01 Ala: **+onko kahvi- (.) onko +nämä kahvit**
are the coffe- (.) are these coffees
+gazes at paper on the table
+points at two distinct points in space (fig. 2 & 3)

02 **yh- yhtä vahvai- vahvoja, (.)**
strong-PL-PAR
equally stro- strong

03 **onko nämä kahvit yhtä vah+voja**
strong-PL-PAR
are these coffees equally strong
+turns gaze towards Mike

04 **(.)**

05 Mik: **mmm (.) ei (.) ^tämä kahvia on: eeh ^(0.4) more:**
coffee-PAR
mmm (.) no (.) this coffee is: eeh (0.4) more:
^points forwards with RH (fig. 4)
^ circular gesture with both hands

06 Ala: **vah[vampi °eh heh he he°**
strong-COMP
stronger

07 Mik: **[lisää (.) vahvampi**
strong-COMP
more (.) stronger

08 Ala: **ehheh**

09 Mik: **aah which one (do) you prefer**

In this excerpt the participants use the adjective *strong* in different inflectional forms. In the first lines Alan searches for the plural partitive form of the word in his attempt to inquire whether the available coffees are equally strong. The structuring of his question turn (l. 1–3) is closely tied to the written notes that he has in front of him, as can be seen in his bodily orientation and gaze. When referring to the coffees (l. 1), Alan uses a pen to point to two distinct points in space in front of him (see fig. 2 and 3). However, speech perturbations show that he has some trouble in finding the appropriate form of the adjective (l. 2). After glancing at his notes, Alan is able to self-repair and produce a lexico-grammatically appropriate question (l. 3). One possibility for answering the question in a relevant way is to identify one of the coffees as stronger than the other, and this is what Mike attempts to do. However, he has trouble in producing the comparative form of the adjective, as is indicated by the pauses and by the language switch (l. 5). The use of the qualifier 'more:' creates a space for Alan to offer a solution to the word search. The two participants complete the utterance jointly, albeit in slightly different ways: Alan offers his version of the adjective 'strong' in comparative form (l. 6) while Mike uses a Finnish adverb ('lisää', more) and then accepts the adjective offered by Alan by repeating it (l. 7).

The way that the participants act out the Q–A sequence shows that they pay close attention to morphological details in order to produce a grammatically well-formed question and answer. Similarly to Excerpt 2, the written notes provide crucial resources for formulating the targeted verbal forms and the participants orient to these resources through gaze and orientation of their bodies (for similar observations on the role of embodied conduct in planning activity, see Markee and Kunitz 2013). However, the enactment of the planned interaction in the café also displays experientially based script-relevant knowledge (Edwards 1994, 1997) about the physical and material setting to be visited. This is visible in the use of pointing gestures that are carefully coordinated with the deictic references in the rehearsed sequence. Alan's pointing with a pen targets two distinct points in front of him. Similarly,

Mike does a pointing gesture in his response as he refers to 'this coffee'. The imagined space structured by the gestures closely corresponds to the material set up in the café, where two different coffee pots are placed on the counter within reach of the customers. Also Alan's question presupposes that there are different coffees available. This knowledge contributes to the askability of the question (Stivers 2011) in the actual service encounter: it enables the use of deictic pronouns to refer to the different types of coffee and makes the rehearsed interaction appear well-fitted to the setting and the relative epistemic status of the customer and the clerk. Excerpt 4 shows how the planned sequence is configured in the café. Alan has just paid for a coffee and shifts his gaze to the two coffee pots on the counter in preparation for his next action[5].

Excerpt 4. Alan buying coffee

01 Ala: **uhm (.) +onko nämä kahvit yhtä (.) vahvoja?**
are these coffees equally (.) strong
+gaze towards the clerk, points towards the coffee pots

Fig. 4

02 Cle: **mmm: (0.4)^+tää on vahvempaa**
this is strong-COMP-PAR
this is stronger
^touches one of the coffee pots --> (fig. 4)
Ala: *+gaze towards the coffee pots and the clerk's hand*

03 **+(.)**

[5] This is a self-service café, where the organization of the service encounter typically involves the customer picking up a cup, choosing the food items and beverages and then paying for them. In this café the coffee pots were placed on the counter in such a way that customers had to pay for the coffee before choosing the coffee and helping themselves.

