

Sociability and Joint Attention at the SALC Service Counter

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Abstract

Drawing on several hours of videorecorded data at the service counter of a Self-Access Learning Center (SALC), this paper looks at how the accomplishment of joint attention can provide a framework for doing sociability. After defining what is meant by *doing sociability*, the concept and importance of joint attention, including the importance of physical space for specific ways that it affords jointly attending to something, is discussed. The research setting, data collection, and data transcription are then described. Through the use of conversation analysis and transcripts designed to show both talk and embodied conduct, two examples are presented and analyzed of interaction at the service counter in which the participants' accomplishment of joint attention to an object provides a framework for doing sociability. The paper ends with a discussion of 1) how the physical space of the service counter affords joint attention in specific ways; 2) how norms of language use at the service counter afford doing sociability, including doing sociability within a framework of joint attention; and 3) implications of this research for self-access learning centers.

概要

本稿では、自律学習施設（SALC）のサービス・カウンターで録画された数時間のデータを基に、共同注意（joint attention）を達成することが、「社交性をする」（doing sociability）という行為のための枠組みをどのようにもたらすかを明らかにする。「社交性をする」ことの意味を定義した後、共同注意の概念と重要性について、特定の仕方で対象に共同で注意を向けることを可能にする物理的空間の重要性を含めて議論する。次に、研究対象、データ、データの文字化について説明する。会話分析と、発語と身体動作の双方を示すように設計されたトランスクリプトの使用を通じて、サービス・カウンターにおいて対象に対する参加者の共同注意の達成が「社交性をする」ための枠組みをもたらす例を二つ提示し分析を行う。最後に、1）サービス・カウンターの物理的空間が特定の仕方での共同注意の達成をどのように可能にするか、2）共同注意の枠組み内で「社交性をする」ことを含め、サービス・カウンターでの言語使用の規範が「社交性をする」ことをどのように可能にするのか、3）この研究の自律学習施設に与える影響を議論する。

Keywords: affordance, conversation analysis, joint attention, second language interaction, sociability

In this paper, we consider how the accomplishment of *joint attention* to an object in interaction between student staff (SALCers) and student users at a Japanese university Self-Access Learning Center (SALC) service counter can provide a framework for *doing sociability*. At the SALC service counter, SALCers and student users are expected to use English with one another. Often, the interaction that occurs between SALCers and student users is limited to relatively simple service transactions.¹ Occasionally, though, participants in interaction at this service counter do more than engage in a service transaction, that is, they engage in more casual or friendly conversation, while also maintaining their use of English. Such friendly conversation may occur within a context of joint attention to some object. That is, there seems to sometimes be a connection between such joint attention and friendly conversation, or what we are calling *doing sociability*. By *doing sociability*,² we mean interacting in a friendly manner with (a) presumably relatively unacquainted other(s), with this friendly interaction not being directly oriented to any agreed-upon goal. The interaction can be understood as interaction for the sake of being friendly or sociable, or as interaction for the sake of interaction. In the context of the SALC service counter, this also means that it is not directly related to the provision or reception of SALC-related services, though, as will be shown below, it may be intertwined with a service transaction which is directly related to these services.

A concept that is basic for the analysis presented below is *joint attention*, referring to an ability that emerges in early childhood and provides a foundation for human development (Tomasello, 2003, 2019) and for human interaction more generally (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Based on the assumption that language learning is not merely a matter of innate abilities, Tomasello (2003) observed that, from around nine months of age, children begin to interact *triadically*. That is, they become capable of “social interaction mediated by an object in which both participants constantly monitor each other’s attention both to the object and to themselves” (pp. 21-22). In joint attentional frames, which are embedded in communicative situations that make an adult’s intended meaning clear, children come to understand linguistic resources for referring to objects and events. Tomasello proposed that such intention-reading skills, alongside pattern-finding skills (e.g., statistical learning ability), are the only requirements for constructing a language.

