Expressing Trouble in Conversation: An Interactional Challenge and an Achievement in Student Supervision

Zhiying Jian

PhD
University of York
Language and Linguistic Science
September 2022

Abstract

This thesis describes an understudied yet ubiquitous phenomenon in student supervision interaction: students' expression of problems or concerns ("trouble" for short) in here-and-now supervision meetings. It can be a brief assessment like "first term was not great" or more complex descriptions of a problematic situation. The thesis investigates how students get to talk about the trouble and how supervisors respond to them. The study adopts conversation analysis to examine 94 cases of trouble reports and their responses from 12 hours of recorded real-time supervision meetings.

It is found, across all kinds of supervision meetings, that students adopt two approaches to express trouble: direct trouble reports or "trouble projections" (utterances that project a trouble report). When students produce a trouble report without being solicited by supervisors, they establish the relevance of an incipient trouble report via embodied (e.g., face-touching, face tilting upwards, eye closing, and gaze aversion) and linguistic resources. When students have created the environment via these moves by students, trouble reports are produced as the claims of, e.g., negative emotions, difficulties and lack of knowledge. The thesis shows that trouble reports can be co-constructed by students and supervisors together to handle delicate matters. Students can start, but the supervisors collaboratively complete or produce the trouble reports in overlap when the trouble projectably involves critical elements toward the supervisor or the institution. Lastly, it is revealed that supervisors orient to advice-giving in response to trouble reports. Before the arrival of advice, supervisors frequently use other-initiated repair or follow-up questions to get to understand the trouble and to foreground the advice. Moreover, supervisors may respond with a comparable experience of their own to convey an empathetic stance. Alternatively, supervisors may offer "unsupervisable responses" in which they normalise the trouble as something that inevitably happens and thus is not advice relevant. Drawing on these findings, I argue that student trouble reports in supervision meetings are the product of emerging interaction, highly contingent on the elements of the sequential environment, the supervisor's prior turns, and preference organisation.

The thesis for the first time offers a systematic examination of student expression of trouble in supervision interaction. It reveals the embodied, linguistic, and sequential resources required for trouble reports. It also adds to the literature on the organisation of supervisory advice-giving.

Table of content

List of Figures and Tables

Acknowledgement

Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Material from Chapters 4 was presented as at Postgraduate Academic Researchers in Linguistics at York Conference on 29th September 2021 and Oxford Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics: Language and Society on 24th June 2022.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The phenomenon of interest

We constantly experience trouble in our daily life, from minor inconveniences like missing a lift to bigger frustrations at work or with social relationships. While we keep a lot of them to ourselves, we may also opt to engage in social interaction and tell troubles to someone else to gain emotional support (Jefferson, 1988; Pudlinski, 2005), expertise (Heritage & Sefi, 1992) and assistance (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). This is also true in higher educational settings. In study at the tertiary level, where students intensively take in knowledge in formal and informal manners, they can experience a steep learning curve and mental, cognitive, and interpersonal challenges that come along (Hodgson et al., 2008; Thomas, 2012; Li, 2019). Thus, they express their concerns, confusion, anxiety, dissatisfaction and frustration for peer support (Cahill et al., 2014; Mewburn, 2011; Haugh, 2016) and for supervisory guidance. This thesis is interested in the expression of trouble (including responses to it) in student supervision meetings in the UK, a phenomenon which will be illustrated in the following two extracts. So, the expression of trouble can take the form of a brief negative assessment (Extract 1.1) or a more lengthy telling (Extract 1.2).

```
Extract 1.1 UGC003 0030 exam results

7    SUP    you [haven't-] I haven't had the time to=
8    XIN         [ u  m : ]
9    SUP    =look at them at all so
10   SUP    we don't have to talk about them but,
11          (0.6) do you want to talk about
12          them?
13          (0.9)
14   XIN    uh:: hehehe
15          (1.1)
16   XIN --> mm (0.9) I think it's
17       --> (0.5) not very good because
18       --> it's-=
```

```
19   SUP     =OH you are not [(hap°py°°)
20   XIN                     [yeah::
```

Extract 1.1 depicts an opening of an undergraduate pastoral supervision meeting. The supervisor is initiating the negotiation of the agenda of the meeting. Partially in her turn, the supervisor tells Xin that she has not checked students' exam results but that she remains open to the relevance of talking about them (lines 7-12). Xin first produces laughter without giving an adequate response, suggesting trouble giving the response to the question (Sacks et al., 1974). Then she expresses a negative assessment of her academic performance: "mm (0.9) I think it's (0.5) not very good", of which account is cut off before the immediate follow-up of the supervisor's uptake. In response, the supervisor uses a "newsmark" (Thompson et al., 2015, p.52) to display her understanding of Xin's emotive status regarding the results "OH you are not (hap°py°°)" (line 19). This is confirmed by Xin in overlap (line 20), indicating the projectability of the understanding check (Auer, 2005), "OH you are not". Overall, Extract 1.1 shows an example of the expression of trouble (i.e., getting an unsatisfactory exam result) that is achieved through a brief assessment. By "achieved" I mean that the participants have reached the common ground given the supervisor offers her understanding of the trouble via her assumption of Xin's uptake of the results, which is confirmed by Xin (line 20).

However, trouble reports can be more complex in the form of a series of turn-constructional units[1] (TCUs), which tell a story or detail the student's feelings as shown in Extract 1.2:

```
Extract 1.2 UGH007 Freezing house

1   SUP     good. (.) house, alright?
2           (0.5)
3   SUP     °(    )° you were::= ((reads on a piece of paper))
4   NIC     =yeah, [house-
5   SUP            [yeah. house issues.
6   NIC     yes, we do. umm::::: I::-
7   SUP     is that part of the problem?
8           (0.5)
9   NIC     uh::- that was part of my thinking of staying
```

---

[1] The minimal meaningful segment of talk that forms a complete action (Sacks et al., 1974).

```
10          away more?
            ((lines omitted, NIC details her finding the flat cold))
11  NIC     so that was the [thing it  w]as um: using um: too=
12  SUP                     [°u(h)h::::°]
13  NIC     =much energy and stuff. .h (0.2) u::m [(      )
14  SUP                                           [is this an
15          eco thing. (0.2) or a:: [or saving money thing
16  NIC                             [uh no, not spend- saving
17          money thing.
18  SUP     [°°mm::.°°
19  NIC     [so it was u:::::m (0.2) I managed to have a big
20          talk about (0.5) a- it- with the flat, sayin::g,
21          u::m:: .h (0.2) listen. if you <heat the house,>
22          (0.7) you know, sortov >relatively consistently
23          throughout the< day (.) it would be less ↑damp.
24          (0.2) and it would be war↑mer, [because a-
25  SUP                                    [and it will be cheaper
26          in [a long run yeahyeahyeah
27  NIC        [exactly in an- in a long run exactly [(and I also-)
28  SUP                                              [(but then not to)
29          turn it >on and off all the time.<
30          (0.2)
31  NIC     °yeah.°  ((nods))
32          (.)
33  NIC     an- and the [boiler-
34  SUP                 [('s) ME and my husband, you are jus-
35          (0.3) reliving.
36  NIC     y(H)' huhuh .h[hh
37  SUP                   [he turns it ↑down, ↓I turn it ↑up.
38  NIC     y:ea:h.
39  SUP     [he turns it ↑down, ↓I turn it ↑up.
40  NIC     y:ea:h.
41          (0.2)
42  NIC --> but it's like the boiler kept brea↑king (.)
43      --> an::::: uh- uh::::::: (0.2) like overand over
44      --> again? and I felt that part of tha' problem was
45      --> this s:'t ov inconsistent heating in the house=so tha-
46      --> if it dropped very cold. .hh (.) yi know,
47      --> (0.3) you just turn the boi↑ler ↑on ↑and ↑off,
48      --> and it's never enough: f:orit to sort ov (0.4)
49      --> th- <heat through.> (0.2) [(so the house wa-)
50  SUP                              [n the rEAl problemis,
51          you are living in a freezing house,
52  NIC     y[ea:h par-
53  SUP      [partly that, [°yeah,°
```

Extract 1.2 presents a long sequence in which the student Nicola produces a multi-TCU turn to describe the household issue of the low temperature in the flat shared with other housemates. To start from how the sequence begins, in continuation of the last sequence, the supervisor embarks a new sequence of talking about the "house issue", which is written on a piece of paper held by her (shown in the video) as one of the topics to cover (lines 1-3). After Nicola has gradually revealed the nature of the "house issue" (that Nicola wants to "stay away" because she finds the flat too cold, which is caused by her flat mate), Nicola tells the supervisor about a communication she had with her the housemate who kept turning off the boiler to save money (lines 19-24), which led the supervisor to compare it with her similar personal experience ("he" means the supervisor's partner) (lines 34-35) to empathise with Nicola. Then we arrive at the focal line – starting from line 42, Nicola continues to report the consequence of turning the boiler on and off and employs phrasal items like "kept brea↑king" with rising pitch and "overand over again" to emphasise the persistent dysfunction of the boiler and to enhance the complaint. To make the trouble evidently recognisable, she accounts for why the boiler keeps breaking as "part of tha' problem" that the housemate turning the heating on and off very often – which is part of the 'sub- trouble' to report (line 44). In response, the supervisor sums up what Nicola has said: "n the r<u>EAl</u> problemis, you are living' a f:reezing house." By explicitly framing what she understands to be "the r<u>EAl</u> problem", the supervisor does an even more explicit "understanding display", compared to the comparison in lines 34-35, for Nicola's household issue and also modifies it in a way that best summarises the fundamental issue – the one that is about Nicola's living condition. This is treated as confirmation-seeking given Nicola's partial agreement in line 53.

We can begin to see things in common in these two extracts: regardless of a brief or longer turn that conveys a trouble, there is *something* that leads supervisors to manifest their understanding by formulating the trouble in their own words (e.g., Extract 1.1, line 19; Extract 1.2, lines 42-49) to be confirmed or disconfirmed by students (mostly confirmed) before moving on to supervisors' responses proper. More importantly, in regard to the formulations of trouble themselves, they report or describe self-evidently negative states of affairs such as a low score or a boiler that keeps "breaking" with one or multiple turn-constructional units. The thesis is committed to unpacking precisely what happens in these sequences: when students express trouble in supervision meetings, resources are used to signal trouble for recognition like in the examples above. The

question is, how do students begin and achieve that in the ongoing supervision interaction so the supervisor recognises this as an expression of trouble (like what we see as "understanding display" in Extracts 1.1 and 1.2)? This question will be answered in four chapters. In the first three chapters, briefly, the focus will be on various aspects of the expression of trouble in terms of its sequential organisation, sequential environment, and linguistic and embodied resources. Of course, for the "recognition" part, the response of supervisors will be examined in the fourth chapter. Before that, some background about supervision and trouble expression in supervision will be provided.

1.2 Student supervision: the setting

Student supervision in UK Higher Education the setting of the investigation. Considering the types and purposes of supervision across the levels of study, I will divide the section into research supervision and pastoral supervision. Research supervision includes supervision of undergraduate dissertations, Master's dissertations, and PhD projects in a focused manner (in section 1.2.1). Pastoral supervision covers a breadth of tasks (in section1.2.2) to ensure students' general wellbeing and development, as the reader will see in Chapter 3, both kinds of supervision meetings were collected for this study. The division of them is not to indicate that the analysis will be segregated (into the analysis of research and pastoral supervision) or somehow differentiated but to articulate that the meetings will have different foci and purposes.