Ala: +gaze back to clerk --> until the end of extract
Cle: ^gaze to Alan (fig. 5) --> until the end of extract

Fig. 5

04 Ala: tämä on::
this is

05 Cle: vah[vempaa
strong-COMP-PAR
stronger

06 Ala: [vahvem
stronG-COMP
stronge-

07 okei (.) joo kiitos=
ok (.) yeah thanks

In the café Alan produces his question in a grammatically appropriate way, including the inflected form (plural partitive) of the adjective that he had trouble with when practicing. The question is well-fitted in the larger activity and its material ecology. It initiates a new sequence at a juncture where the preceding activity (payment sequence) is complete. Through embodied activity (shift of gaze and body orientation) Alan shows readiness for the next activity in the encounter: choosing one of the coffee pots placed on the counter in front of him and pouring himself a cup. The question thus addresses an issue that is consequential for the choice that Alan is about to make.

In her answer to Alan's question, the clerk uses the comparative form of the adjective that Alan and Mike had rehearsed in class. As she answers, she also touches one of the coffee pots (fig. 4). In the next turn, Alan initiates repair by producing a hanging repeat: he repeats part of the trouble source turn (l. 4) as a way to prompt the recipient to "fill in the rest" (Rossi 2015: 274, see also Kendrick 2015).

Hanging repeats are often related to problems in hearing the previous turn and the possibility of a hearing problem cannot be ruled out here. However, the turn seems to do more than that. Adjusted to the contingencies of the interaction, the hanging repeat enables Alan to focus on the inflection of the target form and request for completion from the clerk. Interestingly, although the clerk's bodily orientation and visually prominent touching gesture invite Alan to focus on the coffee pots, he directs his gaze towards the clerk in anticipation of her verbal response (fig. 5). As can be expected, the clerk responds by repeating the comparative form in full. In partial overlap with her turn, Alan also partially repeats the form and thereby confirms that the word produced by the clerk was what he expected to hear. From the point of view of the service sequence in progress, the repetition seems redundant. However, it indicates Alan's orientation to the linguistic form he had recently practiced. Further, the fact that he does not reproduce the adjective in its complete form, suggests that he has not yet mastered it and the repeat is done for the purpose of practicing and memorizing the item as an object of learning. After this Alan quickly returns to the main business by acknowledging the answer and thanking (l. 7).

When Alan reports on the interaction in group discussion in the classroom, the inflected forms of the adjective *strong* again emerge as the focus of attention.

Excerpt 5. Alan reporting

01	**Ala:**	**ähm: (.) joo (.) ja mä kysyin ähm (0.4)**
		ehm (.) yes (.) and I asked (0.4)
02		**ähm (0.4) onko: kaikki: (.) kahvit nämä**
		ehm (0.4) are all these (.) coffees these
03		**(.) uhm vahvoja.**
		strong-PL-PAR
		(.) uhm strong
04		**(0.4)**

05 Jac: **°vahvoja°**
strong-PL-PAR
strong

06 Ala: **vahvoja vahva=**
strong-PL-PAR strong
strong strong

07 Lis: **=aah (the) strong [(.) strength**

08 Ala: **[°joo°**
yea

09 Ala: **jaa: se oli ähm tosi helppo koska:**
and it was ehm really easy because

10 **>hän< +joo tämä on [(0.4) >helppo< eh vahvoin**
strong-SUP
she yes this is (0.4) easy eh strongest
+points towards papers on table

11 ?: **[hm**

12 **(2.0) ((Jack, Lisa and teacher nod))**

Although the speech perturbations and pauses in Alan's reporting show signs of trouble, he uses the plural partitive form fluently (l. 1–3). Another student then repeats the partitive form (l. 5), which is now established as the focus of talk. In the next turn Alan repeats the same inflected form and then provides the base form. With this Alan sustains the interactional focus on the adjective. Providing the base form also makes the word more recognizable for the recipients, and in line 7 another student, Lisa, shows recognition of the word by translating it into English. After this Alan evaluates the interaction he had at the cafe (l. 9-10) and re-enacts the clerk's response using a pointing gesture and the superlative form of the same adjective.