In Tomasello’s account, joint attention involves not only shared attention to an object, which, for example, can be observed when two people gaze at the same object in a non-coordinated way, but also attention to the other’s attention to the object, which can be said to also involve a grasp or awareness of the other’s intentions. Furthermore, joint attention is a complex skill in at least two ways. First, the focus of joint attention can be objects, events, or mental states, although the extent to which attention is perceivable and intentions can be gauged in each case varies. Secondly, this type of attention is *recursive*. That is, one can attend to another’s attention to one’s own attention. In later writing, Tomasello (2019) expanded the case for joint attention by explaining how its early emergence provides a foundation for communication, learning, and cooperation, and ultimately leads to the development of rationality and morality. This view is supported by Kidwell and Zimmerman’s (2007) conversation analytic research on a quite different demographic to the current study: children, between 12 and 30 months old, who were interacting with other children and adults at a daycare facility. This research illustrated how children not only show objects to others, but also how

they find sequential locations within ongoing interaction to attract another's attention and how they treat another's response to being shown an object as adequate or not. Even prior to the emergence of language, these children thus engage in practices that organize their own and others' attention.

Scholars such as Gallagher (2011) have pointed out that adults frequently use embodied interaction to understand intentions and accomplish real-world tasks. According to this ecological perspective, one does not need direct access to another's mental state to grasp another's intentions and to engage in joint action, as long as affordances (Gibson, 1986) provided by the context make norms for interaction transparent. To illustrate, Gallagher referred to Merleau-Ponty's (1983) discussion of how football players understand each other's intentions and actions according to the layout of the field. Therefore, joint attention can be accounted for in terms of context, perception, and movement—without direct reference to individual cognition. As Kidwell and Zimmerman (2007) put it, intentionality “can be located in the visible practices of participants” (p. 594). Finally, these visible practices are always found within concrete physical space, which is included within this ecological perspective as providing affordances for joint attention. Drawing on this ecological perspective, in the analysis below we look at 1) how the physical space of the SALC service counter, including objects within this space, affords the accomplishment of joint attention and 2) how this can provide a framework for doing sociability.

Although we are looking at how joint attention provides a framework for doing sociability, we are not claiming that joint attention always involves doing sociability or that doing sociability only occurs within a framework of joint attention. Nor are we claiming any kind of causal connection between joint attention and doing sociability (or the other way around). Rather, we are merely trying to show how the accomplishment of joint attention and doing sociability may sometimes be connected and how this connection may be relevant for the design of self-access learning centers, the training of center staff, and the provision of center services.

In the next section, we introduce the SALC service counter, describe the data and data collection, and explain the multimodal conversation analytic transcript system. We then analyze two examples of the accomplishment of joint attention between a staff member and a student user and doing sociability. In the first, the joint attention is extremely brief. In the second, there are actually two cases of joint attention, the second of which is more sustained. In the final section, we summarize what we have found about how joint attention can provide a framework for doing sociability; discuss how the SALC service counter, aside from the provision of SALC-related services, affords (Gibson, 1986) opportunities for doing sociability among students; and consider implications and suggestions for center design, staff training, and service provision.

Setting, Data, and Transcription

The SALC service counter is located on the first floor of the Kanda University of International Studies (KUIS) SALC next to one of the two entrances of the building. It functions as the nexus between students and the use of most of the SALC resources and services such as lending books, providing information about SALC events, reserving study rooms, etc. It is staffed by 30 student workers called SALCers with support by the SALC administrative staff made up of assistant managers (AMs). When the data were collected, there was an English-only language policy according to which

students, SALCers, and AMs were encouraged and expected to use English for service transactions, various administrative duties, and small talk that occurred within the vicinity of the service counter.

This study was approved by the relevant ethics committees at KUIS, where two of the authors are employed, and the University of Electro-Communications, where one of the authors is employed. The data consist of video recordings from the SALC Counter, made across three mornings, totaling approximately nine hours. To establish informed consent, service counter staff signed a bilingual consent statement. Service counter users were informed of the recording through bilingual posters visible at the location, which also contained information about opt-out procedures.

