

# 12

## L1 Speaker Turn Design and Emergent Familiarity in Opening Sequences of Second Language Japanese Interaction

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### Introduction

Whenever we meet someone for the first time we adjust the way we talk based on our emergent understandings of our interlocutor, and therefore in subsequent meetings we may greet them in a different way based on what we have learned about them. The way we formulate each turn makes public our growing familiarity with the person with whom we are talking. This may be displayed through such features of the talk as the politeness expressions we choose, the content of what we say, or even the speed at which we talk.

It is not uncommon for first language (L1) speakers in an initial encounter with a second language (L2) speaker to alter the way they might otherwise formulate a turn in order to facilitate communication. In first encounters, expert speakers may hyper-compensate for perceived language difficulties through what has been called *foreigner talk* (Ferguson, 1971, 1975), a way of speaking that may include simplifications, modifications, and deletions at the syntactic, lexical, and morphological levels. This phenomenon has also been studied within applied linguistics through research into accommodation (e.g., Zuengler, 1991), and is related to similar speech adjustments that foreign language teachers use in the classroom, or what has been called *teacher talk* (Early, 1987).

Conversation Analysis (CA) can offer additional insight via its emic micro-interactional concern for the details of turn design, particularly with respect to turn constructional changes across sequential episodes involving a central participant initiating the same action to different recipients. Some examples from the literature include when one person phones multiple participants in succession and formulates a request in slightly different ways according to the person she is talking to (Drew, 2013), when one person answers the door to different people within a matter of minutes, greeting one as a friend and another as a stranger (Pillet-Shore, 2012), or when a caller makes a second or third call to a helpline and adapts her formulation of the opening sequence to present herself accordingly (Shaw & Kitzinger, 2007). CA frames its understanding of turn design in terms of formulation (Deppermann, 2011; Schegloff, 1972), recipient design (Schegloff, 1986), and turn construction (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Central to each of these are the interactional practices of description when choosing a particular set of words for a particular recipient and a particular instance of talk. Deppermann (2011) notes that formulations are selective, contingent, relevant, and inference-rich, and the way a speaker chooses to formulate a turn reveals their understanding of the situation. Recipient design, the way a turn is formulated based on the speaker's knowledge of the recipient, makes public various aspects of the interactants' relationship.

Turn design, therefore, is often sensitive to temporality, in that a turn is formulated in relation to earlier episodes of talk. Longitudinal CA research by Nguyen (2011, 2012) documents changes in recipient design over time by examining how novice pharmacists begin to adjust the way they formulate advice for different customers. From an L2 learning perspective, Brouwer and Wagner (2004) track a novice L2 speaker as he learns and applies language items across a series of business telephone calls that took place over a matter of hours or days rather than years. Although the CA approach did not originally aim to account for such interactional changes over time, a small but growing number of researchers are adopting this sort of longitudinal approach to the micro-details of talk, particularly in language learning settings (e.g., Hall, Hellermann, & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Lee & Hellermann, 2014; Leyland, Greer, & Rettig-Miki, 2016).

This chapter will adopt such a longitudinal CA perspective to explore recipient design and turn construction among L1 and L2 speakers of Japanese during a series of four successive haircuts. The four clients were a Japanese female, an American male, a Chinese male, and a Bolivian male, and the initial haircut (T1) was the first time the clients had met the hairdresser and his assistant (both L1 speakers of Japanese). One segment of each opening sequence that is highly accommodation-laden is the initial greet-and-seat sequence. By focusing on such openings the analysis will investigate how the two hairdressers formulate their turns during these initial moments of contact with new clients and how

they adjust their turns based on the clients' responses in that time and place (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014).

In addition, the study will compare these first-time openings to the hairdressers' formulations in similar opening sequences in the second and subsequent haircuts in order to investigate how their greetings change as they begin to discover more about their interlocutors. Elsewhere, analysis in this project has revealed that over time the hairdresser and a client who speaks very little Japanese work together to adopt a dual-receptive pattern of language alternation in which each participant speaks his preferred language (Greer, 2013). The current study extends this research by observing how the focal participants (the L1 Japanese-speaking hairdressers) interact with other L1 and L2 Japanese speakers, particularly with respect to the way their talk reflects and reifies their growing familiarity as they move from complete strangers to an established hairdresser-client relationship. As such, the focus here is primarily on the L1 speakers and how they adapt their turn design as they accommodate to the linguistic proficiencies of their clients and become increasingly familiar with one another.

The investigation is therefore situated in L2 talk, by which I mean interaction that involves one or more second language users. In other words, even though the focus is largely on the L1 users, the aim in doing so is to examine how they adapt their language to novice speakers across time. The data also allow for a convenient base analysis in that one of the sets of recordings involves the hairdressers speaking with a Japanese client, and a comparison of this talk to that with the novice Japanese speakers will underpin the argument for adaptive formulations across interlocutors. In short, the current study is concerned with L2 talk, defined as interaction that involves an L2 speaker, rather than focusing on the L2 speakers alone.

## **Background to the data**

The data were recorded over a period of four months, approximately once a month beginning in May, 2011. The data collection site was a small neighborhood hairdressing salon in western Japan, and the staff consisted of Yoh<sup>1</sup> (the owner and head stylist) and Yumi, his assistant. Both were L1 speakers of Japanese in their late twenties. The four clients were all students at a large national university; a summary of their backgrounds is provided in Table 1. They were recruited for the project by the researcher, but were not given any particular instructions, except that they were to behave as they would normally do when getting their hair cut. None of the clients had previously been to this salon and prior to the clients' arrival the hairdressers were not aware of which (or even how many) of the clients were Japanese.

**Table 1. Participant backgrounds**

Pseudonym	Nationality	Gender	Age	Languages (Self-reported proficiency)	Number of haircuts recorded
Aki	Japanese	F	20	Japanese (Native), English (Intermediate)	4
Tye	American	M	22	English (Native), Japanese (Intermediate)	4
Jay	Chinese	M	23	Chinese (Native), Japanese (Beginner)	3
Emil	Bolivian	M	27	Spanish (Native), English (Advanced), Japanese (Beginner)	4

The researcher set up two or three cameras and an audio device around the salon on each occasion, but was not present during the recording. This process facilitated an efficient data collection process, enabling the researcher to record four haircuts in one day, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. One drawback, however, was that the researcher set up the appointment times directly with the hairdresser, and this may have impacted the naturalness of the data; in retrospect, it would have been better to have had the clients call and make an appointment themselves. This remains one of the study’s limitations.

**Emergent familiarity in greeting sequences**

Despite the vast array of institutional and mundane interaction that takes place in hairdressing salons, very few CA studies have explored the constraints and affordances of communication in this setting. Toerien and Kitzinger (2007) investigate emotional labor and multiple involvements in beauty salons, in which the beauty specialist must simultaneously engage in mundane talk with the client as well as carry out the haircut procedure and initiate interaction related to it. Oshima (2007) conducts a multimodal CA study of the service-assessment sequence in a variety of Japanese and American hairdressing salons, finding that the client displays her satisfaction with the service through both spoken and embodied assessments, making the haircut an “interactional product” (Oshima, 2007, p. 10). The current study aims to contribute to this discussion by investigating the opposite end of the hairdressing service encounter, the opening sequence.