Excerpts 3–5 illustrate how the participants draw on the material organization of a café in practicing and acting out a question that is contextually and sequentially well fitted to the real-life service encounter. The excerpts also demonstrate how reporting of out-of-classroom interactions generates language-focused activity (Kasper & Burch 2016) in the classroom discussions. Further, they

make visible a student's learning project that focuses on a grammatical feature, i.e. the inflection of the adjective *strong* (in plural partitive and in the comparison forms) as part of turn design, and that is sustained across situations. Orientation to this learning project is visible in the student's behavior in planning the task, in the way he attends to the object of learning in the real-life service encounter and in the way that Alan sustains focus on the inflected forms in the retrospective discussion in the classroom. Overall the analysis lends support to recent studies that show how learning, even when it deals with acquiring new forms, is contingent, incremental and distributed across interactional situations.

4.3 Unpacking unforeseen interactional trouble

In our data the interactions outside the classroom that generated the liveliest discussions were those in which something unforeseen happened. As previous research shows (e.g. Mori 2002, see also Wagner 2015), the preparation phase of tasks enables the students to plan sequence initiating actions, but does not prepare them for the contingencies of situated interaction. When something unforeseen happens in the interaction, this may be observable already in the service encounter or it may become visible retrospectively through the participants' orientations to the experienced events in the classroom (Lilja & Piirainen-Marsh 2018). Excerpts 6 and 7 illustrate how an unexpected response by the clerk has consequences for the unfolding of the service encounter. In the moments prior to ex. 6 Claire has approached the self-service counter in the university café. After a short interlude where Claire and her student partner (Sally) prepare for recording the interaction, Claire initiates a pre-sequence.

Excerpt 6[6]. Claire buying coffee

[6] The embodied conduct of the clerk in excerpts 6 and 7 is indicated with the sign ^, the embodied conduct of Claire in excerpt 6 and Sally in excerpt 7 with the sign +.

03 Cla: **+eh HEH (.) aah (.)onko teillä:**
do you have
+gaze towards the clerk --> 1.14

04 **sokerittomia leivonnaisia**
sugar-free pastries

05 **(.)**

06 Cle: **uhm ^löytyy (.) ^(ihan) pieni hetki (.) kysyn**
we have (.) just a moment (.) I'll ask
^nods ^gestures with RH; starts to walk to kitchen

07 ((~25 SECONDS, Clerk in the kitchen))

08 Cle: **^löytyy (.) kyllä**
we do (.) yes
^walks back from kitchen, nods

09 Cla: **joo?**
yes?

10 Cle: **^löytyy**
we do
^nods

11 Cla: **aah okay (.) ahm:**
aah ok

12 Cle: **haluaisitko**
want-COND-2-Q
would you like

13 **(0.8)**

14 Cla: **joo mutta eh (0.4) aA:h +ss: (- -) +°°what ki:nd°°**
yes but
+gaze down +gaze back towards clerk

15 Sal: **so-**

16 Cla: **[eh heh ((leans towards clerk))**

17 Cle: **[(- -)**

18 Cla: **AAH: (1.0) joo kyllä (.) kyllä mä ostan**
yeah yes (.) yes I buy

19 Cle: **okei**

Here Claire asks an information-seeking question concerning sugar-free products (l. 3–4). The question is produced fluently and is sequentially well-fitted to the service encounter context: it occurs during