In our examples, talk is transcribed based on the standard conversation analytic transcription system developed by Jefferson (2004), a system designed to show possibly meaningful details of how talk is produced, such as elongation, breathiness, pauses, quiet talk, and so on. (See Appendix A for transcription conventions used in our examples.) In the speaker column, on the left, SAL indicates a SALCer and USE indicates a student user. Embodied conduct (e.g., gaze, gesture, physical movement) which is relevant for the analysis is transcribed using a system loosely based on Mondada (2018). Such conduct is transcribed in gray beneath the transcription of co-occurring talk or silence. The start of embodied conduct in relation to talk is shown with a vertical gray bar (|) in the talk and at the start of the description of the conduct. The producer of the embodied conduct is shown through the use of the first letter, in lower case, of the label used for that participant (i.e., “s” or “u”), followed by a hyphen and an abbreviation for the relevant primary part of the body (e.g., “rh” for “right hand”). (See Appendix B for the list of abbreviations used in the transcripts.) One way of focusing on embodied conduct is to use links to videos and/or gifs. However, we do not do this in order to protect participants’ anonymity. Instead, annotated frames (i.e., stills extracted from video-recordings) are used to focus on embodied conduct. The temporal relation between talk and a frame is shown by a sharp symbol and number, in gray (e.g., #1), placed within the transcribed talk or silence. To protect anonymity of participants, all frames have been modified using the find edges filter in Photoshop. All frames appear at the end of the transcript. In order to save space and improve readability, the transcripts have been simplified by the removal of details of embodied conduct that are irrelevant for the analysis.

Accomplishing Joint Attention, Doing Sociability: Two Examples

In each of our examples, we attempt to show, first, how joint attention is established and, second, how the established joint attention provides a framework for doing sociability. One thing to note is that, while brief joint attention to an object, such as when an object is exchanged between participants, may be fairly common, doing sociability is not so common in the data. Often, interaction at the service counter remains at the level of a service transaction. Also, we have not calculated the proportion of episodes of interaction at the service counter which include doing sociability, as this might give a false impression of claiming generalizability and as such quantitative description is beyond the scope of this paper. Finally, these examples were chosen as they are particularly clear cases. More and possibly longer examples have not been included due to space limitations.

In excerpt 1, a student user comes to the counter to return two borrowed books. During the exchange, the student user and the SALCer establish fleeting joint attention on the second book. (The first part of the transcript has been omitted to save space.)

Excerpt 1 (partial, simplified)

```

13 USE  an::dh (0.9) ((SAL takes book))
14 SAL  °IELTS test.°
15      (0.5) ((SAL turns over book))
16 USE  |°lemme check.°
      u-bh |book from bag, flip through book
      s-rh |to barcode reader

17      (0.9)
18 USE  |↑this one. |↑yes:.
      s-rh |barcode reader to book
      u-bh          |book to counter

19      (0.5)
20 SAL  |oh. #1
      s-gz |glance to book
      s-hd |slight nod
      u-lh |open cover

21 USE  |°this one?° (.) |#2°yes.°
      u-lh |close cover      |tap book, retract

22      | (0.9)#3| (0.2) ((USE moves back))
      s-gz  |to book
      s-bh  |to book|take book

23 SAL  |oh |you are studying for |IE|LTS.#4
      u-gz |to SAL
      u-lh      |to hair, groom
      s-bh                      |book slightly up-down
      s-gz                      |to USE
      s-hd                      |nod

24 USE  |yeah |I[ELTS.
25 SAL  [|loghh.#5 |↑great. |heh heh .hh
      u-lh |down                      |to object, pick up
      u-bd |forward
      u-gz      |to book                      |left
      s-bh      |turn book over
      s-gz      |to book                      |to book
      s-hd      |nod                      |two nods
      s-rh                      |to barcode reader
      s-rh                      |barcode reader to book

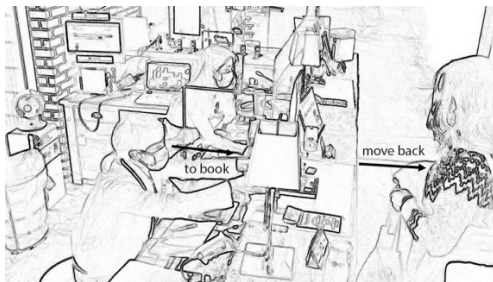
```