Openings have been widely studied by CA researchers, most famously in telephone calls (e.g., Schegloff, 1979), but also in face-to-face greetings (e.g., Pillet-Shore, 2012). As a crucial part of opening sequences, greetings are one

of the fundamental sites in which familiarity work gets accomplished. Greetings are a means by which people acknowledge each others' existence and establish their readiness for a more extended conversation (Goffman, 1971). According to Pillet-Shore (2012), "[g]reetings are microcosmic encapsulations of social relationships critical to parties' (re)creation and maintenance of social solidarity" (p. 396). The myriad of ways in which greetings get done can also be seen as an interactional means of recognizing the other person, and therefore (re)affirming and reifying their identities and their social relationships. Pillet-Shore (2012) showed that speakers use a variety of multi-modal resources including proximity, gesture, gaze, and prosody to display stance in greeting sequences, providing recipients with clues to their current mood and making public claims about the nature of their relationship.

One basic consideration for any greeting sequence, then, is whether or not it is a first time encounter or if the participants have some sort of "history" together (Schegloff, 1986); this becomes visible through the way the greeting is recipient designed for that person in that time and place as the interactants "display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the coparticipants" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 42).

Given the enormity of social relationship-building work that is achieved in these brief moments, greetings and opening sequences more generally are an important interactional locus for the current investigation, especially considering that in the initial recordings they represent the very first time the participants meet each other and later go on to re-establish the developing client-hairdresser relationship in subsequent meetings. At the same time, other aspects of the participants' relative identities such as gender or linguistic heritage can also be brought to the fore, and my analysis will consider these where the participants make them relevant to the talk. One opportune aspect of the current data set is that the head stylist (Yoh) and his assistant (Yumi) are present in each of the encounters, so in addition to changes over time, we are also able to compare and contrast ways their greetings are fitted to different recipients, particularly with respect to the clients' perceived and demonstrated Japanese proficiency. As such, the current study represents a response to Brouwer and Wagner's (2004) call for more research that examines data collected from talk between the same speakers across episodes. This section will begin by looking at how the hairdressers formulate their greetings in the opening sequences with Aki, another L1 speaker of Japanese, and then go on to compare these with the greeting sequences in their service encounters with Tye, Jay and Emil, who are all novice speakers of Japanese.

### **Aki**

I will begin by comparing several fragments of talk taken from the longer excerpts that will appear later in the chapter. These first few seconds involve the greetings

as the Japanese client, Aki, enters the door and before she has even sat down. Comparing these moments across episodes will reveal the participants' growing familiarity with each other.

**Fragment 1.** taken from Excerpt 1 Aki T1 Greetings

01 ((bells on door ring; door opens))  
02 Yumi \$i[r↑asshaimase:]\$  
          *come-HON*  
          Welcome.  
03 Yoh \$[irasshaimase ]\$  
          *come-HON*  
          Welcome.  
04 Yumi \$konnichiwa:::\$  
          *hello*  
          Hello.  
05 (2.1)/((Aki enters))  
06 Yumi onimotsu \$oazu[karishimasu\$  
          *HON-bag take-HON*  
          Let me take your bag for you.

Yumi and Yoh initiate the sequence the first time (T1, Fragment 1) with a vigorously delivered *irasshaimase*, a routine honorific greeting that is common in most Japanese service encounters and roughly translates as “welcome.” Yumi then follows this immediately with *konnichiwa* ‘hello,’ a more standard greeting. *Konnichiwa* is routinely used as a first pair part (FPP, a sequence-initiating action), and therefore a second pair part (SPP) response becomes relevant from the recipient in next turn. *Irasshaimase*, on the other hand, does not normally receive any response action and arguably this contributes to maintaining the social distance between the server and the customer. By adding *konnichiwa* as a kind of follow-up greeting, Yumi is moving to ameliorate this distance by initiating a non-service opening sequence in which the recipient is sequentially obliged to participate.

However, no SPP is forthcoming from Aki in line 5, the slot at which a response would normally be done. This may indicate that Aki still views the interaction primarily as a service encounter, and is therefore working to preserve the server-client relationship.<sup>2</sup> This said, Aki is out of shot at this point, and it is possible that she used some sort of embodied action such as a head nod to respond to Yumi in a minimal fashion. Compare this opening with that in Fragment 2, taken from the start of Aki's third appointment. Having talked for

over two hours across two separate occasions, Aki is now well acquainted with Yoh and Yumi, and in fact it is she who initiates the opening with *ohayo gozaimas* 'good morning', another standard (i.e., non-service encounter) greeting.

**Fragment 2.** taken from Excerpt 3 Aki T3 Greetings

- 07 Aki                \$O↑Hayohgozai[ma::s]\$  
                              *good morning*
- 08 Yoh                                [oHAYOh]gozai[ma s : : : ]  
  *good morning*
- 09 Yumi    \$[oh↑ayogozai]ma::s\$=  
  *good morning*
- 10 Yoh                =irassha,i.  
                              *come-HON*  
                              Welcome!

The recipients reply quickly, overlapping their SPP greetings in a way that is hearably affiliative. Yoh follows this with *irasshai*, a truncated version of the institutional greeting that is more familiar than the full version he used in T1, but one that still denotes the sequence as service encounter talk. Even from these very brief initial moments, we can see that there have been some changes in the way the opening greetings are performed, and that the participants seem to be displaying a different level of familiarity, albeit one that still employs polite formulations. Pillet-Shore (2012) calls these "large" greetings, in that they sound "big, substantial, [and] effusive" (p. 383), and therefore treat the addressed recipient as familiar or the encounter as special. She identifies a cluster of prosodic features that are typical of large greetings, including lengthening, audible smiling, higher onset pitch, increased volume, and wider pitch span, many of which are observable in Aki's later greeting sequences. In addition, the participants work to produce their greetings simultaneously, by lengthening the vowels to enable affiliative overlap and by latching additional TCU's to deliver multiple greeting terms. By contrast, at the first appointment, Aki gave no audible response at all to the hairdressers' greetings, even though Yoh and Yumi's turn design contained many of these prosodic features, providing evidence to suggest that Aki was not treating them with familiarity at that point.

Similar tendencies can be observed in the opening sequences of the third appointment between the hairdressers and their non-Japanese clients (Fragments 3 and 4), with non-institutionally formulated greetings reciprocated in overlap and institutional greetings shortened to give a slightly less formal impression (Fragment 3, line 4).

**Fragment 3.** taken from Excerpt 9 Jay T3 Greetings

01 Yumi ((walking toward door))  
 02 \$↑KONnichi[wa\$  
     *hello*  
     Hello.

03 Jay [kon ni chiwa[:]  
 04 Yoh [↑KONNIchiwa [i]ra[sshai  
     *hello*                      *come-HON*  
     Hello, welcome.

05 Yumi [heh heh  
 06 (0.8)/((sound of bell on door))

**Fragment 4.** taken from Excerpt 7 Emil T3 Greetings

01 Emil \$[Kon[nichiwa:]\$  
     *hello*  
     Hello.

02 Yui \$[Kon[nichiwa:]\$

03 Yoh \$[nchwa: :]\$

04 Emil ↑ hello

05 (.)