the initial moments in the overall organization of the encounter and initiates a pre-sequence relevant to the activity of buying a coffee and a snack. In this sequential context, the polar Y/N question invites the clerk not just to produce an affirmative or negative response, but also to give information about what kinds of sugar-free products are available. The clerk's response turns in lines 6 and 8 align with the form of the polar question, but do not offer the relevant information. In lines 9 and 11 Claire offers the clerk further opportunities to elaborate on her response, but the clerk only nods and repeats the affirmative answer, after which she asks whether Claire would like to have such a product (l. 12). This question is unusual both in terms of its grammatical form (the valency of the verb *want* typically requires a grammatical object) and interactional import. It is sequentially problematic in that it requests Claire to place her order even though the information she sought for in the pre-sequence is not provided. Claire also orients to this in her actions: the delay before her response (l. 13) and the observable trouble in formulating the next action (l. 14), asking for more specific information about sugar-free products. Claire begins her turn with an affirmative particle (joo, l. 14) which is followed by the conjunction 'but', speech perturbations and a pause. At the end of the turn she whispers 'what kind'. The whispering and shift of gaze away from the clerk indicate that the question is not addressed directly to the clerk, but rather related to Claire's search for verbal resources for asking the question (see e.g. Goodwin and Goodwin 1986, Lerner 1996, Hayashi 2003, Koshik and Seo 2012). Nevertheless, it indicates visible trouble and makes relevant some interactional assistance from the co-participant without requesting it directly (see Kendrick and Drew 2016, Pekarek Doehler and Berger, this volume). However, the action does not generate any reaction from the clerk. Finally, in line 18 Claire responds to the clerk's turn with an affirmative answer and ends up buying a sugar-free bun.

Claire's experience illustrates the consequentiality of language use situations in the wild: because of the unexpected conduct by the Clerk and her own trouble in dealing with it, Claire ends up buying a product without knowing what it is. Claire visited the café together with Sally who

videorecorded her interaction. After Claire's service encounter Sally carried out her own task. Her situation unfolds in a similar way as Claire's: after a greeting sequence Sally initiates a pre-sequence by inquiring about gluten-free products. The same clerk answers her question in the same way.

Excerpt 7. Sally buying coffee

```
01 Sal:   moih
          hi

02 Cle:   moi
          hi

03        (.)

04 Sal:   umm

05        (.)

06 Cla:   ehheh

07        (.)

08 Sal:   onko teillä °glutee° (.) nittomia (.) leivonnaisia?
          do you have gluten-free              pastries


09 Cle:   kyllä
          yes

10 Sal:   kyllä
          yes


11 Cle:   kyllä (.) haluaisitko
                    want-COND-2-Q
          yes (.) would you like (to have)

12        (0.8)

13 Sal:   +mitä (tai)
           what (or)
          +moves both hands to sides, palms open

14        (.)

15 Cle:   umm (0.4) pullaa (.) muffinsia (.) (munkkia)
                    buns (.) muffins (.) donuts
16        (0.4)
```

17 Sal: **en halua**
no i don't want

18 Cla: **[ehheh**

19 Cle: **[okei**

20 Sal: **mä haluan (.) americano ja (.) yks kahvi**
I want an americano and (.) one coffee

Again, the question invites the clerk to give information about the products, but no such information is given. Instead the clerk produces a type-conforming positive response (Raymond 2003) followed by an offer of an unspecified product ('would you like'). Sally's conduct (the repetition of the affirmative answer, l. 10 and the delay in responding, l. 12) indicate that she treats the clerk's actions as problematic. However, unlike Claire in the previous excerpt, Sally is able to ask a follow-up question: 'mitä' (what). In Finnish the question word 'mitä' is often used as an open class repair initiator, but here it also deals with the problem of missing information in the clerk's turn. As she articulates the question word, Sally also gestures with her hands and nods. The embodied production of the question both displays her confusion and pursues a response from the clerk. In line 15 the clerk answers her question and lists several gluten-free products. After this Sally is in a better position to decide that she does not want to buy any such product. After a short delay, Sally rejects the offer (l. 17) and places a different order (l. 20). Both Claire and Sally's experience show how unforeseen interactional needs, in this case the need to expand on a pre-request by asking for more information about products, can arise in interactions outside the classroom and how L2 speakers struggle to find appropriate methods for dealing with these needs.

Back in the classroom, Claire and Sally's experiences generate a lot of discussion in which the participants pay explicit attention to the practice of inquiring for more information on something. The following excerpts illustrate how this is addressed in Claire and Sally's reporting of their interactions.

In Ex. 8 Claire engages in a word search and completes it with the target phrase ”what kind” in English (line 31).