#1



#2



#3



#4



#5

Prior to the start of this excerpt, the student user has come to the counter to return two study books for the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). She has returned one of these books, which the SALC takes from the counter in line 13, while indicating that there is something else by saying “and.” As the SALC takes the first book and starts to scan it, the student user takes the second book from her bag and flips through it (line 16), after which she confirms that this is the book to return and places it on the counter (line 18). This attracts the SALC’s attention, as she glances at the book, nods slightly, and says “oh” (line 20). As shown in frame #1, there is a fleeting moment of shared but uncoordinated attention to this second book at this point, as the SALC has briefly glanced at it and indicated through talk and nodding that she recognizes the existence of this second book-to-be-returned, while the student user has opened the cover, apparently to check that the CD is inside. However, there is no indication that either participant is attending to the other’s attention to the book, so it seems difficult to say that this is a moment, however fleeting, of joint attention, although, following Gallagher’s (2011) approach, this might also be regarded as a minimal degree of joint attention based on the embodied affordances of the situation. In line 21, the brief moment of uncoordinated attention to the book has come to an end and the two are attending to different things. The SALC continues working with the first book (frame #2), while the student user once again confirms something to herself about

the book. She then displays relinquishment of possession of the book by tapping it (frame #2) and then withdrawing her hand. This divergence in attention continues during the silence in line 22, as the student user, on the one hand, disengages by moving back, while the SALCer, on the other, shifts her gaze to the second book and takes it from the counter (frame #3). Up to this point, then, while the student user and SALCer cooperate in accomplishing the return of the study materials, and while they may briefly attend simultaneously to the same object, they have not established (a high degree of) joint attention.

This changes in line 23, as the SALCer says “oh you are studying for IELTS,” at the end of which she shifts her gaze to the student user and moves the book, which she is holding in both hands, up and down slightly (frame #4). The start of this utterance attracts the student user’s gaze to the SALCer, which she maintains until line 24, and she and the SALCer establish mutual gaze toward the end of this line (frame #4). In line 24, the student user shifts her gaze to the book itself as she answers the question. She then tracks the movement of the book as the SALCer moves it into position to scan while also responding to the student user’s answer (frame #5). Here, then, the SALCer and the student user not only established shared attention to the book, but may at least possibly have established joint attention, as they can through their mutual gaze attend to what the other is attending to.

If we accept that they have established a moment of joint attention to the book, this joint attention can be understood as providing a framework which lends (some degree of) intelligibility to the SALCer’s statement in line 23. That is, the book as a possible object-of-joint-attention provides the basis of the SALCer’s inference about the activities of the student user. This is not to say that if joint attention had not been established, the SALCer’s statement would necessarily have been unintelligible, but simply that the establishment of joint attention facilitates its intelligibility. The SALCer’s statement in line 23 is disjunctive, in that up to this point, the focus of the interaction has been the task of returning and accepting the return of the borrowed materials. Two things that have been noted about such disjunctive utterances are that, first, they may involve hitches and restarts characteristic of self-initiated self-repair, particularly if there is a lack of mutual gaze (Goodwin, 1980) and, second, they are often responded to with other-initiation of repair (Drew, 1997; Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman, 2010). Here, though, there is none of this—and the two participants unproblematically establish mutual gaze—and the interaction from line 23 to line 25 runs off without any sort of trouble. In addition, the SALCer’s utterance can also be understood as doing sociability, as it moves away from the service transaction and proffers a topic for more casual conversation, transforming the interaction from being between a service-provider and service-user to being between two student peers talking about preparing for and taking a widely-recognized English proficiency test. And, as it turns out, non-service-related conversation about this topic continues for a few more turns while the SALCer continues scanning the materials (not shown in transcript). The establishment of joint attention to the book can thus be understood as not only supporting the intelligibility of what the SALCer says but also as providing a framework for a move from only providing/receiving a service to also doing sociability.