06 Yui \$hello\$ heh ha ha

07 Emil \$Nice to see you.\$

08 (.)

09 Yui heh

In Emil's case (Fragment 4), the hairdressers have, by this point, acquired knowledge of his preference for English over Japanese, and so repeat the initial greetings in English. Reciprocation in greeting sequences is a feature of mundane talk (Schegloff, 2007, p. 199) and while it is not always required in service encounters, the fact that Emil and Jay come to do this in their later appointments demonstrates they are becoming more familiar and friendly with Yoh and Yumi.



I will now return to Aki's first appointment and explore what happened immediately after the initial greetings. As a basic rule, when a client enters the salon, Yoh and Yumi carry out the following sequence of procedural activities:

1. Greet the client;
2. Take the client's hat and/or bag; and,
3. Guide the client to the styling chair.

Of course, there is any number of other eventualities that could derail this routine, and frequently a comment from the customer will result in a brief opportunity for talk that can serve to reduce the distance between the participants. In Excerpt 1, for example, Yumi's attempt to deal with Aki's bag is briefly delayed while Aki removes her mobile phone (lines 10 and 11).

### Excerpt 1. Aki T1 Greetings

- 01 ((bells on door ring; door opens))
- 02 Yumi \$i[r↑asshaimase:]\$  
come-HON  
Welcome.
- 03 Yoh \$[irasshaimase ]\$  
come-HON  
Welcome.
- 04 Yumi \$konnichiwa::\$\$  
hello
- 05 (2.1)/((Aki enters))
- 06 Yumi onimotsu \$oazu[kari shimasu\$  
HON-bag take-HON  
Let me take your bag for you.
- 07 Aki [aa.) hai °onegai shimas°=  
CS yes please-HON  
Oh, yes, thanks.
- 08 Yumi =ha:i  
yes
- 09 (0.4)
- 10 Aki (chotto) keitai[( )  
just mobile  
I'll just get my mobile.

- 11 Yumi [ah (.) hai dohzo  
CS yes go-ahead  
Oh, yes, please do.
- 12 (4.1)/((Aki takes mobile out of bag))
- 13 (3.8)/((Yumi takes Aki's bag to back room))
- 14 Yoh irasshaimase  
come-HON  
Welcome.
- 15 (.)
- 16 Yoh hai  
yes  
Alright.
- 17 (1.1)
- 18 Yoh (gotsui) des ne (.) okaban=  
big CP IP HON-bag  
Your bag is huge, huh?
- 19 Aki =hah[ ah
- 20 Yoh [haha
- 21 Aki (jugyo tak'san at[te)  
class many have-and  
I have a lot of classes.
- 22 Yoh [a::h (se ya ne)  
CS so CP IP  
Oh, I see.
- 23 (0.6)
- 24 Yoh hai (.) dewa kochira ni [(onegai itashimas)  
okay well here-POL to please-HON  
Okay, so over here if you would.
- 25 Yumi [dohzo::  
go ahead  
This way please.
- 26 (0.6)/((Aki sits))

The hairdressers often use the opening sequence to make a connection with the client, such as commenting on their appearance, clothing, or possessions. Yoh's noticing in line 18 is an apparent assessment related to the size and form of Aki's backpack. Aki treats this as an account initiation and responds first with laughter and then an explanation (line 21), to which Yoh provides immediate uptake in line 22. These seemingly minor remarks are by no means inconsequential. Despite the fact that they have known each other for less than ten seconds, Yoh has found a topic that is within both his and Aki's spheres of experience. Although it is not completely audible, it seems that Yoh's turn formulation at line 22 is delivered in plain form, perhaps indicating it is primarily directed at himself. Yet, it is also a receipt of Aki's turn and even though Aki can be normatively understood to have heard it, there is nothing in the subsequent talk to indicate she treats it as rude or over-familiar. Rather, Yoh's mention of the bag is bracketed off from the official work of the service greeting, and therefore constitutes Yoh's first bid for rapport with his new client. Immediately following this, when directing Aki to the chair Yoh returns to honorific Japanese turn constructions (such as *dewa* rather than *jaa*, *kochira* rather than *kocchi* or *koko*, and *itashimasu* rather than *shimasu*, in lines 24 to 26), an activity that is hearable as part of the routine that would be applicable to any customer.

Naturally, what follows this is the haircut itself, along with approximately one hour of talk in which Aki, Yoh, and Yumi get to know each other. It is impossible to document here each of the many moves that contributes to their growing familiarity over that hour, but instead what I will do is compare Excerpt 1 with the opening sequence of Aki's second appointment, approximately one month later (Excerpt 2). Here the initial greeting sequence pattern is largely missing due to a visibly available cue that Yumi and Yoh treat as so noticeable as to waylay the delivery of a formal greeting: Aki has cut her hair short, even though during the first appointment it was long and she had told Yoh she wanted to leave it that way.

## Excerpt 2. Aki T2 Greetings

01 Yumi ( )

02 Yoh           ↑eh? ah homma y(h)a, \$zenzen ch'au yan.\$  
                   huh CS really CP           totally different CP  
                   Huh? You're right. It looks totally different.

03               ((Aki enters))

04 Yoh           a[hah    hah]



Delivered just prior to Aki's entrance, lines 1 and 2, the noticing of Aki's short hair, appear to be primarily designed as between Yumi and Yoh; although Yumi's utterance is inaudible, Yoh treats it as a telling, marking it as an unexpected departure with "eh?" (Hayashi, 2009) and producing a laughed-through agreement in plain form Kansai dialect. Aki is just outside the door and can be seen by them, and can also see (and probably overhear) this segment of talk. Yoh is laughing when Aki enters (line 4), and although Yumi delivers a polite greeting in line 5, this is not reciprocated by Aki, who instead makes explicit the laughable (line 6). As it turns out, the participants treat the newsworthiness of this event as taking precedence over the need for institutional opening sequences, and Yoh does not formally greet Aki on this occasion. Instead, the noticing and its account take priority (Bilmes, 2011), and the interactional work that goes on between Yoh and Aki to accomplish this noticing serves the function of displaying familiarity both through laughter and a claimed history of co-experiences. As such, their relative institutional identity categories as hairdresser and client are being made relevant to the talk at this point; however, they are doing so in a way that is friendly and affiliative, and this may help to avoid any possible loss of face that could arise from the fact that Aki has had her hair cut elsewhere, after Yoh had cut it previously.

The opening sequences of Aki's third appointment (Excerpt 3) are more subdued, but nonetheless provide interactional evidence for the growing bond between the hairdressers and their client. As outlined above, the initial moments are carried out with "large" greetings initiated by Aki rather than the hairdressers (lines 7–10), and this displays both a positive stance and a claim of solidarity. In addition, Aki carries out a noticing sequence from line 12 that acts as a further display of affiliation.

### Excerpt 3. Aki T3 Greetings

- 01 ((Yoh looks to door))
- 02 Yoh | ((walking to door))  
 03 | ah tsuita ne  
     *CS arrive-PST IP*  
     Oh, she's here.
- 04 (0.4)
- 05 Yoh | hehheh (0.4)  
 06 | ((bells on door ring; Aki entering))
- 07 Aki \$O ↑ Hayohgozai[ma::s]\$  
     *good morning-POL*  
     Good morning.