Excerpt 8. Claire reporting

17 Cla: **mutta: eh (.) tilanne on**
but (.) the situation is

18 ? **°eh heh heh°**

19 Cla: **>tilanne< tilanne oli (-) mm: huo↑no**
situation situation was bad

20 Tea: **aha?**

21 Cla: **koska: a: (0.4) en muista (0.8) aa: ee: (1.0)**
because I don’t remember

22 **en muista: (1.6) °how do you say°**
I don’t remember

23 **(1.8)**

24 Cla: **ah:**

25 Mar: **°muista is remem[ber°**

26 Cla: **[en muista:**
I don’t remember

27 **(0.6)**

28 Tea: **mitä (.) sanoja?**
what (.) words

29 Cla: **mitä sanoja:**
what words

30 Tea: **okei**

31 Cla: **are (.) what kind?**

32 Tea: **ahaa=**

33 Mar: **=minkälainen**
what kind

34 Tea: **okei=**

35 Cla: **=minkälainen**
what kind

Claire characterizes the situation as ‘bad’ (l. 19) and accounts for this by referring to her trouble with remembering the Finnish words needed to ask ‘what kind’. The target of the word search is not immediately clear to the others and two people attempt to assist in the search: Mark offers a translation of the word ‘remember’ (l. 25) and the teacher suggests a translation for ‘words’ (l. 28), which Claire repeats. After Claire clarifies the target (l. 31), a fellow student, Mark, offers the sought for question word ‘minkälainen’ (l. 33), which Claire accepts by repeating it.

Sally’s report (ex. 9), on the other hand, shows how she managed the situation without knowing the appropriate language for asking the question. She simply used the word ‘mitä’, which was enough for her to get the missing information from the clerk. Accordingly, she managed to avoid the problematic situation of buying a product she didn’t want.

Excerpt 9. Sally reporting

11 Cla: **then Sally went (- -)**

12 **I tell you yeah >say this say this say this say this< (.)**

13 **and then e [heh heh (.)**

14 Sal: **[eh heh heh**

15 Cla: **and then hers was good**

16 Sal: **when I ((laughter)) when I was supposed to say like (.) I a- (.)**

17 **>because< I said onko (.) teillä gluteenittoma leivonnaisia**
do you (.) have gluten-free pastries

18 Tea: **hm**

19 Mar: **joo**

20 Sal: **they were like joo and I’m like (.) what**

21 **kind (.) >and [I don’t know> >I’m like< MITÄ**
WHAT

22 Tea: **[hm**

23 Mar: **eH heh heh ehh:**

24 Cla: **ja oi jo-**
and oh

25 Sal: **and then she actually said what kind and and,**

26 **>I didn’t want any< and I am like @En haluan@**
I don’t want

27 Mar: **eeh: [eh heh heh**

28 Sal: **[eh heh he**

29 Cla: **[eh heh heh**

30 Sal: **and then I ordered the coffee for her and me**

In her reporting Claire accounts for Sally’s success by referring to her own instructions to her (l. 11–13, 15). Sally then narrates her interaction with the clerk (l. 16–26). Although she refers to the linguistic trouble she experienced (l. 20–21), she describes how her action was successful in soliciting a more elaborate response and led to a more successful outcome (l. 25–26). The interaction between Claire and Sally thus occasioned an environmentally occasioned noticing of trouble (Keisanen 2012, Goodwin and Goodwin 2012, see also Schmidt 1990) that enabled Sally to adjust her conduct and express an interactional need that arose in the contingencies of the situation.

All in all, the experiences of Claire and Sally lead to an elaborate discussion about real-life interactions that may involve unexpected conduct and the need for learners to prepare for such occasions. The final excerpt shows how the participants in class discussion make sense of these problems by means of script formulations (Edwards 1994), i.e. formulating the nature of the interaction with the service provider as exceptional, compared to routine service encounters of a similar type in their own culture.