In excerpt 2, a student user comes to the counter to claim a prize from an *omikujit*³ fortune box set up in the SALC. During their interaction, the SALCer and the

student user jointly attend to the *omikuj*i ticket and then to the bag of snacks that the SALCer retrieves.

Excerpt 2 (simplified)

01 SAL |hi::.#1((USE enters, ticket in right hand))
 s-bd |stand
 u-bd |walking to counter--->

02 USE ¥hi::.¥ |hih hn|
 u-bd ----->|
 u-rh |turn ticket
 u-gz |to ticket

03 SAL ↑oh |#2you got the |(feh[laht).#3
 04 USE [ye:s |(fehlaht).⁴
 s-gz |to ticket
 s-bd |turn right, step
 u-gz |glance to SAL, back to ticket

05 SAL ^{°wh}(↑o:↓ka::y)_{°wh} ((starts walking))#4
 06 (3.0) ((SAL walks out of camera shot))
 07 (7.2) ((sounds of bag being handled; USE gz to SAL))
 08 SAL |^{°wh}oka:y^{°wh}
 s-bd |re-enter camera shot
 s-bh |trying to open bag

09 (1.0)|#5(0.4)
 s-bd |stop walking
 s-bh |pull sides of bag

10 USE huh heh heh .h
 11 (1.0)
 12 SAL |oh.
 s-bd |step forward

13 USE |can you open |it?#6ih |HHUH [huh hn .h
 14 SAL [hn hn|
 s-bh |pull sides of bag----->|bag down
 s-gz |to USE |down

15 (1.0)|(1.0)|#7(0.8)|(0.3)
 s-bh |bag up, pull sides
 s-bh |pull sides
 s-gz |up, right |to bag

16 USE ih [heh heh
 17 SAL [o h : :_
 18 |(0.7)|(0.2)

s-bh |pull sides
s-bh |open bag

19 SAL |ah.#8=
s-gz |glance to USE
u-gz |to SAL

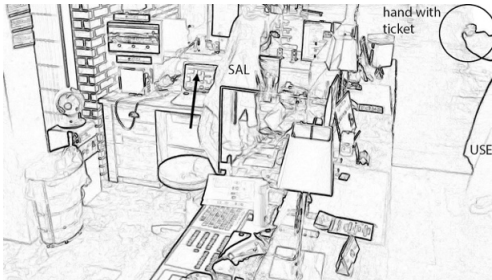
20 USE =ah. [heh heh ha ha|
21 SAL [yes.
u-gz |to bag