- 08 Yoh [oHAYOh]gozai[ma s : : : ]  
Good morning.
- 09 Yumi \$[oh↑ayogozai]ma:s\$=  
Good morning.
- 10 Yoh =irassha↓:i.  
*come-HON*  
Welcome.
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 Aki wa! nanka metcha hiroi.  
*CS H very spacious*  
Wow! Like, it looks bigger.
- 13 (.)
- 14 Aki °des ne.°  
*CP IP*  
Doesn't it?
- 15 Yoh oh-
- 16 Yumi hah-
- 17 Yoh kizuita?  
*notice-PLN-PST*  
You noticed?
- 18 Yumi hhah [heh heh HA Ha
- 19 Aki [HAH HAh HAh hah
- 20 Yumi komaka[(kai) koto ni kizuite]  
*fine thing to notice-and*  
You have a fine eye for details.
- 21 Yoh [ ( ) ]
- 22 Aki eh? itsumo demo (.) shittemash'ta  
*IP always but know-CONT-PST*  
Huh, but I always knew.
- 23 Yumi ma- eh [hah hah ]
- 24 Aki [ ( ) ]

- 25 Yoh | ((moves seat to Aki))  
 26 | ((to Yumi)) (° °)
- 27 (0.8)
- 28 Yumi | ((taking Aki's bag))  
 29 | ah- ha::i (.) \$oaz'karishima:s\$  
 CS okay take-HON  
 Oh, okay, let me take your bag.
- 30 (1.4)/((Aki walks to chair))
- 31 Yoh °dohzo°  
 go ahead  
 This way.

As she walks into the salon, Aki initiates the noticing sequence in line 12, first with a response cry (Goffman, 1981), *Wa!* 'Wow!,' and then an explication that specifies the target of her surprise, *metcha hiroi* 'heaps of room,' which appears to be an assessment of the recent rearrangement of the salon's entrance space. Since the entrance way is in fact not particularly spacious, such an assessment is hearable as comparative, in that Aki is implying that there appears to be more space than there used to be. Implicit to this assessment is the knowledge of the previous furniture arrangement, which is therefore evidence of Aki's ongoing history of visiting this salon, and her expression of this realization therefore indexes the growing familiarity between her and the hairdressers. Yoh and Yumi initially receipt Aki's noticing in quick succession with brief change-of-state tokens (lines 15 and 16), followed by Yoh's mock-clarification initiator delivered with a casual, plain form verb (line 17), which is met with laughter from both Yumi and Aki. In line 20, Yumi then compliments Aki on her observant eye, which again accomplishes closeness; arguably such a sequence would be unlikely to occur on the client's initial visit since Yumi's compliment claims some knowledge of Aki's personality and is predicated on her prior visit.

By tracking the initial opening sequences of a series of hair appointments, this subsection has therefore mapped out the progressive display of increasing familiarity between the hairdressers and one of their Japanese customers, moving from complete strangers to friendly acquaintances. One aspect of this interaction that has thus far gone largely unstated (in the analysis as well as in the talk itself) is that the participants are interacting with each other as fully proficient speakers of Japanese. The participants do not orient to this feature of the talk because it does not cause any particular problem for them. Documenting the way Yoh and Yumi interact with Aki provides a kind of baseline that will be useful in comparing and contrasting the way that they interact with the non-Japanese clients as shown in the following subsections.

I will begin by examining the opening sequences of Jay's appointments. When Jay arrives on the first day, Yoh is at the back of the salon dealing with another customer, but Yumi comes to the door to greet him (Excerpt 4).

01 Yumi            \$konnichiwa:\$  
                  *hello*  
                  Hello.

02 Yoh            (yoroshiku onega-)  
                  *well            pleas-*

03                (.)

04 Yoh            >konnichiwa<

05 Yumi            \$konnichiwa\$

06                (1.3)

07 Yumi            tim    sensei:?  
                  *name professor*  
                  Are you Tim's?

08 Jay            hai t[im ]sensei        no (.) uh (.)  
                  *yes name    professor LK*

09 Yumi                    [hah]  
                              CS

10 Jay            gakusei des.  
                  *student CP-POL*  
                  Yes, I'm Tim's student.

11 Yumi            hai yoroshiku onegaishimasu.  
                  *yes well-POL    HON-please*  
                  Okay, nice to meet you.

12                onimotsu        o (.) >okaban< oazukari sh'te  
                  *HON-baggage O        HON-bag    take-HON-and*  
                  I'll just take your baggage, your bag.



- 13 ( . )

In this case, Yumi and Yoh give multiple versions of standard (non-service) greetings (lines 1–5), but Jay does not reciprocate in the slot where a SPP is due (line 6), perhaps because he is orienting to this as a service encounter nonetheless. In line 7, Yumi instead initiates a clarification sequence, giving the name of the researcher, who had set up the initial appointment for Jay. In one sense, this referral from another customer is a form of familiarity, in that a connection between the two people is assumed before they meet, and Yoh and Yumi orient to this in the talk by raising it as a recognitional even at this early stage in the conversation. Even though Yumi formulates the name as just a single referent, Jay demonstrates that he hears the turn-final rising intonation as marking a question and responds to it as such, first with an affirmative token and then by completing the elided segment of Yumi's just-prior turn (lines 8 and 10). After this, Yumi uses the formal phrase *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* 'nice to meet you,' which marks this as first-time talk between strangers who are entering into some sort of relationship, in this case that of service-provider and customer. In line 12, Yumi also offers to take Jay's bag for him, as she did with Aki in Excerpt 1, line 6, but notice that her formulation of this turn involves a self-initiated repair in which she redoes *onimotsu* 'your baggage' as *okaban* 'your bag', a term that is narrower and more specific, and therefore likely to be more easily understood. When Yumi formulated the same offer for Aki, she used only the more general term, and Aki accepted the offer so quickly that it was delivered in overlap (Fragment 5).

**Fragment 5.** taken from Excerpt 1: Aki T1 Greetings

06 Yumi           onimotsu \$oazu[karishimasu\$  
                 *HON-bag take-HON*  
                 Let me take your bag for you.

07 Aki   [ah (.) hai °onegaishimas°=  
  *CS yes please-HON*  
  Oh, yes, thanks.

For Jay, on the other hand, the uptake was slightly delayed, first after the initial formulation of *your baggage* (line 12) and then after the remainder of the offer was completed (line 13). Such gaps of silence, coming as they do post-FPPs (line 6 and line 13), are Yumi's first potential indication of Jay's limited Japanese proficiency, or perhaps his limited familiarity with Japanese hair salons.

Yumi then has Jay fill out his name and phone number on a customer profile card while Yoh deals with another client. A few minutes later, Yumi returns to collect the card and guide him to the styling chair (Excerpt 5).

### Excerpt 5. Jay T1 Greetings

[illegible]

- 09 Yumi            kochira [no seki.            ]  
                       *this-POL LK seat*  
                       This seat please.
- 10 Yoh                            [kochira ni    doh]zo  
                                       *this-POL PT go ahead*  
                                       This way please.
- 11                    (2.8)/((Jay walks to chair))
- 12 Jay                |thank you  
                           |((sitting))
- 13 Yoh                ha:↑i↓  
                           yes  
                           There you are.