Excerpt 10. Sally reflecting

01 Tea: **ja esimerkiks (.) sä: (.) huomasit**
and for example (.) you (.) noticed

02 **että: (.) vaikka sä et muistanut mikä on minkälaista**
that (.) even though you didn't remember what is what kind

03 **(.)**

04 Mar: **njooh**
yeah

05 Cla: **[joo**
yeah

06 Tea: **[niin sä sanoit mitä ja se oli myös ok**
you said what and it was also ok

07 Mar: **joo**

08 Sal: **[mm**

09 Tea: **[joo**

10 Mar: **joo**

11 Tea: **eli,**
so,

12 Sal: **and I think it's because like (0.4) in the US**
13 **if [I was to say do you have like**

14 Tea: **[hm**

15 Sal: **gluten-free whatever (.) >they would be like<**

16 **yes we have and they would name it**

17 Tea: **hmm**

18 Sal: **like everytime**

19 Tea: **niin niin (.) joo**
right right yeah

20 Sal: **so I don't think I'd have to ask [what kind**

21 Tea **[hmm**

22 Tea: joo **↑joo eli se on (.) ehkä kulttuuri °ero°**
yeah yeah it is (.) maybe a cultural difference

In this excerpt the teacher builds on Sally's story and refers to it as an example of how a spontaneous linguistic choice can be acceptable in its context (l. 1–3, 6). Sally then elaborates on her report and

accounts for her trouble by referring to a cultural norm related to service encounters in her native country (l. 12–18). She formulates the service encounter as exceptional by constructing a scripted cultural pattern of how the same interaction would unfold in the US. This is achieved by using reported speech to construct a hypothetical scenario, where the service provider responds to her request of information (l. 13, 15) with an affirmative response followed by naming the product (l. 16). After the teacher's minimal response (l. 17), Sally upgrades her description with an extreme case formulation (l. 18), which elicits a more elaborate response from the teacher. She then brings the script formulation to completion with an upshot which refers to her own conduct (l. 20). As Edwards (1994) has shown, formulating events as exceptions to scripted patterns is related to issues of accountability and is used to construct the dispositional character of actors. Here the formulation of a culture-specific script contributes to portraying the clerk's conduct as exceptional and Sally's trouble as understandable. The sequence is brought to completion by the teacher, who formulates her understanding of the gist of Sally's account by referring to a cultural difference (l. 22).

5 Discussion

In this chapter we have described how a teacher-assigned real-life social task is carried out and interactionally accomplished by different participants. Similarly to studies of task accomplishment in classroom settings (Mori 2002, Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler 2010), the analysis revealed differences in the ways in which the teacher-assigned task is interpreted and configured by different students in their interactions outside the classroom. In some cases students' interactions with service providers unfold as interview-like question-answer sequences. Although this approach to the task enables students to make use of the pre-planned initiating actions and practiced scenarios, the data show that many students have difficulties in adjusting to the contingencies of interactions. Task-interactions like

these can be seen as "taming the wild" (Wagner 2015, Eskildsen et al, this volume); i.e. constructing classroom-like conditions outside the classroom instead of making use of the wide array of resources that everyday social interactions outside the classroom offer.

However, in most cases in our data the students manage to configure the task in a contextually relevant way. The learners draw on sociocultural and experiential knowledge of service encounters already at the planning stage and adjust their conduct to the specific contextual features of the targeted encounters (see also Markee & Kunitz 2013). Close analysis of these students' interactions demonstrates how occasions for developing interactional competence arise and are oriented to by the participants as they move from the classroom to the wild and back again. For some learners the task provided occasions to pursue their own learning goals in interactions across the settings. We propose that the examples of Alan's interactions both in the classroom and in the café show orientation to such a learning project which is manifested in language-focused activity (Kasper & Burch 2016) across the settings. The data show how a focus on inflectional forms of adjectives is established in Alan's interaction in the preparation phase (ex. 3), how he shows embodied orientation to the same forms in the real-world service encounter (ex. 4), and how he shares his expertise on these forms in the de-briefing interaction back in the classroom (ex. 5). Together the examples show some evidence of a learning outcome at the lexical level (new knowledge about how to formulate inflectional forms of the adjective), but more importantly, we see how Alan configures his interactional conduct while adjusting to the contingencies of the interaction outside the classroom. As previous research (e.g. Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir 2017) has shown, outside the classroom the participants' main concern is with the progressivity of the business or social task, and occasions for learning are embedded in its sequential management. In Alan's case, initiation of repair enables a momentary shift of focus to a target word (inflected form of an adjective) as an object of learning and creates an opportunity for Alan to repeat the form, while also showing sensitivity to the interactional contingencies of the business encounter.