1.2.1 Research supervision

Student research supervision generally refers to a systematic process where students make progress toward degree completion under the administrative and academic guidance of a faculty member. Research supervision meetings are held regularly to provide feedback, advise on students' research, and set the objectives to be reviewed at the next meeting (e.g., see the University of York, n.d.; the University of Sheffield, n.d.). Specific roles and responsibilities of supervisors and supervisees, coming from past empirical research and websites of British institutions, are given as follows.

As the name suggests, a supervisor plays a leading role in supervision. A widely recognised role and responsibility is to gatekeep the student's progress (e.g., Bhat, 2005).

Ensuring the student meets the key dates, bears in mind the regulations, attends necessary training, and the originality and feasibility of a research project would be some specific illustrations of gatekeeping. The second typical task of supervisors is to advise.

By providing feedback on students' written work (e.g., Zia et al., 2021; Bitchener et al., 2010) and advising on further actions on a research project or assignment, they (aim to) make sure students' production meets the standard. Specifically, supervisors assist with formulating research questions, designing research methods and the key literature/research relating to the fields. Speciality is a vital characteristic of the feedback they provide – students receive specialised input on the research domains from the supervisor(s). However, supervisors are not who provide answers. Therefore, for the third feature, supervisors are to invoke students' autonomy, independence and problem-solving (Nguyen, 2016). Just as empirical findings from the examination of naturally occurring supervision meetings, supervisors are found to use "equivocal feedback" to resist giving straightforward answers as requested to encourage students' independent thinking (Nguyen & Mushin, 2022). In specific, "equivocal feedback" refers to a category of responses to students' solicitation of answers or confirmations (largely yes/no questions) that avoids giving yes or no directly but hedges with ambiguous answers.

```
Extract 1.3 g1m6 "do you think so" (19:12-22:10) (Nguyen & Mushin, 2022, pp.7-
8)
         ((lines omitted))
10 Julie:  so:; I don't think this- this necessa↓ry.
11         (0.7)
12 S-Jon:  ↑okay. Well;
13 Julie:  do you think so? 14 (1.2)
15 S-Jon:→ well I mean I don't; I don't kno:w; that's what you
16         need- tha:t's what you need to decide.
```

Like in Extract 1.3, the student Julie explicitly solicits the supervisor Jon's opinion in line 13 after she explained a decision on her writing of the thesis, and the supervisor has not provided a clear uptake. In responses to the solicitation, the supervisor avoids to display his knowledge and asserts Julie's responsibility to make the decision instead: "well I mean I don't I don't kno:w, that's what you need- tha:t's what you need to decide" (Nguyen & Mushin, 2022, p.8). They are considered a pedagogic strategy aimed at facilitating students' motivation to find answers themselves.

The other party of research supervision is, of course, the student or supervisee. Looking through the definitions given by universities, we would be able to ascertain that students are accountable for keeping the supervisor(s) updated, preparing for the meetings, meeting the deadlines, and addressing the suggestions the advisors gave. Although these obligations show the 'respondent' side of being a supervisee, student autonomy is emphasised in institutional guidelines and probed in research. Student autonomy is defined as being responsible for one's learning (Holec, 1981; Dickinson, 1994; Nguyen, 2016), which can involve the acquisition of greater control over one's projects and the identification of learning strategies (Holmes & Ramos, 1991). As one of the university websites puts it, as well: "As a research student of the University, you are expected to . . . take primary responsibility for your research programme, and for the development and completion of your project within the period permitted" (Cardiff University, 2021, p.4). Thus, student autonomy is an important quality of a supervisee, and a means to succeed in academic pursuit. Relating to the thesis and previous research (Vehviläinen, 2009b), the expression of trouble might be a type of student autonomy in interaction. By talking about them with the supervisor, students identify their problems and show the recognition of their right to seek assistance and collaboratively work on the solution with the supervisor.

In a nutshell, in research supervision, supervisors and supervisees work on a research project extensively. Supervisors provide expertise and gatekeep the research project and supervisees take advice on board, and fulfil the obligatory requirements while actively claiming ownership of their studies, including coming up with research ideas and expressing their difficulties and needs academic-wise.

1.2.2 Pastoral supervision

Pastoral supervision is more of a concept than a type of supervision meeting in contrast to research supervision meetings. They can be regular short sessions (from 10 to 30 minutes) held between a student and a supervisor every term, in which supervisors offer feedback and counselling on a career or the succeeding study. Module-choice meetings can also be a specific form of pastoral supervision in which students discuss the modules they want to take and know more about; supervisors approve the modules, make recommendations and note them down for registration. Not only in undergraduate and Master's taught courses, but there is also the element of pastoral support in PhD

supervision, concerning the student's well-being and offering emotional support (Hockey, 1995; Alam et al., 2013).

Suppose research supervision supports students in developing a research project and discussing specific issues with the dissertation or thesis in great depth; the emphasis of pastoral supervision lies in an array of aspects that the supervisor can help with. Drawing from several universities in the UK, academic performance, personal development, emotional support, signposting of resources, and employment are the main areas pastoral supervision should concern (UCL, n.d.; University of York, 2017; the University of Newcastle; University of Sheffield, n.d.).

Regarding academic performance, pastoral supervision meetings provide opportunities to discuss feedback on the assignment and exam scores. In the dataset of the present study, supervisors routinely initiate the sequence of score/feedback-discussion with the questions like "Have you looked at your assignment results" at the start of the meeting, which embodies that attention to academic performance is an essential part of pastoral supervision. Concerning personal development, the guidelines given by universities include encouraging students to "take part-in non-academic activities" (the University of York, n.d.). Emotional support involves "offering encouragement and ongoing support for both academic and non-academic challenges as appropriate" (UCL, n.d.) as well as active listening and the display of empathy (Fayne, 2007). These are demonstrated in supervisory talk-in-interaction in the data. When necessary, supervisors "identify student support needs and refer students to specialist support services" (the University of Sheffield, n.d.), which relates to the fourth characteristic of pastoral supervision. Namely, to signpost sources of help (the University of Sheffield, n.d.; the University of York, n.d.). For instance, in a recorded undergraduate pastoral meeting (part of which is shown in Extract 1.2), the student reports a series of household issues and the consequential absence from the course, and the supervisor later points the student to the relevant lecturers for assistance to ensure she is on track. Last but not least, pastoral supervision is forward-looking. In several places, the universities mention that supervisors help with the development of transferable skills (such as communicative skills, networking and leadership) and the planning of a career or further study (the University of Manchester, 2022; UCL; the University of York, n.d.).

For supervisees, the key responsibilities are to be an active communicator. As outlined by the University of York (n.d.), for example, students need to be well prepared before

the meeting in terms of what to talk about to be better capable of articulating questions and recent progress. In this sense, "telling" and "asking" seem to be the major actions – telling supervisors what is happening and "issues or worries" one has and asking for feedback, an explanation of some course content and advice on the next course of action (the University of York, n.d, p.1).

To sum up, what we already know about research and pastoral supervision, supervisors provide a range of academic and personal guidance and support. But students are accountable for taking the lead in their study, gaining a sense of autonomy, and seizing every opportunity to establish communication. Thus, the expression of trouble could be highly relevant in supervision or even a core purpose of setting up a supervision meeting, whether it is a hurdle in the research process or an issue with the boiler or accommodation. Hence, we will move on to another core concept of the thesis, the expression of 'trouble'.

1.3 The expression of 'trouble'

This section discusses the notion of the "expression of trouble". In short, it refers to a student displaying a negative emotion or stance caused by something untoward or worrying (which will be illustrated by Table 1.1 later) to the supervisor . The expression of trouble as a speech event has its cognitive, psychological, and linguistic dimensions and thereby has interested various disciplines encompassing literature, psychology, and linguistics with different foci. Before I introduce how it is approached by the paradigm of conversation analysis, I will illustrate two other fields that are interested in the expression of trouble, for reasons which will become clear in the next two paragraphs.

In literary criticism, for instance, Zizek (2014) takes an interest in the extent to which an utterance that communicates a trouble can reflect its nature. The example he uses is the fictional novel *4.50 from Paddington* (Christie, 1957). In the novel, an elderly lady in her first- class carriage witnessed an ongoing murder on an adjacent train running past. In great shock, she reported it to a crew member: *A man strangled a woman! On a train. I saw it – through there (the window)* (p.8). To Zizek and the author Christie, this seemingly patchy description had succeeded in its goal (given Miss Marple, the detective, took the lady's word seriously and went on investigating it). The imperfect and broken expressions perfectly reflect the unexpected, prompt and vicious nature of the crime, which is so unusual and hard to put into words for a lady who had lived in a privileged condition of

life (Zizek, 2014). This example shows the entangled relationship between the verbalisation of trouble and the trouble as a truth.

The expression of trouble also interested psychiatrists in terms of its diagnostic and therapeutic values. For instance, when Carl Jung was an apprentice (in the 1920s), he wondered about "what actually takes place inside the mentally ill" and what patients had to say about it, even though psychiatry educators and practitioners at that time generally were not interested in it (Jung, 1961/1989, pp.144-146). Jung challenged the traditional diagnostic process that relied on observed symptoms and statistics and decided to talk to one of his patients. Then, the patient told him a secret, that she felt depressed from a past relationship and, during the depression, how she "unconsciously" caused one of her children's fatality (p.145). One day, when she was bathing her children, she saw her daughter drink the unhygienic bath water and did not stop her. "A short time later, after the incubation period had passed, the girl came down with typhoid fever and died" (p.146), which drastically exacerbated her illness and hospitalised her. Through this telling of the saddening secret, Jung was enabled to discover the source of the patient's depression rather than the initially diagnosed schizophrenia. More importantly, it had proven key to the recovery – the patient was 'miraculously' cured after telling the stories to Jung. In this sense, telling trouble is not only a tool for understanding but also a possible remedy in its own right.

Despite coming from very distinctive disciplines, the two stories above demonstrate the previously unarticulated importance (in those contexts) of studying the process of communicating trouble in interaction in situ. Although one of the examples I used is fictional, it articulates the relationship between the act of verbalisation and the referred event, and is able to assert the point that through the reports of crimes and troubling past experiences, the recipients are enabled to understand what the troubling event is and to respond as appropriate. Interestingly, we can find studies on real reports of emergency and troubling life experiences in CA research (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990; Peräkylä, 2019). Hence, more relevantly to this thesis, interactional linguists and conversation analysts probe questions like what the expression of trouble refers to as a phenomenon in different settings and how it is organised.