Reading from the profile card Jay has just written, Yumi attempts to pronounce Jay's name. In line 1, the cut-off intonation demonstrates that she can pronounce his family name, but not his given name. Jay says it aloud for her and she repeats it in line 4, leading to a second version of the first-time-talk marking expression *yoroshiku onegaishimasu* in line 6. Again, there is a missing SPP as Jay does not respond to this during the gap of silence in line 8, a slot where he could have reciprocated. In many service situations in Japan, such as in a convenience store or at a train station, this lack of response from the customer is quite normal; however, a hairdresser may be something of an exception, since it is understood that the hairdresser and client will be engaging in conversation over an extended period of time. That is, the hairstylists occupy a position somewhere between friend and service provider.

As they guide Jay to the chair on this first encounter, Yoh and Yumi both use high politeness registers (lines 7–10), which again is completely normative for an initial encounter between a service provider and a customer in Japanese. Compare this, however, with the opening moments of Jay's third appointment two months later in Excerpt 6.

#### **Excerpt 6.** Jay T3 Greetings (July 21)

- 01 Yumi                |((walking toward door))  
 02                    |\$↑KONnichi[wa\$  
                           *hello*
- 03 Jay                            [kon ni chiwa[:]  
                                       *hello*

- Jay responds to Yumi's greeting in a timely fashion, overlapping his SPP with the end of her FPP (lines 2 and 3) in a far more sociable way. There is a lot more implied familiarity with the situation, with Jay demonstrating that he is aware where he will be sitting and walking directly to the chair. Yumi and Yoh have also elided their invitations from *kochira no seki* 'this chair' and *kochira ni dohzo* 'this way please' (Excerpt 5, lines 9–10) to simply *dohzo* 'please' (Excerpt 6, lines 11 and 13), rightly displaying that they believe this recipient will understand the meaning of the invitation through his familiarity with the context. This suggests that one of the turn constructional manifestations of familiarity is seen in elision and the decreasing need for fully explicit formulations.

In addition, Yoh's use of expressions like *maido* 'every time' (line 15) clearly orient to Jay as a repeat customer. This word is regularly used in customer-server opening sequences, but only when the customer is clearly recognized by the server. In this way, the hairdressers' category-specific expressions cast Jay as "a regular" at this point, and therefore function to display an intimacy that did not exist in the initial appointment.

### Emil

In the case of Emil, by the third appointment, in Excerpt 7, this elision has progressed to the extent that there is no invitation in Japanese from the hairdressers at all, and the client walks straight to the chair while producing a formulaic greeting (line 26).

#### Excerpt 7. Emil T3 Greetings (July 21)

```

01 Emil      $[kon[nichiwa:]]$
              hello

02 Yumi      $[kon[nichiwa:]]$
              hello

03 Yoh       $[nchwa: :]]$
              'llo

04 Emil      ↑ hello

05           (.)

06 Yumi      $hello$ heh ha ha

07 Emil      $nice to see you.$

08           (.)

09 Yumi      heh

10 Emil      ↑ hello

11           (.)

12 Yumi      hello heh ha ha

13 Emil      nice to see you.

14           (.)

```

- 15 Yumi        heh
- 16 Yoh        come in.
- 17 Emil        thank you.
- 18            (1.0)
- 19 Emil        how are you today.=
- 20 Yoh        =hai. ja-    genki des yo.  
              *yes okay- fine CP IP*  
              Okay- Yes, I'm fine.
- 21            (.)
- 22 Emil        ((laugh))
- 23 Yoh        bery guddo  
              *very good*
- 24 Yumi        (    )
- 25 Yoh        ((laughs))
- 26 Emil        ojamashima::s  
              *interrupt-HON*  
              Pardon me.
- 27 Yoh        hai.  
              *yes*
- 28            ((Emil sits, exhales deeply))
- 29 Emil        it's very hot.
- 30 Yoh        ah-hah ha, soh    des ne.  
                              *that CP IP*  
                              It is, isn't it?
- 31            (.)
- 32 Emil        so (    ) ((Shakes head))
- 33 Yoh        mo::h    (0.3)    kore kara:,  
              *stance marker    this from*

- 34                    motto atsuku narimas yo:  
                       *more hot become IP*  
                       Shoot, and it's going to get hotter from now on.
- 35 Emil            |°oh god° heh heh ha  
                       |((smiles, looks upwards))
- 36 Yoh             demo (.) natsu wa:,  
                       *but summer TP*  
 37                    (0.3)/((establishes eye contact in mirror))
- 38                    kaeru n des ka? bolivia.  
                       *return N CP Q*  
                       But, are you going home to Bolivia in the summer?
- 39 Emil            ((shakes head)) no::
- 40 Yoh             ah kaeranai n ya.  
                       *CS return-NEG N CP*  
                       Oh, you're not.
- 41 Emil            (       )

Yoh gives an invitation in English (line 16), something he does not do for any of the other clients. As I have documented in detail elsewhere (Greer, 2013), Emil's Japanese is the least proficient of the four customers, and therefore he and Yoh eventually adopt a pattern of dual-receptive language alternation, in which each party uses his preferred language. While Yoh generally speaks in Japanese and Emil responds in English, that pattern is relaxed somewhat in the greeting sequence, perhaps because the level of language proficiency required by both is not high. The choice of language itself constitutes part of Yoh's knowledge concerning Emil, and this language pattern is therefore an integral part of the way he recipient designs his turns for this client.

Since "how-are-you sequences" are a common part of English greetings (Schegloff, 2007, p. 199), these reciprocated greetings go on for longer than they do with the other three clients, where Japanese is the medium of communication. Despite his lack of Japanese proficiency, Emil seems to have established a good rapport with Yoh, initiating action sequences through FPPs throughout the opening moments (lines 1, 4, 7, 13, 19 and 29) and aligning to Yoh's turns in a timely fashion (e.g., line 39), which displays that he understands much of the Japanese even if he cannot produce it. Emergent familiarity, therefore, is not simply a function of growing understanding of the language; it also involves an increasing understanding of the situation, the participants, and the routines. By taking part in several iterations of the same procedure, the clients are engaged in a process of becoming familiar with the institutional practices of this particular

hair salon and the people who run it. This process is carried out on a turn-by-turn basis and involves not just the clients, but the hairdressers as well, as they adapt their practices to meet the needs of their clients, adjusting the formulation of their turns for the recipient who currently occupies the chair. In addition, by orienting to information obtained in earlier episodes, such as when Yoh asks about Bolivia in line 38, the participants make relevant the personal details they know about each other, and therefore use their developing familiarity as a resource to carry out interactional tasks, such as proffering a topic.

## Tye

Tye's initial appointment was somewhat atypical with respect to the opening sequence in that he arrives while the hairdressers are busy and is obliged to wait roughly 25 minutes while Yumi washes Aki's hair and Yoh deals with another customer. As it turns out, Tye apparently knows Aki from university,<sup>3</sup> and so she recognizes him from the chair when he enters (Excerpt 8.1). Understandably, Aki greets Tye as a friend, not as a client, and this provides a convenient opportunity for comparing the familiarity of her greeting with that of Yumi, who is meeting Tye for the first time.