Overall, our data show that the different phases of the task complement each other in creating opportunities for language learning and can support the development of interactional competence. Group discussions in the preparation phase of the task provide a safe environment not only for language-focused activity, but also for embodied enactment of imagined encounters. Access to material resources also support the planning of interactional tasks. When participating in interactions in the service encounters, students are challenged by unpredictable interactional contingencies and unforeseen interactional needs. The post-implementation phase offers occasions for analyzing and making sense of these. The retrospective discussions in the classroom also turned out to offer rich occasions for learning activity. Retrospective tellings and reportings of the encounters create occasions for participants who initially show limited knowledge to display some level of linguistic and interactional expertise. This is visible in most of the cases analysed and is made particularly explicit in the situations where the learner does word explanation or teaches a newly learned practice to peers (ex. 2). The examples also show how the need to manage unexpected situations and deal with the 'chaos' of the wild may lead to further learning-relevant activity (cf. Wagner 2015). Experiences of such situations can occasion noticing of learning objects and reflection that may support learning in the long term. Excerpts 6–10 highlight how the students experience trouble caused by unexpected (and uncooperative) interactional conduct by the clerk in the service encounter. In the encounter the students work towards resolving the problem by engaging in a word search, code-switching (Ec. 6) and by adapting a familiar verbal practice for local needs (ex. 7). In retrospective discussion in the classroom they report on the problem and analyze it on multiple levels. They focus on the linguistic form needed for asking for further information (ex. 8), discuss how an alternative method led to a successful outcome (ex. 9) and they account for their difficulties by constructing a script formulation (Edwards 1994) referring to cultural norms (ex. 10).

One aim of this chapter was to explore how the different sociomaterial environments in the classroom and real-life business settings feature in the way that the task is configured. The analysis

illustrates how students' knowledge of the linguistic resources made relevant by the task was distributed in the social and embodied organization of action within the material ecologies of the different settings. Embodied and material resources were crucial for organizing action in all three phases of the task. Excerpts 1 and 2 show how a novice learner struggles with the task, but is able to construct linguistically coherent utterances in the service encounter with the help of her notes. Written notes also enable her to report on her task in the classroom discussion, where she emerges as the epistemic authority of the newly acquired language resources and shares her knowledge with the co-participant. Excerpt 3, on the other hand, shows how the students display knowledge of the physical and material environment of the service setting that one of them plans to visit in their embodied activity already in the preparation phase. This knowledge enabled them to plan their actions such that they were fitted to the contextual specifics of the target encounter, whilst also paying close attention to linguistic detail. Pointing gestures tied to deictic terms were used to locate items in both the imagined space (ex. 3 and 5) and the real physical environment where the service interaction took place (ex. 4). Our observations resonate with earlier studies that have shown how gestures are used as resources in embodied sense-making and remembering in L2 interaction (e.g. Eskildsen and Wagner 2013) and in group planning activity (Markee and Kunitz 2013).

The analysis underlines the need to develop pedagogic practices that create connections between the classroom and diverse social settings outside. We have shown how real-life tasks based on learners' needs enable learners to put their interactional repertoires to use and how de-briefing activities establish further opportunities for analyzing out-of-classroom language use experiences (see also Wagner 2015). In this study, tasks designed around language use experiences outside the classroom emerged as sites for developing interactional competence. They presented opportunities for language-focused activity generated by the learner's needs and provided for in-situ adaptation of language resources in contingent interaction in authentic settings. The trajectory of the task showed how learning

grammatical resources for action is distributed across situations. Finally, the task presented opportunities for developing an experientially-based understanding of tasks, language practices, actions and sociocultural norms in the social situations.

Appendix 1

Glossing symbols used

PL	plural
PAR	partive (partitiveness)
COMP	comparative
SUP	superlative
COND	conditional
2	2nd person ending
Q	interrogative

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