22 |(1.3)#9
s-bh |finish opening bag

23 SAL |please take |o:ne.#10=
s-rh |off bag, to bottom of bag
s-lh |bag up |bag toward USE
s-gz |to USE
u-lh |up

24 USE =hee: |↑thank you:::_
u-lh |to bag

25 (0.4)
26 SAL thank you::.
27 USE ih heh hn hn



#1



#2



#3



#4



#5



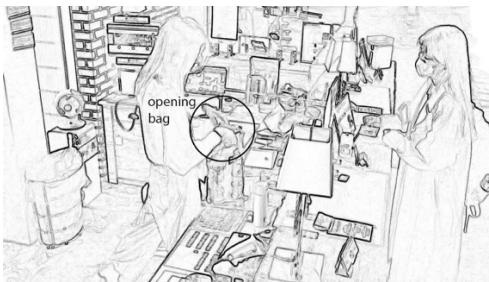
#6



#7



#8



#9



#10

Prior to this excerpt, two people, one of whom is most likely the student user, can be heard talking off-camera about the student user taking her ticket to the counter to claim her prize. In lines 01 and 02, the student user enters the camera shot, holding the ticket high in her right hand (frame #1), and approaches the counter, moving the ticket to the counter space (frame #2). At the same time, the SALCer stands (frame #1) and produces a greeting in line 01, to which the student user responds in line 02. It is likely that the SALCer has heard the talk about the student user taking her ticket to the counter, but even if she has not, the way that she holds the ticket high as she approaches and then places it on the counter makes it visible as connected to the student user's reason for approaching the counter and relevant as something for the SALCer to attend to (cf. Heinemann & Fox, 2019). In addition, through the SALCer standing and the student user approaching, a space on the countertop becomes available for both of them to visually attend to anything that is placed in that space. From the end of line 02 and into the first part of line 03, the SALCer and the student user do indeed bring their gaze to the ticket that has been brought into this space (frames #2 and #3). The student user is not just incidentally placing the ticket there, which the SALCer then happens to notice. Rather, she places it there as an object for the SALCer to visually attend to and her intention in placing the ticket there is visible to the SALCer. The two of them can thus be understood as having established a moment of joint attention, as they not only attend

to the ticket but can be understood as attending to the other's attention to the ticket. It is within the framework of joint attention and on the basis of information made available by the ticket that the SALCer articulates the student user's reason for coming to the counter (line 03), which the latter then confirms (line 04). Finally, the moment of joint attention is closed as the SALCer turns and walks out of the camera shot (lines 04-06, frame #4).

The second moment of joint attention starts to develop as the SALCer reenters the camera shot (line 08) carrying an unopened bag of snacks which she is trying to open. She stops walking in line 09 and tries again to open the bag (frame #5). Her inability to do this elicits laughter from the student user (line 10), who has been watching her attempts to open the bag. It is clear that both participants are attending to the unopened bag, the SALCer through her attempts to open it and the student user through her gaze and laughter. Also, it is clear from the SALCer's sequence of actions (i.e., articulating the reason for the student user coming to the counter, then walking away, then returning with the bag while attempting to open it) that both the bag itself and the opening of the bag are relevant for the project of giving/receiving the prize. And the SALCer is holding the bag in such a way as to make it available for the student user's attention and as to make visible what she is currently doing.

In lines 12 to 14, the SALCer steps closer to the counter, attempts to open the bag again, and shifts her gaze to the student user. She also reacts to her inability to open the bag by saying "oh" (line 12), to which the student user responds with a question clearly connected to the failed attempts to open the bag (line 13), while also maintaining her gaze on the bag (frame #6). This all results in shared laughter (lines 13 and 14). Rather than respond to the question, the SALCer makes visible her increased efforts to open the bag as she shifts her gaze away while again pulling on the sides of the bag (line 15, frame #7). This elicits more laughter from the student user (line 16) and another "oh" from the SALCer (line 17). Finally, the bag opens (line 18, frame #8), to which both participants respond with "ah" (lines 19 and 20), the student user with more laughter (line 20), and the SALCer with "yes" (line 21). These responses are hearable as involving a shared slightly celebratory stance (cf. Sormani, 2011) toward the SALCer's success at finally being able to open the bag. Finally, the SALCer finishes opening the bag (line 22, frame #9), moves the bag toward the student user in a manner that allows the latter to reach in and take a snack (frame #10), and offers one snack with the words "please take one" (line 23). The student user responds with "*hee*" and "thank you" as she takes a snack (line 24), the SALCer produces her own "thank you" (line 26), and the student user laughs (line 27) before leaving with her snack (not shown).