### Excerpt 8.1. Tye T1 Greetings

- 01 ((Yumi is blowdrying Aki's hair and does not  
02 react when the bells on the door ring))  
03 ((Yumi stops the dryer and looks to the door))
- 04 Tye o[negaishima:s  
please-HON  
Hello?
- 05 Yumi |[\$konnichiwa\$  
hello  
|((head bow))
- 06 (0.6)
- 07 Yoh ((looks to Tye)) konnichi[wa  
hello
- 08 Aki → ((looking to Tye)) [ah- tye da  
CS CP  
Oh, it's Tye!
- 09 Tye → ↑o::h  
awe-receipt  
Oh hey!



- 10 Yumi >heh hah<
- 11 Aki ((gives two short waves, smiling))
- 12 Yumi |irasshaimase  
come-HON  
Welcome!  
|((walking toward door))
- 13 (0.5)
- 14 Tye yoyaku arimasen des kedo:  
reservation CP-NEG CP but  
I don't have a booking but...
- 15 Yumi ah hai  
CS yes  
Oh yes.
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 Tye a:(g)h (0.8) er! sanpatsu (ga shitai)  
haircut S do-want  
...umm, er, I'd like a haircut.
- 18 Yumi |kami: (.) no ke des ne. ha:i.  
hair LK hair CP IP yes  
Your hair, yes.
- 19 |((makes a scissor-cut gesture near her head))
- 20 Tye ( )
- 21 Yumi hai. \$wakarimash'ta.\$  
yes understand-PST  
Okay, certainly.
- 22 (1.3)/((Tye sits))
- 23 Yumi omachi kudasa::i.  
HON-wait please  
One moment please.

Yumi's greetings are not significantly different to those she uses with the other clients in their initial appointments, including both service encounter greetings (line 12) and standard greetings (line 5). They are delivered with a smile voice and her embodied actions align to Tye's arrival as a customer as she moves quickly to the door to greet him and take his bag. Aki on the other hand does not get out of the chair, reaffirming her situated identity as a client. However, upon seeing Tye in line 8 she does produce a brief change-of-state token and utters

his name, with the copula verb in plain form, directing it primarily at herself or a close acquaintance. Tye responds in kind in next turn, with an extended awe-marked response token (Greer, 2016), demonstrating not only that he recognizes Aki, but that he is somehow surprised or amazed to see her here. With these few words, Tye and Aki have made it public that they know each other, and the two brief pulses of laughter from Yumi in line 10 provide evidence to suggest that she is now also aware of this. While Tye and Aki do not openly greet each other with a formulaic greeting like *konnichiwa*, this noticing seems to substitute for the greeting, again perhaps demonstrating their pre-existing familiarity, yet still orienting to their situated identities as customers.

Although she seems to recognize the connection between Aki and Tye, Yumi continues to adhere to the institutional greeting script, treating Tye as a client (line 12). In lines 14 and 17 it seems that Tye has prepared an initial service request that includes the word *sanpatsu* 'haircut', a vocabulary item of Chinese origin that is now generally less commonly heard than the English loanword *katto* 'cut',<sup>4</sup> a word which should have been easier for Tye to remember and produce. That said, Tye's use of *sanpatsu* is situationally intelligible and Yumi does not initiate repair on it in any direct way. Instead, in line 18 she confirms her understanding of what Tye is trying to convey, reformulating *sanpatsu* 'haircut' to *kami no ke* 'hair' and coupling it with a scissor-like cutting gesture, thus subtly demonstrating an assumption of Tye's relatively low Japanese language proficiency (Bolden, 2014), and therefore possibly ascribing him an identity as a novice speaker.

After this brief incident there is an extended period of time in which Tye sits in the waiting room filling out a customer profile card and waiting for the hairdressers to finish with the other customers. After 25 minutes, Aki's haircut is done and she is at the entrance (Excerpt 8.2). Yoh has just returned her bag to her and while she is paying for the haircut she again has a brief chat with Tye. This provides an additional chance to observe how the participants design their turns based on their relative familiarity: Aki treats Tye as a friend, and Yoh treats him as a first-time client.

### Excerpt 8.2. Tye T1

- 01 Yoh           | ((slight bow to Tye))  
 02               | chotto omachi kudasai  
                   just HON-wait please  
                   Just a moment please.
- 03               (3.2)/((takes calculator out of drawer))

- 04 Yoh            eh::[to:]  
                  HM  
                  Umm...
- 05 Aki            [Tye] mijikaku su'n no?  
                  shorten do-PLN IP  
                  Are you gonna cut it short, Tye?
- 06                (.)
- 07 Tye            hm?
- 08 Aki →        |mijikaku suru?  
                  shorten do-PLN  
                  Cut it short?
- 09                |((makes scissor gesture on own hair))
- 10 Tye            un.  
                  yeah
- 11 Aki            ↑e:::h (.) tanoshimi        ni sh'tokoh.  
                  wow                anticipating        PT do-FTR-PLN-VOL
- 12 Yoh            heh h'n
- 13 Aki            \$raishuu.\$  
                  next week  
                  Wow! I'm looking forward to seeing that next week.
- 14                (0.8)
- 15 Yoh            (°       °)
- 16 Aki            hai  
                  yes
- 17 Yoh            sanzen gohyaku gojuu en des:.  
                  3000    500        50       yen CP  
                  That'll be 3550 yen.
- 18                ((Aki takes money out of purse))
- 19 Tye            hakkagetsu        mae (°       °)  
                  eight months    before  
                  ( ) eight months ago.
- 20                ((Aki pays Yoh))

- 21 Yoh |ikkagetsu mae des ka  
*one month before CP Q*  
 One month ago was it?
- 22 |((holding one finger up))
- 23 Tye hakkagetsu des  
*eight months CP*  
 Eight months.
- 24 Yoh ah hachikagetsu mae des [ka]  
*CS eight months before CP Q*  
 Oh, eight months ago, was it?
- 25 Aki ↑[ha]chikagetsu?!  
*eight months*
- 26 Yoh ↑ha(h)chika(h)ge(h)tsu  
*eight months*
- 27 Aki °sugo:i°  
*incredible*  
 Wow!
- 28 (1.3)
- 29 Aki ja amerika de?  
*so America PT*  
 So, in the US?
- 30 Tye u:n.  
*yeah*
- 31 Yoh → \$sorya sungoi ss ne\$  
*that-TP incredible CP IP*  
 That is incredible, yeah?
- 32 (0.3)
- 33 Yoh heh [heh heh h]eh
- 34 Aki [su:goi! ]  
*incredible*  
 It is.

The difference between familiar clients and relative strangers is evident in the way that Aki and Yoh address Tye. Yoh uses polite language like the formal request form (line 2) and *desu/masu* form (line 21), whereas Aki uses phonetically elided plain verb forms (lines 5, 8, 11). Both make use of gestures to add meaning to

questions they direct at Tye: Aki in a self-repair in line 8, and Yoh in an initiation of repair in line 22. One major difference is that some of Aki's turns allude to an ongoing relationship away from the salon, such as when she says she looks forward to seeing Tye's haircut next week (lines 11–13). It is through such turns that Yoh can begin to see that Tye and Aki know each other, and although Yoh does not question them about it at this time, later while cutting Tye's hair he does in fact ask him about it.