To illustrate, the pioneering researcher on how trouble is expressed in everyday interaction, Gail Jefferson (1988, p.420), was devoted to "troubles-telling" in ordinary interaction. "Troubles-telling" means a type of social activity that involves the telling and

receiving of illness, unfortunate events or other types of suffering. She, for the first time, shows that troubles-telling has a general sequential shape to what she calls a "package" of the talk. This 'package' consists of sequences from an indication of an forthcoming troubles-telling to the exit of troubles-telling (more detail of these sequences will be given in Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). It is then argued that the participants engaging in troubles-talk constantly attend to the tension between the trouble and "business as usual" without overfocusing on only one party (Jefferson, 1988, p. 419). Therefore, troubles-telling is not entirely about itself but a form of talk in which the interlocutors attend to each other. In higher educational settings, the expression of trouble will have distinctive orientations and interactional imports, and I will mention how it is approached by interactional research on different types of higher education interactions: student counselling and supervision. In student counselling – another type of higher education interaction comparable with student supervision (see section 2.3.3) – expressing trouble is a "display of negative emotions" for the counsellor to facilitate the ability for students to identify solutions (Svinhufvud et al., 2017, p.197). In such settings, students' expressions of negative emotions relating to study or life are treated as the central focus of the encounters, and the counsellors work to motivate the students, provide emotional support, and advise on techniques of self-efficacy. More relevant to the current study, in Zama and Robinson (2016, p.2), students' reports of problems in relation to immigration and employment are labelled as "problem presentation" in international student advising sessions. In academic supervision meetings particularly, the expression of trouble has been viewed as a generic problem-solving endeavour in supervision interaction. Hence, trouble can be expressed through students' asking questions to invoke a lack of knowledge to solicit advice from supervisors (Vehviläinen, 2009b). This indicates that the question is not only a form of information-seeking but also a way to index trouble answering the question.

Given the discussion above, the expression of trouble does not interest CA in terms of the relationship between the expression of trouble and the truth of trouble as an entity or the clinical value of it. Rather, the conversation analytic interest in the expression of trouble lies in the practices in the process of achieving the expression, making sense, and negotiating the nature of trouble with the recipient, and the interactional import. It is also learned that the expression of trouble as a social activity has different orientations and practices across social settings. But in supervision interaction, the expression of trouble has not been looked into systematically. This gap and its significance will be

expanded on in the next sub-section.

1.3.1 What is the 'trouble' found in the data?

What is 'trouble' that will be investigated in this thesis? Before being able to come to a clear definition of it, we are going to take an inductive approach and look across the dataset (which are 94 cases), where 'trouble' is categorised into six themes (see Table 1.1).

Themes	Sub-themes/specification	Utterances (plain text)
Difficulties relating to research progression	• Unclear research questions • Insufficient data	*I don't really know what my research questions are.*
Difficulties with assessments (including exams and revising essays)	• Unsatisfactory exam results • Writing up essays • Exam anxieties • Finding challenging addressing or understanding certain comments • Technical issues	*Just passed.* *It was kind of difficult to know if it was going to be a good essay.* *I was so worried about French grammar that I spent so much Christmas to try to (prepare)…* *I'm unsure how to lay that out in the introduction.* *but first when I read it I was like oh god.* *The only issue is that for some reason the pages that are printed out are different…*
Difficulties with module-choosing	• Struggling to decide on a module • Finding a module	*I'm leaning more towards forensic phonetics but now you've kind of…* *I'm very not interested*

	• uninteresting	*in…*
Troubles with study experience	• Managing an academic term • Interpersonal problems with classmates	*Last term was not great.* *They are not focused on study.*
Trouble with next step forward (graduate study or job application)	• Rejected admission	*I have (been) rejected by the university of X.*
Problems with accommodation	• Poor living condition • Struggling to find accommodation	*I realised that the accommodation is pretty much full.*

Table 1.1 Themes of 'trouble' and the examples

The categories shown in Table 1.1 indicate that students raise troubles that are heavily related to the academic side of their lives, such as their research projects, exams, revision (based on the given feedback), assignments, modules and the overall study experience. So overall, 'trouble' in this context means issues treated as *problems raised for supervisory actions*.

Although I have shown the categories of the themes of troubles, one thing to note is that they are not static or fixed. The nature of the trouble is subject to the negotiation between the participants. Often, we will see that supervisors participate in the meaning-making of the trouble. Again, in Extract 1.2 (lines 32-39), after the student has detailed the household issue relating to the boiler, the supervisor's initial turn is, as we can argue, a summary of what the "real problem" is – the student is living in a freezing house. Moreover, it is a re-phrasing of the trouble. In the student's version, the trouble is the inconsistent heating. But essentially the problem is that the student is living in a condition that needs improvement. Supervisors frequently modify how students verbalise the trouble not in a sense that 'correct' the student's use of language, but to adjust how they can view it alternatively so they can deliver the later fitted advice-giving more cohesively

(see Chapter 7, section 7.3). Hence, the framing, the constructing of 'trouble' and the dynamic nature of this concept will also be our interest.

1.4 Research motivation and aims

Having set the scene for the study, I will now outline what motivates the present study and its aims. Students' participation in supervision interaction has been much less examined compared to supervisory pedagogical practices (e.g., West, 2021; Björkman, 2018; Skovholt et al., 2019). Furthermore, the phenomenon of student trouble expression is overlooked despite being highly common in the courses of action, such as the discussion of feedback on manuscripts and advice-giving in research supervision meetings (e.g., Björkman, 2018, p.345; Vehviläinen, 2009b, p.171; Zhang & Hyland, 2021). The studies just cited demonstrate a lack of attention to student expression of trouble, especially in pastoral supervision meetings.

Why is such attention to student expression of trouble needed? The first motivation of the thesis is to establish the expression of trouble as a pedagogic phenomenon in its own right. As just mentioned, the utterances that report trouble are pervasive even in studies focusing on supervisory practices. For instance, Björkman (2018) explores supervisory strategies for making sense of peer reviews on students' manuscripts of journal article submissions with students. As the data extracts show in the study, students' expression of defeat and frustration in response to supervisory turns is frequently used. It seems that the expression of trouble is not merely a project to achieve or a purpose to fulfil. In a way, it could be understood as a format students adopt to express their points of view, feelings, perceptions and so on. To understand student expression of trouble is to understand the core social action associated with being a supervisee, one of the benefits of which could be to provide a perspective of examining students' turns in the research of supervision interaction.

Secondly, the study explores the questions relating to (1) "What do students say", (2) "How do they say it", and (3) "How do students enact the supervisor's recognition and respond with advice-giving or other options". In short, it contributes to understanding in relation to action formation and ascription of trouble expression in supervision interaction. Just as Schegloff (2007, p.xiv) explains, action formation means: "how are the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction, and position in the interaction fashioned into conformations designed to be, and to be recognised by

recipients as, particular actions". For example, in ordinary interaction, a question like "Could you please take a photo for me?" can be immediately understood as a request for assistance because of the form of the question "Could you please?" and perhaps the speaker's pointing at a statue that they want to stand in front of. In institutional or professional interactions, as Fox and Heinemann (2021) show, the setting itself is also key for the understanding of actions. In particular, the expression of trouble in a sequential position and certain linguistic formats is understood unproblematically as a request for service in the shoe repair shop as well. It is a theoretical question of what linguistic, sequential and embodied resources students assign to express trouble in the context of supervision interaction. From the point of view of supervisors, correspondingly, the questions are (1) how they come to recognise a trouble has been expressed and (2) what they respond to it with, among an array of options like advice-giving, sympathy, display of understanding and so on (Levinson, 2013). In particular, given that advice-giving is a prominent activity in supervision interaction (Ta, 2021; West, 2021; Zhang & Hyland, 2021; Vehviläinen, 2009b), what kind of trouble reports are treated as advice relevant or irrelevant (not every utterance of trouble is responded to with advice as Chapter 7 will show.)? These questions comprise the theoretical significance of the thesis.

There is also a potential applied CA side in this thesis, which is to illuminate how institutional tasks are done variably and most effectively (Antaki, 2011). In this sense, the study aims to reveal how supervisors respond to students' expressions of trouble as a core task of supervision meetings. It would also indicate which way of soliciting advice is the most effective for the achievement of institutional goals. While the general trend is that applied CA research adopts the perspective of practitioners or the institutions, examining their initiating actions (e.g., Robinson & Heritage, 2006; Vehviläinen, 2009a), this study takes the 'user' (students') perspective, which could make evidence-based contributions to supervisory practices. The systematic examination of students' expressions of trouble could also add to general communicative guidance like active listening and being sympathetic (Umpqua Community College, 2009) in a way that informs specific features to notice when students are going to tell a trouble for advice. Apart from self-evident expressions like "I think it's (0.5) not very good" (Extract 1.1), there are subtler ways to convey something problematic. That is to say, even though students may not explicitly state the trouble, supervisors should be able to see the expression coming by drawing on certain routinised conduct (especially that identified in

Chapters 4 and 5).

To this end, the general aims of the study are to:

- address the sequential environments of the occurrence of trouble expression;
- unpack the sequential organization, linguistic formats and embodiment of the expression of trouble;
- show how supervisors respond to these utterances.

Each chapter will address these questions with more specific foci.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

The following chapters are organised into a review of literature, the methodology of the research project, four analyses and a discussion before a conclusion is reached.

In the literature review (Chapter 2), I aim to contextualise the current study by discussing the relevant issues: student supervision as a pedagogic practice and the research on it, supervisory interaction, and the expression of trouble. Firstly, I review research on student supervision in terms of the widely researched topics and the research methods, after which I come to the argument that supervision has been viewed as a pedagogic practice that researchers regard as highly diversified and thus difficult to understand. Then, a more focused review of the research that adopts conversation analysis and looks at supervision as a type of social interaction will be offered. It will be shown that such studies focus on supervisory practices such as "advice-giving" and "knowledge construction", paying close attention to supervisory conduct but far less to students' involvement in supervisory interaction. Next, the review will consider CA research on the different aspects of expressing trouble such as sequence organisation, linguistic and embodied practices, and interactional outcome, which inform some of the analysis of the present study.

The methodology chapter (Chapter 3) details the theoretical framework of conversation analysis that guides the proceeding analysis and how I conducted the research project, from getting ethical approval to the collection of the data, especially addressing the questions and dilemma of collecting data due to confidentiality and privacy of supervision

meetings. In addition, the chapter provides an overview of the composition of the participants in terms of their degrees and types of meetings recorded for a better grasp of the analysis later.

In Chapter 4, I will begin the data analysis by looking at the openings of the supervision meetings collected. The chapter is partly motivated by the idea that how openings unfold can shed light on the social relationship in question (Pillet-Shore, 2018b), and yet there are very few studies on supervision openings (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013). Also, openings of the encounter routinely offer slots for the expression of trouble in institutional interaction (e.g., Robinson & Heritage, 2006; Jefferson, 1988). Therefore, the chapter first systematically examines the sequential organisation of supervision openings to be able to analyse the sequential environments where the expressions of trouble occur. It is found that supervisory openings are comprised of initial and follow-up personal inquiries (e.g., "How are things?" and more specific questions like "How did last term go?") and agenda-setting questions (e.g., "Have you looked at your exam results?"). In response to these supervisory moves, two ways of getting to express trouble are found: direct reports of a negative state or unfortunate event ("trouble reports") and the utterances that project the occurrence of it ("trouble projection"). For the second type, trouble gets to be talked about in a stepwise fashion, whereby the projection potentially allows the supervisor to recognise students' inclination to talk about something problematic and thus to create a slot for such talk.

Chapter 5 is interested in how trouble is introduced and produced when they are not solicited by supervisors. Specifically, it is when supervisors are not asking questions to solicit assessment in the initiating turns or when students self-select to talk about a problem. The analysis starts from the early signs that suggest upcoming trouble reports in the 'pre-beginning' of students' turn to the production of trouble reports. Students recurrently tilt the face or neck upwards and touch the face to signal incipient talk and a state of frustration. They also routinely avert their gaze direction from the supervisor to documentation (the meeting notes or written works that the feedback is given on) as a beginning move before the delivery of trouble reports. Verbally, students first address the constraint of supervisors' prior turn with "yeah" but also project incipient talk by adding prosodic features or partial repetition of items in the prior turn to "yeah". They can also preface the trouble by mentioning what they heard from others. Then, the chapter scrutinises the trouble reports themselves. There is duality in them: on the one hand, they are constructed with recognisable features such as negative emotive states,

difficulties, and lack of knowledge. On the other hand, they are routinely mitigated to display trouble resistance (Jefferson, 1984a), using the expressions of limited impact and improvement to trouble reports.