From the time that the SALCer retrieves the unopened bag (line 07) to the end of this transcript, it is clear from several things—gaze, laughter, response tokens, bodily orientations, actions of trying to open the bag and of offering and taking—that both participants are attending to the bag and attending to each other's attention. There is thus a relatively extended period of joint attention. There are, then, two separate moments of joint attention in this excerpt, related to different objects. The first moment provides a framework which supports the intelligibility of the SALCer's articulation of the student user's reason for coming to the counter (line 03). However, based on how we defined doing sociability above, as this talk is directly related to the provision of a service, the handing over of a prize, it does not constitute doing sociability, and it is immediately followed by the SALCer going to retrieve the prize. The second moment of

joint attention provides a framework which supports the intelligibility of the student user's question (line 13) and laughter and the other talk from both participants, including the celebratory stance (lines 19 to 21). For example, the "it" in the question is clearly interpretable as referring to the unopened bag. While this question is at least indirectly related to receiving her prize, it is not *directly* related as it does not contribute to the goal of providing/receiving the service. Rather, along with the shared laughter, it is indexical of the shared humorous stance being taken toward the SALCer's efforts. It is their adoption of these shared stances of humor and celebration, the intelligibility of which is supported by the framework provided by their joint attention, that we argue involves doing sociability.

Conclusion

This research has illustrated how participants' accomplishment of joint attention to objects in a SALC (e.g., a book or bag) provides a framework for doing sociability. There are certainly ways of doing sociability that do not require joint attention to an object and joint attention does not necessarily involve doing sociability, as in the joint attention to the ticket in excerpt 2. As mentioned above, we are not claiming any sort of causal connection between the establishment of joint attention and doing sociability. However, joint attention to an object can provide a framework within which participants, even unacquainted participants, can do sociability.

Theory and practice, namely ecological approaches and the center's language policy, support the view that the SALC service counter lends itself to joint attention and sociability. First, as discussed in the introduction, physical space in specific ways affords joint attention. This can be seen at the SALC service counter, where the counter surface not only affords such things as relinquishing and taking possession of materials being returned (as in excerpt 1), but also affords joint attention to an object placed on the counter, such as the ticket in excerpt 2. Also, even with the partitions placed on the counter, which at the time of recording were there to prevent the spread of COVID, the counter affords joint attention by the SALCer and the student user to objects currently in the SALCer's possession. One way that the SALC service counter is relevant, then, is in how as a physical space it affords joint attention by participants on opposite sides of the counter.

Second, the norms of language use at the service counter—the expectation that English will be used, as well as, in contrast to a library setting, the permissibility of talking in a non-hushed voice—and the purpose of the counter to provide student users with SALC-relevant services can be seen as affording doing sociability. The service counter brings together presumably relatively unacquainted students as SALCers and student users. It provides a space where they are encouraged and expected to use English and where being sociable through talk is not constrained by a rule to be extra quiet. While the physical space of the counter, then, affords certain ways of jointly attending to objects, normative features of the counter space afford doing sociability, including doing sociability within the framework of joint attention.

As a third point, practical implications can be drawn from this study's observations. Sociability could lead to extended discussions in which SALCers recommend additional materials, encourage users to join advising sessions, or engage in "micro-advising" (Shibata, 2012). Therefore, it would be helpful to raise SALCers' and users' awareness of the sophisticated pragmatic abilities involved in doing sociability.

This could be achieved by signage containing scaffolding language to navigate various counter interactions, focusing on small talk as a valuable tool for prosocial behavior. Furthermore, it is possible to raise awareness of the concept of joint attention and its benefits for communication via roleplaying counter interactions in SALC training sessions. Such lessons could focus on appropriate phrases and interactional routines, as well as going beyond the basics to include topics and phrases that foster sociability.