Contrast this with Yoh's greetings during Tye's second appointment, as outlined in Excerpt 9.

### Excerpt 9. Tye T2 Greetings

- 01 ((Tye enters))
- 02 (1.9)/((Yumi walks toward door))
- 03 Yumi konnichiwa:::↑  
hello
- 04 Yoh ((walking toward door)) konnichiwa::=  
hello
- 05 Yumi =irrashaimase  
come-HON  
Welcome!
- 06 (2.0)
- 07 Yumi (kaban) o oaz'karishimashoo ka?  
bag O take-HON-VOL Q  
Shall I take your bag for you?
- 08 Tye (hai)  
yes
- 09 Yumi ha:i.  
yes  
Here.
- 10 Yoh heh heh ha
- 11 Yoh → ohisashiburi des  
HON-a long while CP  
Long time no see.
- 12 (.)

- 13 Yoh eheh heh heh
- 14 Tye ( )
- 15 (3.4)/((Yoh takes bag to side room))
- 16 Yoh dohzo  
*go ahead*  
Come in.
- 17 |(4.4)  
|((Yoh walks to chair. Tye walks in and sits))
- 18 Yoh → sakki mata, (.) aki san kitemashita kedo,  
*before again (name) AT come-CONT-PST but*
- 19 Tye un  
*RT*  
mm
- 20 (0.3)
- 21 Yoh aimashita, asoko de?  
*meet-PST there PT*  
Aki was here again just before. Did you see her out there?
- 22 Tye un  
*yeah*
- 23 Yumi °heh heh hn.°
- 24 Tye |atchi de  
*there PT*  
Up there.  
|((points up))
- 25 Tye (or) sono- tabun,  
*demonstrative probably*
- 26 (.)
- 27 Tye daigaku ni ir- ah iru chu.<sup>5</sup>  
*university to H exist-PLN during\**  
Um- she's probably on the way to university.
- 28 (0.9)/((Yoh stops, looks at Tye in mirror))

- 29 Tye            *iku chu*.<sup>5</sup>  
                     *go-PLN during\**  
                     Going there now.
- 30 Yoh →        ↑↑oh::↓ *iku toki ne*.  
                     *CS go-PLN when IP*  
                     Oh, when she was going, yeah.
- 31                (1.7)

Although both the institutional and standard greetings are present in lines 3 to 5, Yoh follows this with *ohisashiburi des* 'long time no see' in line 11, indicating that this is not a first-time meeting. By employing this formulation at this point, Yoh is able to link this second conversation with the talk that went on in the first session a month earlier, and therefore *talk into being* an ongoing human connection as well. Shaw and Kitzinger (2007) note that parties commonly orient to such mutual remembering in the opening sequences of second or subsequent service interactions, and the complete absence of such re-establishment of prior encounters is perhaps only a feature in initial encounters; to not refer to information learned in the prior haircuts would be tantamount to treating the client as a first-time customer.

Yoh initiates a first topic in lines 18 to 21 by referencing Aki, who is known to both Yoh and Tye and therefore represents a joint epistemic domain. Since Aki has just left the salon after finishing her second appointment, Yoh asks Tye if he saw her on the street when he came in. By initiating this turn in line 18 with *sakki mata* 'again, just before,' Yoh employs a time formulation that links this event with the one that happened in the first appointment, in which Aki also finished her haircut just as Tye began hers. In knowing this fact and publically displaying this knowledge to Tye at this point, Yoh makes a bid for co-membership via a non-present mutual acquaintance. In line 18, he begins with a *my side* telling (Pomerantz, 1980) and follows this with a question that assigns epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) to Tye (line 21) by asking about what happened after Aki left the salon, a point that can be normatively understood to be beyond Yoh's domain of experience, since he has been in the salon since then.

Tye's response is aligned with Yoh's FPP in that it treats it as a yes/no question (line 22); however, when he goes on to extend the talk by providing an account (of where Aki was going), Tye evidently experiences difficulty in accessing the grammar he is trying to use (lines 25–29). It is likely that he was trying to say *iku tochuu* 'she was on the way', but while he self-repairs his misused verb (from *iru* to *iku*) he does not repair the temporal noun, leaving it as *chuu* 'in, during' instead of *tochuu* 'on the way.' Yoh is monitoring Tye's turn-in-progress and stops preening in line 28 to instead look at Tye through the mirror, paying attention to Tye's attempts at self-repair. In next turn, Yoh uses other-

correction to replace *chuu* with *toki* 'the time when', but he embeds it within receipt, making a claim that he has understood, even though Tye's turn was not a completely standard formulation (Jefferson, 1987). Just as Yumi did in Excerpt 8.1, line 18, Yoh has enacted repair in an affiliative manner that does not delay the progressivity of the talk (Antaki, 2012).

Finally, it is worth examining the role of second and multiple assessments in establishing affiliation and therefore fostering rapport. Parties use assessments to evaluate or express an opinion about something, and when another speaker proffers a type-conforming second assessment it constitutes agreement (Pomerantz, 1984). Clark, Drew, and Pinch (2003) note that salespeople build rapport by using second assessments to affiliate with their customers' assessments, and it seems that a form of this practice is evident in the opening sequence of Tye's fourth appointment (Excerpt 10), which took place on a hot summer's day. Tye is sweating as he comes in and is carrying a paper fan.

**Excerpt 10.** Tye T4 Greetings

- 01 ((bell on door rings))
- 02 (1.2)
- 03 Yoh konnichiwa:  
hello
- 04 Yumi konnichiwa aheh heh heh  
hello
- 05 Tye heh-heh
- 06 (1.0)
- 07 Yoh → atsui ne  
hot-PLN IP  
Hot, huh?
- 08 (.)
- 09 Tye sugoku atsui.  
terribly hot-PLN  
Really hot.
- 10 Yoh heh heh h[eh
- 11 Yumi [h-heh heh HA



- 12 Tye            hontoni natsu nigate  
                   *really summer difficult*  
                   I really can't handle summer.
- 13 Yoh            heh heh h[eh
- 14 Yumi                            [h-heh heh HA
- 15                (.)
- 16 Yumi →        atsu sugite  
                      *hot too-and*  
                      Because it's too hot.
- 17 Tye            un=  
                      *yeah*
- 18 Yoh            =\$hai dohzo\$  
                      *okay go ahead*  
                      Okay, have a seat.
- 19                (2.1)/((Tye walks to chair and sits))
- 20 Tye            |arghh  
                      |((hand to nose))
- 21                (2.2)
- 22 Yoh            dokka            itteta            n des ka  
                      *somewhere go-CONT-PST N CP Q*  
                      Did you go somewhere today?
- 23                (1.2)
- 24 Tye            kyo?  
                      *today*  
                      Today?
- 25 Yoh            un  
                      *yeah*
- 26 Tye            wa (tto kyoh wa) boku no saigo no ryoh ni  
                      *TP H today TP I LK last LK dorm in*
- 27                sunderu hi kara[: , ]=  
                      *live-CONT day because*  
                      Um today's my last day living in the dorm, so...