Chapter 6 focuses on the small number of cases in which trouble is co-constructed by both participants. It is first established that students reporting problems related to the institution or the supervisor would be heard as criticising or uttering grievances about the institution and thus dispreferred. However, evidence shows that supervisors can unproblematically criticise the institution as their workplace, taking the stance of an insider. Underpinned by this regularity, the participants resolve the delicacy by co-constructing the trouble reports. The student can start the trouble report, but the supervisor collaboratively completes it or re-starts and reformulates the report in overlap with the student's trouble report in progress. Doing this, the supervisor creates the effect of speaking on behalf of the student, and the student is prevented from performing the dispreferred action.

Chapter 7 examines how student trouble reports are responded to. The first aim of this chapter is to highlight how advice-giving is treated as a conditionally relevant response to trouble reports in supervision interaction because it can come immediately in the responding turn. However, cases of immediate advice-giving are not many. More frequently, expansions for other-initiated repair or follow-up questions dealing with understanding will be deployed before advice-giving. The understanding not only refers to supervisors' understanding of the nature of the problem but also to students' as the repair or question(s) are found to create an advisory stance which foregrounds the advice. In this sense, advice-giving is a multi-layered process rather than a particular instruction. There are also cases where advice-giving is absent: supervisors display their sympathy and portray the trouble as something that inevitably happens and is not "supervisable" In the concluding chapter (Chapter 8), I will summarise the findings and discuss the implications collectively, drawing from the four analytic chapters. I will also discuss the contributions and practical implications before giving directions for future research and a concluding remark.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review aims to provide a background of the key concepts involved in the central question of the thesis: How do students express trouble in university supervision? To answer this question, I will divide the review into three parts: education research topics on university supervision, supervision interaction as an institutional talk, and the expression of trouble and its response in social interaction. First, it will be seen that the research on supervision has been directed toward the enhancement of practice (with a particular interest in the theorisation of supervisory models and the incorporation of students' and supervisors' experiences). However, it is claimed by the higher education research community that university supervision is poorly understood due to individuality and confidentiality. Therefore, a review will be given on the methods scholars usually take to understand university supervision: to collect participants' perceptions and narratives relating to supervisory experiences. Besides, a growing number, although not many, of studies utilise conversation analysis to investigate supervision as a type of social interaction, which will be detailed in the second part of the review. The third section of the review specifically concerns the notion of 'trouble' and the resources used for the expression of trouble sequentially, linguistically and bodily.

2.2 Student supervision as pedagogic practice: research topics and the methods

The first part of the literature review about student supervision as a pedagogic practice homes in on the urge to find ways to better understand supervision. As the following section will show, a significant body of research on supervision is on supervisory experiences (for students and supervisors) and supervision models. However, it is widely claimed that we still have a poor understanding of supervision, and it is tricky to achieve

this goal due to the variety and privacy of the setting (Weidman et al., 2001; Goode, 2010; Halse, 2011). There is a particular deficiency of research on undergraduate supervision (Harwood et al., 2016; West, 2021; Todd et al., 2006) and pastoral supervision or the pastoral element in research supervision (Vehviläinen, 2009a; Olmos-López & Sunderland, 2017).

Considering the difficulties of studying supervision, I will review the methods used for supervision research (surveys, interviews, narratives and self-study), before which I overview the research areas in a broad term. In the following two sections, I would like to raise the point that there is a trend to position supervision as a pedagogic practice rather than a type of social interaction. These points can be related to the present study, an investigation of naturally occurring supervision meetings to understand what actually happens in social interaction.

2.1.1 Supervision: a poorly understood setting

A general overview of the literature on university supervision (exclusively in the contexts of Western societies such as the US, the UK, Australia and Europe) shows that *students' and supervisors' experiences* (especially research supervision) and *supervision models* guiding the delivery of supervision are intensively researched topics. In the experiences of supervisors and students, for research supervision, curiously, good supervision is not so firmly associated with intellectual gains or successful completion but with a good interpersonal relationship between the supervisor and the supervisee (Weaks, 2002). The ingredients of a healthy research supervision relationship are to be found in the co-effort between the two parties – supervisors evoking students' learning engagement, interest in and ownership of the research (Roberts & Seaman, 2018) as well as ongoing negotiation and clarification of expectations (Mac Keogh, 2006). On the other hand, negative supervision experiences seem to be more common than positive experiences and variably on both students' and supervisors' sides. For PhD supervision experiences, we see descriptions such as "each other's worst nightmare" in a co-authored paper by a supervisor and a supervisee (Chapman & Sork, 2001, p.94) and "an absolute disastrous experience" from a student (Guerin et al., 2015, p.109). On the students' side particularly, negligence (Delamont et al., 2000; Green, 2005; Acker et al., 1994) and power

asymmetry (Grant & Graham, 1999; Chapman & Sork, 2001; Seale & Li, 2007) are the most reported contributors to a bad research supervision experience. For supervisees who have caring responsibilities and "dozens of roles to negotiate, coordinate, and organise", what is even more difficult is to manage the "emotional PhD rollercoaster from impacting on my family" (O'Leary, 2001, pp.195-6). Indeed, emotions are a prominent feature of students' troubles, as will also be demonstrated in their formulations of trouble (see Chapter 5, section 5.4). Supervisors also experience frustration, especially with the degree of intervention in work. As a respondent revealed, her supervisee requested more personal support than academic, which upset her "terribly" (Guerin et al., 2015, p.109). When it comes to a research project that is personally special for the student (in this case, it was about her child's fatality), the supervisor was placed in a great dilemma when delivering critiques of the project (Guerin et al., 2015). These studies imply a variety of communicative issues in supervisory relationships and the need for closer examinations of how trouble is actually expressed and responded to when it comes to delicate topics in the ongoing interaction to improve both sides' experiences.

Another line of research on supervisory models reveals how supervision can be operated and sheds light on various visions about supervision (Guerin et al., 2015). This does not necessarily aim to comment on 'good' or 'bad' supervision. Rather, it describes and explores the possibilities of the operation of supervision in adapting to different programmes and the individuals' needs. Some models are concerned with the composition of the supervision team – one supervisee with one supervisor or one supervisor with a group of supervisees (Bitzer & Albertyn, 2011). The other models provide information on how much a supervisor is involved in the supervisee's research project, proposing the "hands-on" and "hands-off" approaches (Sinclair, 2004). Some other models are of the relationship between the supervisor and supervisee (Bartlett & Mercer, 2001; Acker et al., 1994). For instance, Acker et al. (1994, p.483) propose two models of supervision: "The technical rationality model gives priority to issues of procedure or technique, while the negotiated order model conceptualizes supervision as a process open to negotiation and change". As Guerin et al. (2015) summarise, models that lead to good supervision experiences and successful results are to be replicated, and the ones with negative experiences would need modifications.

Through the lines of research, a great urge and endeavour to understand and improve supervisory practice becomes salient (see also Conrad, 1999). Nonetheless, it is widely

regarded that supervision is still poorly understood (e.g., Weidman et al., 2001) despite an ocean of research on university supervision over the decades (e.g., Zimpher et al., 1980; Wang & Byram, 2019; Gaston & Duschinsky, 2020). Specifically, supervision is claimed to be "unsupervised" (Weidman et al., 2001, p.67), a "black box" (Goode, 2010, p.39) and "a secret garden" (Halse, 2011, p.557). Secondly, it has been pointed out the lack of research on undergraduate supervision (Harwood et al., 2016; West, 2021; Todd et al., 2006) and pastoral supervision (Vehviläinen, 2009a; Olmos-López & Sunderland, 2017).

It should be acknowledged that every piece of research has and should have be situated in, and makes the impact on the given social context. From what we know in the existing literature, there is a huge diversity in the operation of student supervision the across the globe. The extreme variety by region/culture (Hu et al., 2016), level of study, discipline (Conrad, 1999) and even individual supervisor and supervisee (Hockey, 1995), then, contribute to the hardship of researching supervision and our poor understanding of it. Acker et al. (1994) found that the supervision of two social science subjects, education and psychology, significantly vary in terms of the conceptualisation of knowledge and the undertaking of research. With respect to the cultural difference, doctoral supervision in the Chinese mainland context gives explicit guidance on the fostering of future employability, while Dutch supervision remains implicit and emphasises learning facilitation (Hu et al., 2016). Individual supervisors also have differing visions of supervision. More recently, viewing PhD supervision as a "critical friendship" with students has been a popular idea among some educators (Richards & Fletcher, 2018; Richards & Shiver, 2020). However, there are voices sceptical about the morality and feasibility of maintaining a friendship with PhD supervisees (Chapman & Sork, 2001) or firmly against it (Markie, 1990).

Apart from the diversity, the privacy of supervision is another issue. Harwood and Petric (2016, p.3), in their study of Master's supervision experience, claim that supervisions are essentially "occluded" from being studied directly because of confidentiality. As Dysthe (2002) points out, how supervision at Master's level proceeds is down to supervisors' personal choice in private space. Lee (2008, p.269) similarly asserts that supervision at

the doctoral level consists of decisions "between consenting adults" that do not necessitate external scrutiny. This also gives rise to a lack of understanding about supervision. In the next section, therefore, I will focus on the research methods that have been used to attempt to understand supervision.

2.2.2 Research methods for supervision

Inquiries about university supervision can encompass education, sociology, and linguistics. Hence, quantitative techniques like surveys and qualitative methods like interviews and narratives are exploited for various research interests.

Let us first start with common quantitative research methods. The survey seems to be a trusted tool to investigate student satisfaction with the communication with the university staff (e.g., Douglas et al., 2015; Mrazović et al., 2015) and the correlation between variables and the level of satisfaction (De Kleijin et al., 2012; van Tienoven et al., 2022). In Douglas et al.'s interrogation (2015) of student satisfaction in two universities in the UK, through the content analysis of students' written narratives, it is found that communications with student service and teaching staff are the areas that receive the lowest satisfaction (e.g., with the teaching content and the style) in both universities. Regarding what contributes to satisfaction, De Kleijin et al. (2012) find that students' perceived engagement of the supervisor with their study is positively related to better performance and study satisfaction. Van Tienoven et al. (2022) specifically investigate PhD students' satisfaction with the communication with supervisors during the two 2020-2021 lockdowns due to the Covid-19 pandemic. These studies provide information on students' attitudes on a macroscale and indicate the significance of communication with university staff to academic performance, satisfaction and personal achievement. They also justify the urgency for further revelation of communicative problems in real-time interaction.

Qualitative approaches like semi-structured interviews and narrative techniques are aimed at obtaining perceptions and experiences. Although these studies might be criticised for being rather small-scale, with participants ranging from only six (Cotteral,

2015; Wang & Byram, 2019) to 27 (Smith & Hatmaker, 2014), they do offer a depth of understanding of students' experiences.