To end on a serendipitous note, after our research started and before this article was completed, we learned that the SALC at KUIS had revised its mission statement in anticipation of a new, post-pandemic era. The current mission statement states that one purpose of the SALC is “to facilitate prosocial ... language learning ...” (Mynard et al., 2022, p. 33). (See Appendix C for the full text of the mission statement.) The mission statement also defines “prosocial behavior” as “something you choose to do to benefit or help others” (Mynard et al., 2022, p. 33). What we have called doing sociability (or what may be more typically called something like being sociable or being friendly), while it clearly does not encompass all of prosocial behavior, can be understood as a small but important part of it. Moreover, doing sociability at the service counter, regardless of whether a SALCer or a student user takes a greater role in initiating it, contributes to a friendly atmosphere at the counter. It becomes more than just a place where people are supposed to use English and where SALC services can be accessed, as it becomes a place where people can also connect socially and develop their identities as competent L2 users of English.

Notes

1. Service transactions often involve highly formulaic language and are often limited to the achievement of a particular goal. However, in referring to “relatively simple service transactions,” we are not claiming that they run off automatically or are unworthy of research in their own right. For recent conversation analytic research on service transactions, see Fox et al. (2023).
2. There is certainly a great deal of theoretical work and research dealing with sociability or related concepts. See, for example, Tomasello (2019) on prosociality. Our use of the word *sociability* is based primarily on a lay understanding of this word and how it applies within the context of the service counter. By referring to *doing sociability*—a type of locution common in conversation analysis—we are treating sociability as a process that participants engage in, rather than, for example, a personality trait.
3. *Omikuji* is a kind of fortune written on a piece of paper. It is commonly found at Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples and is strongly associated with the first visit to a shrine or temple at the start of the year. As can be seen in this example, this practice can be copied outside religious institutions.
4. As indicated by the use of parentheses, “fehlaht” represents the main transcriber’s (i.e., the first author’s) hearing of what the student user says, though the main transcriber has no idea what this is supposed to mean. An alternative hearing, suggested by the third author, is “I saw that.” Either way, the discrepancy between what the different authors hear does not impact the analysis. Also, there is no indication from the participants that what is said at the ends of lines 03 and 04 is unclear to them.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

Transcription of talk is based on the transcription system developed by Jefferson (2004) standardly used within conversation analysis. Only symbols actually used in the transcripts above are included here.

.	period: falling final intonation
?	question mark: rising final intonation
—	underscore: flat intonation
:	colon: elongation, more colons for longer elongation
[left bracket: start of overlapping talk
(word)	parentheses: uncertain transcription
((remark))	double parentheses: transcriber's comment
°word°	degree signs: talk between produced quietly
^{wh} word ^{wh}	superscript <i>whs</i> : talk between produced in whisper voice
¥word¥	yen signs: talk between produced in smile voice
<u>word</u>	underscore under (part of) word: stress
word ^h	superscript <i>h</i> : aspiration
.h	period followed by <i>h</i> : inbreath, more <i>hs</i> for longer inbreath
=	equal signs: latching (i.e., no beat of silence between turns)
↑	up arrow: pitch shift up
↓	down arrow: pitch shift down
<i>tango</i>	word in italics: Japanese word (not part of standard transcription conventions)
(.)	period inside parentheses: micropause (i.e., less than two tenths of second)
(0.5)	number inside parentheses: silence measured to nearest tenth of second

Appendix B

Abbreviations Used for Transcription of Embodied Conduct

bd	body
bh	both hands
gz	gaze
hd	head
lh	left hand
rh	right hand

Appendix C

Text of the New Mission Statement (Mynard et al., 2022)

The relevant full text of the mission statement reads:

The SALC community aims to facilitate *prosocial and lifelong autonomous language learning within a diverse and multilingual learning environment. We aim to provide supportive and inclusive spaces, resources and facilities for developing ownership of the learning process. We believe effective language learning is achieved through ongoing reflection and takes variables such as previous experiences, interests, personality, motivations, needs and goals into account and promotes confidence and competence when studying and using an additional language.

*Prosocial behavior is something you choose to do to benefit or help others (Mynard et al., 2022, p. 33).