- 28 Yumi [oh!]
- 29 Yoh [un:]  
RT  
mm
- 30 Tye =to kyoh wa sohji sh'ta dake.  
and today TP cleaning do-PST just  
...and today I was just cleaning.
- 31 Yoh nohn sohji.  
RT cleaning  
Oh, cleaning!
- 32 Tye [un]  
yeah
- 33 Yoh → [u]wogh: sore wa yokeini (0.3)  
RT that TP extra  
Woah! That's even more so.
- 34 Tye ehah
- 35 Yumi u[goite atsu]katta [(desho)ne.]  
move-and hot-PST CP IP  
Moving makes you even hotter, right?
- 36 Yoh [heh ha hah]
- 37 Yoh [ yokee]ni ugoite  
extra move  
Extra movement
- 38 Yoh (3.4)/((Yoh cools Tye's neck with hairdryer))

Although it can normatively be understood as part of a greeting sequence at this time of year, Yoh's initial assessment in line 7, *atsui ne* 'hot, huh?', is also partly made relevant by the visibly available cues from the just-arrived client, including his sweaty head and the paper fan he is holding. Tye upgrades this assessment in next turn, which is hearable as a strong agreement, and therefore one that affiliates with Yoh's opinion. Note that both are delivered in plain form (i.e., without a polite copula), giving them an affect-laden, visceral feel. In addition, Yoh formulates his initial assessment with a post-positioned *ne* particle, which makes acknowledgement relevant in next turn (Tanaka, 2000) and sets the groundwork for Tye's preferred agreement through second assessment. In line 12 then, Tye produces another initial negative assessment, which broadens the topic from "today's heat" to summer in general. Yumi then follows this with a

second assessment in line 16 that echoes the pair just produced by Tye and Yoh, allowing her to affiliate and therefore help to build rapport. By formulating it as a post-positioned account (an adjective in *-te* form), she implies an understanding of Tye's stance, and therefore claims affiliation with it. *Atsusugite* 'too hot' with the *-te* form suggests a reason for the subsequently following clause, and that the implied content in the missing clause is likely to be the same as what Tye said in line 12. In other words, this collaborative turn sequence (Lerner, 2004) uses an affiliating utterance to extend the TCU by providing an elided account. When Tye reveals that he is moving out of his dormitory that day and has been cleaning just prior to the appointment (lines 26–30), Yoh receipts this as news and he and Yumi collaboratively upgrade their prior assessments by reworking this information into an additional account for why Tye is looking hot, and thereby accomplish a deeper display of affiliation.

The initial moments in the opening sequence of each appointment constitute a highly pertinent locus for rapport work. In addition to allowing the speakers to gauge each other's current moods, they are also opportunities to display their emerging familiarity with each other. From a business standpoint, this is a vital means of promoting a customer relationship, ensuring that the client feels comfortable and will want to return for future haircuts. Naturally, in the very first appointments, the hairdresser and client were virtually strangers and this was reflected through the polite-yet-distant choice of verb endings and formulaic expressions. However, as they became more familiar with their clients, their formulations reflected and reified their growing relationship. Although they increasingly used plain form verb endings or non-service greeting formulae, these were not the only ways they had of displaying their rapport. The hairdressers also designed their turns as claims to familiarity by (a) referring to past encounters and topicalizing shared knowledge, (b) proffering affiliative second assessments, and (c) embedding other-repair within claims of comprehension.

## **Second language use, emergent familiarity and longitudinal CA**

As an initial investigation, this study's focus on greetings on first and subsequent occasions has only begun to scratch the surface. There are undoubtedly many other interactional practices left to explore in the wider data set and future research within this project will look at such issues as repair, requests and participation frameworks. Yet even in these brief opening moments of the hairdressing corpus, we have been able to witness the gradual development of social relationships from complete strangers to a relaxed and friendly server-client bond. By tracking the interaction between two hairdressers and four of

their customers we were able to collect both vertical data, showing changes across episodes between the same speakers, and horizontal data, enabling us to compare the way two expert speakers of Japanese communicate with interlocutors with varying interactional competence in that language. Even though the openings all featured the same general practices, the way that Yoh and Yumi locally managed them as formulated for a particular recipient at a particular time demonstrated their growing knowledge about that client's Japanese ability. Emergent familiarity was also seen in the way institutional and service-like greetings were gradually replaced with more standard greetings that involved the customer in responding and therefore helped establish rapport. All of this became visible to us as analysts as it did to the participants themselves in real-time via the organization of sequence, turn construction, and formulation.

Like any interaction, the excerpts here naturally involved both parties in co-constructing the talk. The main focus of this study, however, has not been so much on the novice speakers' acquisition of target language competencies, as on the way that the expert speakers adapt and adjust their talk to reflect their growing knowledge of the novice. In so doing, it is possible to consider this kind of accommodation itself as a developing interactional competence from the perspective of the L1 speaker, not in the sense of acquiring new language, but with respect to how the L1 speaker learns to design a turn for a given interlocutor with limited Japanese proficiency. As Nguyen (2011, p. 201) notes, the increasing ability to produce recipient-designed turns is both locally and temporally accomplished, and so we can see changes within and across conversations. Developing interactional competence, therefore, is not just an issue for learners and novice language users.

Moreover, all of this rapport work is accomplished within the greater context of establishing a business relationship. A competently-achieved greeting helps set the mood for the remainder of the conversation. Part of that competence relies on the speaker designing the greeting for a specific recipient, and thus displaying his or her knowledge of the recipient. Not all of the recipient design work that the hairdressers do orients to the L2 users as novice Japanese speakers; indeed, to do so overtly would be counter-productive to their goals of establishing and maintaining rapport. Accommodation then is accomplished through the practices of formulation, wherein the hairdressers adapt their talk based on the clients' immediately prior turn as well as the knowledge they have acquired about that person in earlier appointments. In so doing, the hairdressers do not often overtly talk to them as "foreigners", treating them instead first and foremost as clients. In fact, the notion of "foreigner talk" should perhaps be better viewed as just one form of much broader interactional practices, such as formulation, recipient-design, and categorization, and should therefore be seen as a subset of the notion that speakers formulate any particular turn to accommodate what they know (or believe to be true) about their audience.

## Notes

- 1 Pseudonyms are used throughout the study.
- 2 Recently, convenience stores and other similar businesses seem to use the same approach of following *irasshaimase* with *konnichiwa*, although customers do not generally respond to either greeting.
- 3 This was not an intentional part of the research design, but it was a fortuitous one.
- 4 A reviewer pointed out, for instance, a blog where the Japanese writer related an account in which a hairdresser other-initiated repair on the client's use of *sanpatsu* to *katto*, the connotation being that the former is a little old fashioned, and therefore lacks prestige in current Japanese. <http://blog.livedoor.jp/shuji55slisla/archives/50430632.html>
- 5 Tye's use of *verb+chu* in lines 27 and 29 is not grammatical. He seems to be using it to indicate the action is happening in the present, something like the *noun+chu* formulation (e.g., *benkyo chu*).

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