The methodology of self-study, in which both the student and supervisor participate as the researchers and the subjects (Loughran, 2007), is immensely appreciated in investigating the supervisory relationship (Li & Seale, 2007; Hu et al., 2016; Chapman & Sork, 2001; Diacopoulos & Butler, 2020). The methodological strengths are that the participants are thus able to observe their interactions more longitudinally and deeply, especially the changes over time (Li & Seale, 2007); they are better capable of examining and exposing the problems they experience (e.g., misunderstandings, Hu et al., 2016; Hamilton, 2005). Chapman and Sork (2001) comprehensively reflect on how power relations, gender differences, and expectations for each other play roles in their challenging PhD supervision relationship. Although this body of research has demonstrated some merits theoretically and empirically, it does have its weaknesses. One is that it is based on individual supervisory dyads with individual characteristics (Li & Seale, 2007; Chapman & Sork, 2001; Diacopoulos & Butler, 2020) and therefore lacks generality. Secondly, diaries and narratives of participants' impressions and memories might be somewhat subjective, manufactured, or embellished. More importantly, such research methods simply cannot capture the detail with little bias that video recording, instead, might be capable of. Consequently, they are at a loss to provide *what really happened* in the interaction, which is a gap the current research aims to fill.

With the proliferation of audio and video recording for social research, addressing the limitations mentioned above has become possible. Hence, studies that use conversation analysis (CA), a sociolinguistic approach, have started to increase in order to investigate how supervisors and students use talk to conduct supervisory activities (see Chapter 3. Methodology). Because this line of studies is particularly important for the current research, it will be reviewed in the next standalone section.

2.2.3 Summary

Supervision research generally shows significant interest in students' and supervisors' *experiences* and the *models* that guide the operation of supervision. While these two

interests shed light on the pursuit of the enhancement of supervisory practice, the research community has pointed out that supervision is not straightforward to study because of the diversity of individuals involved and confidentiality issues preventing it from being studied directly. Therefore, section 2.2.2 discusses the research techniques and methodologies that have enabled us to understand this pedagogic form more profoundly: survey, interview, narrative, and self-study. Given the claim that supervision is "occluded" (Harwood & Petric, 2016, p.3) and investigated in terms of participants' perceptions and experiences rather than what actually goes on in supervision meetings, a growing number of studies have adopted conversation analysis to examine the naturally occurring interaction over the last decade, as the next section will cover.

2.3 Supervision interaction through the lens of CA

It was not until recent years that we witnessed a rapid growth of CA studies on supervision, looking at how interaction is built in supervision meetings (Svinhufvud et al., 2017; Skovholt et al., 2019; Ta & Filipi, 2020; West, 2021; Vehviläinen, 2009b; 2009b; Bowker, 2012). This indicates that researchers have increasingly noticed the value supervision can bring to the understanding of social organisation (Zama & Robinson, 2016; Svinhufvud, 2016; Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013) and the improvement of practice (West, 2021; Li & Seale, 2007; Vehviläinen, 2009a) within the CA community; although, as West (2021, p.216) points out, "insights into certain supervisory interactions" do not "necessarily mean changing existing practices" but they provide "more theorised understanding of situated practice". In relation to the last section, more importantly, CA studies on supervision refute the claim that directly studying supervision is difficult by opening the "black box" encasing it – as does the current study. It is crucial to provide an overview of the existing supervision studies that employ CA concerning their contributions and interests to contextualise what the current thesis could relate and add to.

Supervision studies that use CA focus on supervisory practices: advice-giving, the management of advice resistance, understanding check and so on, with one exception, which examines the practices students use to solicit advice (Vehviläinen, 2009b). Thus, the structure will follow this order: the most prominent supervisory practices, advice-

giving, other supervisory practices that have been studied, and studies on similar institutional interactions referred to by conversation analysts of supervision interaction.

2.3.1 Advice-giving: the heart of CA supervision research

Inquiries about supervision interaction have heavily focused on supervisory advice-giving. In the past two decades, it has been almost the case that *supervisory research* equals *supervisory advice-giving research*. Advice-giving involves the recommendation of a course of action and has been considered a problem-solving endeavour in supervision contexts (Searle, 1969; Vehviläinen, 2009a; 2012).

Findings on supervisory advice-giving have unanimously shown that offering advice in higher education contexts can be challenging, like in other settings such as health visits (Heritage and Sefi, 1992) and ordinary talk. Because advice-giving involves one party suggesting a course of action to the others, it essentially assumes epistemic asymmetry (Hutchby, 1995; Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Jefferson & Lee, 1981; Silverman, 1997). In supervision interaction, there is a tension between filling the epistemic gap and the balance of supporting/cultivating student autonomy, especially in research degrees. For instance, when students are reaching the end of the study and have acquired a greater sense of ownership of their research projects, their roles have transitioned from students-to-be-advised to early career researchers (Vehviläinen, 2009a; 2012; Nguyen, 2016). Therefore, the changing nature of the research identity could lead to supervisors' withholding of advice (Nguyen, 2016) as well as students' resistance to advice. In the five-year Master's programmes in Finland, giving feedback on students' dissertations for acceptance is investigated (Vehviläinen, 2009a). Due to the prolonged duration, reaching an agreement on the feedback has proved highly problematic as it sometimes means fundamental changes to years of pursuits that students show strong resistance to.

Because advice-giving could be understood to be a core institutional feature of student supervision and indeed the advice resistance is so pervasive, most advice-giving-focused studies have been devoted to effective advice-giving and more specifically, to the management of advice resistance. Zhang and Hyland (2021, p.39) investigate the

three kinds of advice-giving formats that reflect different power relations in Master's thesis supervision – the power-over, power-gaining and power-maintaining models. Although the authors have used these less granular than classic CA terms to describe the advice-giving sequences, from what they find in the data, the three types of power relations refer to how supervisors construct their identities from an instructor (through constructions of "you need to" and "you must", pp.39-40) to a negotiator in regard to the action to take with the thesis. West (2021) investigates how supervisors manage advice resistance by using humour and showing empathy at the undergraduate level. In doctoral supervision, Ta and Filipi (2020) find that storytelling routinely occurs in sequences where PhD students disagree with their supervisors. Here, supervisors use storytelling to 1. Clarify their claims and 2. Declare epistemic authority in the subjects they are on. In so doing, they are better capable of obtaining students' agreement or acceptance of the given advice. Resistance can be resolved by storytelling as well as be preempted by preliminary questions. In Vehviläinen (2012), the advice sequence is initiated with statements of questions supervisors have like "one thing that came to my mind was whether…" (p.38). The questions are used as a tool to check the student's knowledge and also to foreground the advice as a fitted one.

Nonetheless, some collective issues presented by these studies are that they are more inclined to be applied CA and strategy-focused – as mentioned before, they focus on how advice can be delivered more effectively to circumvent potential resistance. Nonetheless, they do not provide much sequential context as to how, e.g., the advice resistance could be displayed or comes into being (Vehviläinen, 2012; West, 2021). In Vehviläinen (2012), for instance, it is shown that supervisors use questions or statements of questions (e.g., "and then about uhm this test (I have) this kind of question what what according to your view is the difference between a test and a sort of an ordinary exam", p.42) before the advice-giving turn to test students' knowledge or to contest how they approach the dissertation so the advice is received as fitted or legitimate. But the paper (Vehviläinen, 2012) does not actually show students' responses to the advice to validate such strategies as claimed. These issues lead us to one-sided understanding of supervisory advice-giving and foreground the approach the current study takes – to prioritise what actually happens in the interaction over the emphasise or interest in the pedagogic practices.

Of course, advice can be initiated by supervisors in the unfolding interaction as well as actively solicited or requested by students as a responding action. The study above (Vehviläinen, 2009b), being one of very few that focuses on student practices in supervision interaction, presents two ways of soliciting advice. The first and less employed way is to use wh-questions like "in WHAT way can I use THEM (here)" (Vehviläinen, 2009b, p.169) to display the lack of knowledge. In return, extensive production of advice will be proffered in the supervisory response. More frequently, students opt for yes/no questions. In this way, they seek advice to be confirmed or disconfirmed and thereby show some level of competence. This study again shows that considering the dichotomy between needing guidance and recognition from the supervisor, students routinely orient themselves to the display of competence and independence. Relating to the current study, this raises questions about whether students also orient to the exhibition of competence in trouble reports and how (see Chapter 5).

2.3.2 Other supervisory practices aside from advice-giving

Apart from the most researched topic, advice-giving, the pursuit of mutual understanding and agreement has also attracted some interest. This trend agrees with the wide recognition of quality communication between supervisor and supervisee being determinative in the successful completion of PhDs (Delamont et al., 2000; Grant & Graham, 1994; Philips, 1987; Moses, 1985). For instance, supervisors employ storytelling to pursue students' understanding of the feedback rather than affiliation (Ta & Filipi, 2020). Bowker (2012) investigates supervisors' tag questions "okay?", "yeah?" and "right?" following their prior turns. The study shows that these questions occur after students' minimal uptakes during supervisors' deliveries of advice or informing. Therefore, these tag questions function as solicitors of students' display of understanding or uptake. What is also discovered is the nuances between "okay?" and "right?". While the first one is to invite the student to take the floor or seek permission to proceed to the next activity, "right?" is more to mark the assumed shared knowledge about the topic.

Skovholt et al. (2019) take an interest in how supervisors solicit undergraduate students' self-evaluation of their performance. While being a commonplace and vital pedagogic

activity to promote students' self-reflection and improvement, it proves interactionally challenging due to the constraints of making assessments about Self found in other settings, including peer-tutoring (Waring, 2014) and ordinary interaction (Speer, 2012; Wu, 2011b). Students' positive self-assessments are treated by themselves as a dispreferred action and mitigated via mentioning peers' joint contributions. In addition, Skovholt et al. (2019) attribute the dilemma of self-evaluation elicitation to accessing knowledge about their academic performance. As students know that teachers have answers when they ask students, "How did you think it went yourself" (p.50), they resist answering because their responses may not match the supervisor's expectations. This study indicates that as ordinary as a supervisory practice can appear to be, it can contribute to interactional difficulties in the unfolding interaction because of the many social and epistemic constraints. Hence, more research is needed to effectively develop ways to deliver these practices.

Li and Seale (2007) scrutinise another supervisory practice: the delivery of critical feedback on the PhD candidate's work. Being a key supervisory practice in implementing the supervisor's role as a gatekeeper (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.1), criticism ensures students' production is up to the standard and leading students to development (Phillips & Pugh, 1987; Burgess et al., 1994). While criticism can be face-threatening (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and dispreferred, Li and Seale (2007) show how giving critical feedback can be given positively by prefacing with a compliment, self-repair and other affiliative actions during the criticism delivery.

2.3.3 Supervision-like interactions

In this section, I will review relevant studies that examine some institutional interactions which resemble but differ from supervision talk, in which trouble reports – the phenomena concerned by the present thesis frequently occur: student counselling, international student consultation, and peer tutoring.

The first set of studies is on student counselling. Here I will focus on some research relating to advisors' handling of trouble (Svinhufvud et al., 2017; Zama & Robinson, 2016) because they are more relevant to the present study. Student counselling in Northern

Europe can have various foci, committed to offering guidance on emotional management, wellbeing, self-efficacy, and academic/practical skills (Svinhufvud et al., 2017; Hazel & Mortensen, 2014), and functions more as a problem-focused interaction than an academic supervision. Although, as Svinhufvud et al. (2017) point out, no clear distinction between them has been officially drawn. However, one difference readily to be seen from the literature is that the advisory roles are more flexible: they are professional therapists or trained students in other cases. In the latter circumstance, with trained student consultants, only technical (instead of mental health) issues are consulted (Hazel & Mortensen, 2014). Also, student counselling serves to motivate students in difficult situations (Svinhufvud et al., 2017). Hence, the practitioners of such student counselling sectors use the technique of normalising students' problems to perform three actions: to affiliate with the student as emotional support, present the problem as workable, and seemingly challenge the student that s/he is irrationally pessimistic about the trouble, orienting to the normality of the problem. On the last point, the authors find this aligns with "doing being ordinary" as a feature of everyday social interaction (Sacks, 1984). That is, interactants always orient themselves to the quality of the status quo even when they describe something unusual (see also, Wooffitt, 1992) or foreshadow troubles-telling (Jefferson, 1988). However, how counsellors treat students' trouble (by normalisation) will become a salient contrast to how supervisors attend to students' trouble reports in this thesis, which reveals a unique "institutional fingerprint" of academic supervision compared to student counselling (Heritage, 2005, p.125).

With a particular interest in how interactants organise their attendance to long stretches of telling, Zama and Robinson (2016) look into "problem presentation" in undergraduate international students. This term originates from medical interaction (Heritage and Robison, 2006) and refers to the telling of dilemmatic situations concerning employment and immigration for consultation in the international student service. Aside from their main findings (that advisors are accountable for providing continuers and brief assessments during students' tellings), what is particularly beneficial for the present study is the fact that advisors start the meeting systematically, i.e., by soliciting the purpose of the visit like in medical interactions (Robinson & Heritage, 2005). This suggests that a tenable location for the occurrence of trouble reports is in responsive turns to those questions. Routinely, students do not typically start problem presentations in the first TCUs in response to advisors' questions but begin to tell the background

information and justify their trouble. This might also apply to the analysis of trouble reporting turns.

Another comparable supervision-resembling interaction is peer tutoring in writing centres (Waring, 2005; Park, 2014). As a widespread pedagogic arrangement in US universities, peer tutoring is aimed at developing writing skills in a peer-to-peer reciprocal way (Williams, 2005; Clark, 2001). Therefore, this differs from supervision in that the asymmetries in epistemic and authority are not so significant, which makes it a good site for examining negotiation in learning activities (Park, 2014). In this context (Park, 2014), trouble reports are used as accounts for the resistance to advice, employing four recurrent elements: acknowledgement (right'), contrastive conjunction ('but'), and epistemic claim ('I feel X') and the account in which trouble is expressed (pp.367-8). The researcher of this study (Park, 2014) is not concerned about the practices of trouble reports because of the focus on the management of advice resistance. However, this turn shape of resistance partially overlaps with Chapter 5, i.e., trouble reports are made when they are not actively solicited by supervisors, including when they are made in response to advice-giving to resist the advice.

2.3.4 Summary

In this part of the literature review, I focused on research on supervision interaction through the lens of conversation analysis. Most of the interests have been in advice-giving (and particularly the management of advice-resistance), revealing the (sometimes challenging) negotiations between supervisory guidance and student autonomy, meeting academic requirements and students' perspectives being understood. Next, I reviewed some other pedagogic practices apart from advice-giving. In the last theme (section 2.3.3), I expanded the discussion to the surrounding research, including student counselling and peer tutoring, as they share some institutional commonalities and, more relevantly, the interests in troubles-telling and problem presentation.

To conclude, the literature exhibits a relative shortage of examinations of student conduct in supervision interaction. This is supported by the great documentation of supervisory moves mentioned above and the frequent reference to other related studies on similar

settings like peer tutoring and consultation as the available resource. This motivates the present study to launch a more systematic inspection of the students' actions, practices, and how they are responded to in contributing to the understanding of supervision interaction. Secondly, the studies do not provide much context, in regards to what supervisory task is being handled, of the occurrences of the focal phenomena. They might miss out on more productive and micro-scale findings regarding how supervisors participate in or lead the meetings. Thirdly, on supervisory advice-giving, is that even though more studies pay attention to the strategies in response to student advice resistance, they do not show how the sequences of advice-giving develop from, for example, the display of advice and how the advice was given at first.

2.4 Talking about trouble in interaction

The final part of the literature review will enter the core of the thesis, the expression of trouble in CA. First, how the notion of "trouble" is used differently in CA literature will be discussed. The following sections concern the organisation of talk about trouble: the classic sequential organisation of troubles-telling by Jefferson (1988) and the common practices used to express or make the interactant notice the trouble in social interaction. Thirdly, how co-participants respond to the expression of trouble will be considered.

2.4.1 The conceptualisation of 'trouble' in CA research

In this part of the literature review, I will illustrate how the concept of 'trouble' is defined and used in conversation analysis/interactional linguistic research. Even though the exploration of the nature of trouble is not the commitment of this thesis, it will be pertinent to the identification of student trouble reporting turns – what counts and what does not, because the term "trouble" has been used variably. There are mainly six different ways in which trouble is used in the literature: communicative trouble, trouble in a practical course of action, trouble in troubles-telling, purpose of an acute appointment, medical concerns, and the 'advisables' in educational settings.

Communicative trouble is one of the most used notions in CA. Widely mentioned in repair organisation in the paradigm of conversation analysis (Schegloff et al., 1977), trouble refers to communicative issues in speaking, hearing and understanding that hold back

the progressivity of the interaction. In the line of research on repair, trouble is interchangeable with "trouble source", which locates the repairable part of a TCU. For example, doing word-search with "uh(m)" tokens or sentential items like "whuh wuz iht" within the turn constructional unit (henceforth, TCU) (Lerner, 2013, p.99) indexes trouble speaking. Schegloff (2010) acknowledges that "uh(m)"s are routinely associated with trouble with the "speech production process" (p.130). The solution to such trouble is normally by self-initiated self-repair, such as relaunching the TCU.

Another type of trouble is embodied, referring to difficulties or an unfulfilled goal in a practical course of action in realising a goal discussed in the recruitment of assistance (Kendrick & Drew, 2016; Drew & Kendrick, 2018). Specific examples of such trouble can be having no lighter while trying to light a cigarette, not being able to see something from a distance (Kendrick & Drew, 2016, pp.5 & 8), and not being able to find an object (Drew & Kendrick, 2018).

Trouble has also been scrutinised in research on 'troubles-telling'. Researchers have been interested in sharing trouble with the co-participant as a conversational event in ordinary, medical, and other institutional settings (e.g., Pudlinski, 2005; Jin et al., 2021; Wu, 2020). But one can hardly avoid referring to Jefferson's founding work on troubles- telling in ordinary interaction (Jefferson, 1988/2015). In Jefferson and Lee's (1981, p.viii) words, 'trouble' encompasses: "situations and events that are seen as distressful and disruptive of the routines of everyday life" when the members of an interaction talk about it as a social activity. To get a sense of what the trouble entails in this line of research, a good place to refer to would be the Arrival sequence, one of the key components of the troubles-telling package, in which the speaker announces the incident or bad news: "We got bu::rgled yesterday" and "Oh ↓got hurt a little bit last night." (Jefferson, 1988, pp.424-5). From these utterances, the Jeffersonian sense of trouble concerns unfortunate events like illness or an incident that has happened to the speaker or someone known by the speaker told between friends or family for socialising.

The term 'trouble' can be problems the layperson reports to a professional for advice, service or other types of help. In Fox and Heinemann's investigation into the syntax of requests (2016; 2019; 2021), 'trouble' is used to represent the fixable part to improve the condition of the product: it can be a fallen heel, elastics that need replacing and other kinds of repairable parts that customers raise to the staff for paid service. In more

specialised settings like visits to a doctor, 'trouble' is focused on as acute illness for treatment. In scenarios like this, trouble involves symptoms described by patients in response to physicians' solicitation questions like "what can I do for you today" (Heritage & Robinson, 2006, p.92). In routine medical appointments like health visits and routine check-ups, trouble is considered to be health concerns, an untoward state of affairs (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Nishizaka, 2011). In educational settings, Vehviläinen (2009b) reveals that students solicit advice in supervision interaction by asking open-ended/*wh*-questions. In this context, "trouble" is considered as the displayed lack of knowledge and the invoking of incompetence via open-ended questions.

From this overview, it is clear that 'trouble' covers a wide range of notions in CA literature. They can be considered as some utterances that convey an untoward state of affairs, the "shape" of the package of talk (e.g., Jefferson, 1988/2015, p.29), i.e., the practices of formulating trouble. Consequently, the conceptualisation of trouble is highly versatile, loose, and dependent on the context of CA research. It can be the communicative trouble emerging in the course of an action or interaction (e.g., repair), the subject between a service user (e.g., patient/client) and a professional (e.g., treatment), or a topic coming up in the unfolding interaction (between friends or family members). This is why it is particularly critical to clarify the notions of 'trouble' and relate them to the current study. That is, trouble in this thesis will not concern communicative trouble producing or understanding or difficulty realising a course of action. Neither is any of these the (at least only) driving force of the meeting, given that the data are collected from regular supervision – none of the meetings is occasioned to solve a specific issue like a counselling (see Chapter 3. Methodology). Instead, trouble we are interested in this study is an untoward event student in life or study raise in the unfolding interaction for supervisory actions.

2.4.2 The sequential organisation of troubles-telling

We have taken a moment to consider how 'trouble' has been used in an array of enquiries. One reflection that can be drawn is that trouble can be visibly or audibly tangible for others (e.g., trouble in a 'practical course of action' like a fall on the roadside) but can also be an entirely internal experience or knowledge only to oneself. Hence, the experiencer of trouble will try to utter and articulate the trouble to make it public for different reasons (e.g., help, emotional support, or other remedies).

In what follows, I will review some well-cited literature on the systematics of the practices used to express trouble in CA, starting from the sequential organisation of troubles-telling.

How is talk about trouble started and closed? One (and the first) of Jefferson's works on troubles-telling in ordinary interaction (Jefferson, 2015/1988; Jefferson & Lee, 1980) proposes that troubles-telling is a package of talk that has a shape to it, roughly and routinely composed of sequences of Approach, Arrival, Delivery, Work-up, Close Implicature, and Exit. Regarding how troubles-telling is started, i.e., in the Approach sequence, it is started by a personal state inquiry or the noticing of a possible trouble (Jefferson, 1988, p.421). The teller of trouble indicates upcoming talk about a state of affairs that is problematic or bothersome via responses to routine how-are-you enquiries, such as "Oh pretty good", "Oh just fine", and "hh Oh:: survi:ving I guess". Jefferson (1988) argues that this set of responses is downgraded to the conventional 'all good' responses like a simple "Fine" and can be treated as having a negative import and therefore can facilitate the recipient's follow-up inquiries. In other words, the speaker of a trouble-premonitory response proposes a possibility of talking about the unfortunate event – the recipient of a downgraded conventional response is at the liberty of treating it as problematic or not. Such utterances constitute a significant feature of trouble expression, as Jefferson argues (1980), due to the dual attentiveness to 'being as usual' and trouble to be told in social interaction. By giving responses like "Oh pretty good", the experiencer of trouble orients to the manageable side of life and the continuation of the interaction as normal. Nonetheless, by doing so, they are pursuing the possibility of subsequent talk about trouble. This finding is significant to the current study because the very early start of troubles-telling can be traced back to the opening of the interaction – the personal state inquiry. Furthermore, it shows how certain utterances can project trouble reports to be expanded on in the later interaction.

Between the beginning and closure of sequences, there are slots for the Arrival, Delivery, and Work-up sequences (Jefferson, 1988, p.420). In the Arrival sequence, the teller of trouble announces the event, and the recipient offers an initial response. In Delivery, a more detailed description of the problematic situation is given, and in the cases illustrated by the author, the recipients normally show affiliation to establish intimacy. In the Work-up sequence, the speakers gradually move away from the trouble by doing diagnostic work and reporting similar cases. In the closing period of troubles-telling, the teller of the

trouble orients to the improvement, status quo ("I'm just going shopping", Jefferson, 1988/2015, p.47) or the lightness of the trouble. After that, the interactants bring up a new activity or topic to mark the closure of the talk.

This work (Jefferson, 1988) demonstrates that the participants in troubles-telling in ordinary interaction constantly attend to the tension between the trouble at issue and the business as usual; it also offers the recurrent elements in the package of troubles-telling to guide part of the analysis of the current study as to how the sequence of trouble getting started. For example, Chapter 4 will show the possibility of an open question of personal state inquiry ("How are you doing", "How are things") that solicits a report of trouble, which is relatable to how troubles-telling is approached in Jefferson (1988). Last but not the least, the sequential shape of Jeffersonian troubles-telling (the Approach, Delivery and Work-up sequences as mentioned in the last two paragraphs) and the stages the participants (the student and supervisor) go through, from the foreshadowing of the trouble to the articulation (see Chapter 5), co-construction (see Chapter 6) and reaching a common understanding to the advice-giving slot (see Chapter 7), mirror each other. As for what are different between them, it will be discussed in the final chapter, section 8.2.3.

2.4.3 The linguistic and embodied practices for trouble expression

This section concerns how 'trouble' is constructed or displayed using linguistic and bodily resources. To begin with, the expression of trouble frequently involves the descriptions of events that are treated as inappropriate, unfair or have posed a negative impact on others or the complainer. In this case, trouble is formulated as a transgressive event or misconduct happening to the teller (Drew, 1998). When complaining about others' conduct that is not accepted or tolerated, speakers specify what someone has actually done that is complainable. Through the description of the conduct, the complainer invokes a "normative standard of behaviour" (p.309). We shall see a similar example of a student's complaint in the current study about classmates who had not been collaborative in a group assignment completion (Extract 7.9, Chapter 7). Moreover, the complainer stresses the deliberateness of misbehaviour or establishes the behaviour as a transgression as to why it is not acceptable.

Trouble can also be formulated as declaratives of noticings or presentations of untoward states of affairs. One way is what Schegloff (1988) describes as a noticing of an absence to formulate a failure. In Schegloff's exemplary case (1988, p.120), the speaker declares

what she sees when her roommate, who planned to buy ice cream sandwiches and is just back from shopping, enters the door: *You didn't get en icecream sanwich,*. Although it does not lexically blatantly convey her stance toward the observation, it can be recognised as an expression of trouble, to which the recipient responds with the account that the absence of the ice cream is her conscious decision product: *I know, hh I decided that my body didn't need it* (p.122). The declaratives can inform others of the source of trouble (Fox & Heinemann, 2016; 2017; 2021; Kendrick & Drew, 2016). For example, among a range of methods (with varying degrees of interactional obligation for assistance on the other), one method is the statement of what is bothering the speaker. In one data extract of this study (Kendrick & Drew, 2016, p.6), the speaker denotes that the recording camera used for the purpose of the research is disturbing her meal. Subsequent to this articulation of the dislike, the roommate's offer to help (by turning off the camera) is enacted to validate the recognition of a trouble. In Fox and Heinemann's (2021) inquiry on the declaratives of trouble in the shoe-fixing encounter, customers provide an observation or a fact about the fixable object such as "these (1.0) are in bad shape heh" (p.26). Such declaratives are unproblematically understood as requests for service. Regardless of various interactional imports, declaratives of noticing and observations that carry negative meanings are recognised as trouble and responded to with relevant actions.

Embodiment also plays an important part in the communication of trouble in several ways. The unsustainable or unstable body posture or bodily conduct in a practical course of action can be a display of trouble (Schegloff, 1998). For example, as just mentioned, the participant's leaning forward to see to suggest the trouble with visibility (Kendrick & Drew, 2016, p.8). A distinction has also been made between "looking" and "searching", where "searching" indicates trouble finding objects (Drew & Kendrick, 2018). Embodiment also offers visual aid for understanding the source of the problem. As Fox and Heinemann (2021, p.26) show, as the customer declares what is wrong with the shoes for fixing, she puts the shoe down on the counter so it is visible to the staff of the shop. In this case, the trouble is made recognisable via the declarative of the trouble in combination with the embodiment that engenders the shoe-tender's relevant response – to write down the condition of the shoe before the next procedure. These findings are the practices of expressing or communicating trouble in interaction in-situ, which will inform the current study in which trouble is a multimodal phenomenon that involves display with the body and interaction with the surrounding objects and environment.

2.4.4 Responding to 'trouble'

Researchers have invested a great deal of effort in seeking to understand how respondents attend to troubles-telling in various settings. Research has identified a range of relevant responses, including displays of sympathy and empathy (Selting, 2010; 2012; Pudlinski, 2005; Heritage, 2011; Kupetz, 2014). These have been shown to be alternative responses even though the differences in these notions are quite subtle: empathy involves the display of understanding of the teller's trouble, marking the epistemic territory (Kupetz, 2014; Coulehan et al., 2001; Suchman et al., 1997) whereas sympathy is a display of affective stance (Maynard, 2003; Jefferson, 1988). In formulating empathetic responses, clinicians, for example, mark the access to the trouble the patient is experiencing: 'sounds like you were really frightened when you discovered that lump' in clinical settings (Coulehan et al., 2001, p. 223). Coulehan et al. (2001) also introduces the method of paraphrasing what patients say to do sympathy when patients are stating worries, stress, or fears for their possible illness. Sharing parallel experiences or feelings is another means of conveying empathy (which is seen in the dataset of the current study, to be discussed in the fourth analytic chapter), as shown by one of the cases, featuring British health visits, in Heritage and Lindstrom (Extract 2.1) (1998, p.424).

```
Extract 2.1 Episode #1 [3A2:27]
        ((…))
10 M    I still feel I've got to sort of really grow to:, (1.5)
11      ehm pt .h feel that she is my ow:n and rea::lly
12      (1.2)
13 HV   Mm:,
14 M    love her lots
15      (.)
16 M    I mean I like he:r and I think she's wonderful'n (0.6)
17      but I don't feel "ohhh laok at m[y ba:by"
18 HV                                   [no,
19 M    .h It doesn't really worry me cause I know it'll come
20      with ti:me.=
21 HV   =It does [yes.
22 M             [But ehm-
23 HV--> Yeah. .h Well when first had mi:ne I couldn't stand
24      the sight of him?
        ((…))
```

As shown in the excerpt above, the mother tells trouble by portraying "herself as somewhat distant from the baby (lines 10-11, 14 and 16-17)". In return, the health visitor "normalizes the mother's feelings by describing similar feelings that she had toward her own child" (lines 23-24) as one of the typical responses to show affiliation with the trouble-

teller (Heritage and Lindstrom, 1998, p.422).

Alternatively, sympathy is expressed through assessments of one's feelings or emotions upon receiving the teller's trouble: "That's really sa:d. That's a real shame." (Maynard, 2003, p.144 & 251). *Oh*-prefaced turns are associated with sympathy. In Jefferson's work on responsive turns following the announcements of trouble, typical utterances with response cries (Goffman, 1978) to mark the concern for the teller's state like in Extracts 2.2 and 2.3 (Jefferson, 1988, p.425):

```
Extract 2.2 [B.2](4) [NB:II:5:2ffR] (Jefferson, 1988, p.425)


E:     God he wanted to pull a tooth [and make me a new go:ld uh
L:                                    [a h h h !
E:     .hhhhhhh (.) bridge for (.) EI:GHT hundred dollars.
L: --> oh:: sh:i:t.


Extract 2.3 [B.2](5) [Rah:B:1(11):3ff] (Jefferson, 1988, p.425)
A:     But there's only one mattress with it.
       They don't know where the mattress is.
J:--> oh: no:
```

On the other hand, the differences between sympathy and empathy do not bother some analysts. As Pudlinski (2005) argues, actions are labelled sympathy and empathy interchangeably in some research. Instead, he examines a range of sympathetic/empathetic responses occurring in different sequential positions. While sympathetic assessments are initial responses to mark the recognition of the news being bad, empathetic responses in idiomatic expressions indicate the sequence closure, as Drew and Holt (1998) also find. From this set of research, sympathy and empathy are considered highly relevant initial responses to the expression of trouble.

Another possible response is advice-giving, although there is debate about this in the literature. In ordinary interaction, advice-giving in response to troubles-telling faces rejection (Jefferson & Lee, 1981). As Jefferson and Lee (1981/2015, p.111) find, the early delivery of advice is interactionally problematic as the teller will be shifted from a more

agentic teller of trouble to a (less agentic) recipient of advice before s/he could offer exposition of the trouble fully. In institutional interactions, on the other hand, the relevance of advice-giving is clearer. In healthcare interactions, advice is solicited (in an implicit way) via a "negative noticing" or a description of an untoward state of affairs (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), which shows the relevance of the expression of trouble and advice-giving. Similarly, in some educational interactions, following students' presentations of problems, advice-giving will be proffered as an institutional move (Vehviläinen, 2009a; 2012; Waring, 2007). Also, Jefferson and Lee (1981/2015) point out that in service encounters, the teller of trouble assumes "full recipientship" as an expected outcome. Although I have mentioned a few studies on responsive advice-giving (Vehviläinen, 2009a; 2012; Waring, 2007), whether advice-giving is a relevant response to the expression of trouble has not been formally established in supervision interaction, an issue which will be focused on in Chapter 7.

2.4.5 Summary

From the literature, we can conclude that the term 'trouble' can denote 1. trouble with the progressivity in the course of action (trouble in speaking/hearing/understanding and in a practical course of action), 2. content like bad news, unfortunate events, illness and other types of suffering in an unfolding talk (in 'troubles-telling'), 3. advisable matters. Particularlystudies in 2 and 3 help us to identify the central phenomenon of the present study: how students raise and describe events related to study or life they experienced or have been experiencing in the ongoing interaction in supervision meetings.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed three themes of research that contextualise the thesis: the commonly researched topics in student supervision, studies of supervision interaction (i.e., the ones that adopt CA methods), and the expression of trouble in social interaction. This chapter has formulated a narrative that supervisory experience and models are some of the most researched areas. Generally, non-CA research has declared a general limited understanding of how university supervision is operated due to the substantial individuality and confidentiality. On the other hand, there has been an increase in CA research on the naturally occurring interaction in supervision meetings in the past two decades. In these studies, supervisory interaction is approached with various interests,

many of which are related to advice-giving. However, they focus more significantly on supervisory actions, a tendency which highlights two paucities. One is that student involvement is not sufficiently examined, hence the lack of understanding of supervisory interaction in its own right. Secondly, this body of research sets out investigations with given supervisory practices, such as supervisory advice-giving, feedback provision (Nguyen & Mushin, 2022), criticism (Li & Seale, 2007), and knowledge construction (Björkman, 2018) and overlooks the sequential environments in which the supervisory practices occur and how they get to production. A more in-depth understanding of how supervision proceeds is needed. The present study will address these gaps by examining the student conduct from the data regarding the patterns of how students express trouble. Being the core phenomenon of interest, the last part of the literature review offered the notions of 'trouble' in talk-in-interaction and the aspects of the sequential organisation, linguistic and embodied practices, and responses to the expression of trouble. They are in place to display the commonalities and differences we will find in supervision interaction from the current study. Having considered the position of the thesis in the literature, in the next chapter I will detail what guides the study theoretically and how the research was conducted.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to specify how I conducted the research project from the recruitment of participants to the analysis of data. Apart from the descriptions of the method I use, the procedures of recruitment, and data collection and analysis, the chapter is also committed to underlining the challenges, issues, limitations, and lessons from the practice for successive researchers in education and social interaction. But before that, the method including the aim of the thesis and research questions will be explained.

3.2 Method

As we saw in the previous literature review, university supervision is understudied as a form of social interaction. This study aims to fulfil the research gap by investigating supervision as social interaction and investigating the episodes of students' expressions of trouble, asking research questions as follows:

- What are the practices used in trouble expressions?
- What sequential environments are these expressions situated in?
- What are the design features of the expressions in their locations?
- How do supervisors attend or respond to them?

Wondering how the expression of trouble and the response in real-time supervision interaction are achieved, I adopt the method of conversation analysis (CA). CA is a sociolinguistic approach, under the influence of Erving Goffman (1967) and Harold Garfinkel (1967), co-founded by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson at in the 1960s who set out to investigate everyday interaction as the locus of social organisation in its own right (ten Have, 2007). In a nutshell, CA aims to describe social organisation via everyday interaction (Schegloff, 1996a). This commitment characterises CA as a *qualitative*, *data-driven*, and *micro-analytic* approach (Hoey & Kendrick, 2016;

Clift, 2016b). So, in a more extended version, CA can be defined as follows:

1.   CA is predominantly qualitative as it attempts to describe and account for practices employed by interactants, not to generate statistical results; it examines video or audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions, but it can also be done on a single-case basis (Schegloff, 2009). There are occasions where CA adopts a quantitative perspective (e.g., Stivers, 2015; Stivers et al., 2009; Robinson, 2007). But the quantitative results are more to "underwrite" the "robustness" of the qualitative generalisations (Schegloff, 2009, p.389).

2.   "Data-driven" means that CA works on materials inductively and grounds the argument from the findings, not posing a hypothesis on the studied subject. These characteristics will impact the analytic direction I take (see section 3.6).

3.   Last but not least, CA, aiming to describe the orderliness in social interaction, looks at data at a highly fine-grained level, concerning what the interlocutors say and how they say it. "What" can refer to the lexical and syntactical construction of a turn, the performed social action that is designed for the target recipient. "How" involves the prosodic delivery (intonation, speed, loudness, stress, etc.), the timing of the production, and the accompanying bodily conduct. The devotion to micro-analysis is to exhibit "order at all points" (Sacks, 1992, p.484) that constitute norms in which members of the society achieve their goals in certain ways to be recognised as such (Sidnell, 2012). To illustrate, "in greetings, participants use sound-stretches, other prosodic features and latching TCUs like "Hi:ee::::::=Hi everybuddy:?" than just a "hi" to display approval of the co-participant (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 380). Such micro-practices enable the recipient to recognise the intended social actions and respond accordingly.

These are some of the fundamental principles of CA. In the coming subsection, I will outline the building blocks – different domains in CA that are particularly relevant to the current study.

3.2.1 Analytic framework: the infrastructure of CA

Such building blocks as turn-taking, sequence organisation, turn design, repair, preference organisation, and overall structural organisation constitute the infrastructure where researchers find universal systematics, the "order at all points" indeed (Sacks,

1992, p.484) across language and culture (Schegloff, 2006; Stivers et al., 2009; Pika et al., 2018; Dingemanse et al., 2015; Kendrick et al., 2020). The following will specify some of the principles that have guided the analysis of the data.

Turn-taking provides the mechanism of how talk proceeds between the dyad and in multi-party interaction. Who speaks and when are the core questions in turn-taking (Sacks et al., 1974; Levinson & Torreira, 2015; Stivers et al., 2009), ensuring the smooth transition of speakership between speakers using the turn allocation rules. The turn allocation rules include but are not restricted to (Levinson & Torreira, 2015) 1. Speakership is switched by the selection of the next speaker 2. When the speaker completes a turn and selects the next speaker/the respondent, the completion is made recogisable prosodically, grammatically or/and pragmatically on the level of TCUs (Ford & Thompson, 1996); 3. Speakers can self-select to speak, and the first starter has the right of the floor; 4. The speaker may continue if no one is selected (by self or others). Turn-taking would deal with questions like how the speakership is distributed by supervisors and students and whether students initiate their turns self- selected or in response to the supervisor, and in what kinds of sequential environments. As we will see in Chapter 4, trouble reports are produced in response to supervisors' personal state inquiries (like "How are things"); however, when students raise a trouble in response to a supervisor's initiating turn that is not to solicit the state of affairs, they abide by the turn-taking rule by addressing the supervisor's turn first and moving to the report of trouble (Chapter 5). This also concerns the dimension of sequential organisation, which will be unpacked next.

Sequence organisation deals with how a course of action gets done by the turns that are taken (Kendrick et al., 2020; Schegloff, 2007). The smallest sequence is the adjacency pair, with a first pair-part (FPP) and a second pair-part[2] (SPP). While some actions are achieved by clear-cut adjacency pairs such as question-and-answer, and offer-and-acceptance, interaction in situ can be far more complex. The base sequence can be expanded with pre, insert, and post sequences (Schegloff, 2007); activity can be composed of multiple sequences. Hence, sequence organisation provides the analytic resource for understanding how the expression of trouble unfolds from, for instance, the foreshadowing of an untoward state of affairs to the explication of trouble (Chapter 4).

---

[2] First pair-part and the second pair-part of an adjacency pair mean the paired initiating and relevant responding actions, produced by two speakers, in a course of action, like invitation and acceptance/rejection, apology and forgiveness, etc. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Clift et al., 2009).

Turn design describes how speakers construct their turn-constructional units, select the lexical or phrasal items, employ the sentential structure, and use vocal resources for the recipient or audience to perform an intended action (Drew, 2013; Levinson, 2013). Hence, turn design concerns the design in two senses: the design of a social action and of the practice(s). Abundant research has focused on the practices of social actions: self-praise (e.g., Wu, 2011a), requests (Fox & Heinemann, 2016), complaints (Drew, 1998; Edwards, 2005) and so on. The other line of research investigates generic turn designs for turn allocation, using turn-beginning items like laughter, response particles (Depperman, 2013) or clicks (Ogden, 2013). Therefore, turn design is particularly important for examining how students' trouble reports are designed for the recognition as one, as well as how they are constructed (Chapters 4 and 5).

Repair is concerned with the progressivity of interaction. A co-participant at talk attends to trouble speaking, hearing, or understanding, where trouble refers to "misarticulation, malapropisms, use of a 'wrong' word, unavailability of a word, failure to hear or to be heard, trouble on the part of the recipient in understanding, incorrect understandings by recipients" (Schegloff, 1987, p. 210; Schegloff et al., 1977; Clift, 2016b; Kitzinger, 2012). It should also be acknowledged that ostensible repair does more than just addressing problems with speaking/understanding/hearing; it can be used perform other social actions such as surprise (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006) and newsmark (Thompson et al., 2015), which will also be shown in Chapter 7. In particular, self-initiated self-repair (whereby the speaker addresses the problem with the talk within the same turn) crystallises what is treated as problematic and replaced or adjusted accordingly and sheds light on the speaker's understanding of the current interaction as to what is more appropriate, accurate, clear etc. Moreover, interactants can switch social actions via self-repair (Drew et al., 2013). This is especially productive when looking at how students and supervisors use repair in the local interaction across the cases.

Preference organisation describes and discovers the principles of acting or responding among a range of confined options in interactions (Schegloff, 2007; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013), not the psychological state of liking or disliking. Preference works on the levels of social actions and linguistic formats, which will be relevant to the succeeding discussion in the analytic chapters. To start with social actions, as Heritage and Atkinson (1984, p.53) describes, there are "phenomena associated with the fact that choices among nonequivalent courses of action are routinely implemented in ways that reflect an institutionalized ranking of alternatives". For example, an invitation can get accepted or

rejected; acceptance is the preferred response and rejection is the dispreferred. A praising assessment toward others can be agreed or disagreed upon (Pomerantz, 1984); in this case, the agreement is preferred and the disagreement is dispreferred. This means that the analysis of preference is always relative, comparing between two or more volumes of actions. There is also preference on the level of linguistic formats, which refers to practices to produce both realms of response: preferred actions are normally delivered in a prompt, straightforward and brief manner, such as *I certainly wi:ll* to a request for help (Clayman, 2002, p.232). Dispreferred actions are produced with delaying (when the turn is due, Sacks et al., 1974), prefaces, accounts and mitigations (Clayman, 2002, p.232). Analyses in the following chapters will relate to preferences in both senses on varying levels. In Chapter 5, the productions of student trouble reports are discovered to carry practices that are associated with dispreference: they are often delayed, prefaced and accounted for. Nonetheless, by this I do not mean that the action of students' talking about trouble is in anyway a dispreferred action compared to other alternatives (e.g., supervisors' pointing out the student's trouble or students' indicating one instead of explicitly reporting it). There are occasions of trouble reports being discussed in terms of the dispreferred actions, however, in Chapter 6, when they concern trouble with the supervisor or the department. Hence, the two ways of making connections to preference organisations should be distinguished.

The last core concept within CA is epistemics, which is concerned with how interactants "assert, contest and defend" their knowledge as an interactional work (Heritage, 2013, p.371). Epistemic stance and epistemic status are the core concepts within the topics on epistemics. The epistemic stance are marked as K+ (more knowledge) and K- (less knowledge). In English, K+/K- can be embodied by grammatical resource. For example, the question "Are you married" asserts no knowledge about the recipient's marital status; whereas "You are married, aren't you" conveys an assumption, and thus more knowledge (Heritage, 2013, p.377). As for epistemic status, it refers to the joint recognition of the participants' level of knowledge and epistemic rights. In supervisory interaction, epistemics is a powerful tool in examining how the parties display and manage their understanding. For instance, Bowker (2012) investigated how supervisors use "yeah?" and "okay?" to obtain students' epistemic stance. Epistemics equally has significance on this study in regard to methods supervisors use to register their understanding of students' expressions of trouble. Again, for example, in the case of Bowker (2012), it is found how divergent deliveries of "yeah" might be doing, such as a

continuer or marking a recipiency.

In this introductory section of the chapter, I briefly described the research project and outlined the general research questions, after which I overviewed the utilised method (CA) regarding the definition and the fundamental domains (turn-taking, sequence organisation, turn design, repair, and preference) to inform the direction the current study is taking. In what follows, the chapter will move on to more practical concerns relating to the undertaking of the research, starting from the ethical considerations to applying for permission to carry out the study.

3.3 Ethical considerations

The application for permission to conduct the research was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Language and Linguistic Science in August 2019. The ethical considerations have focused on two aspects in the process of the application: full voluntary participation and anonymity. Ensuring full voluntary participation is important because one party's decision might influence the other's, especially when, for example, a supervisor asks the student to record their meeting. Therefore, the consent of the supervisor and the student(s) was sought separately. When a supervisor expressed their willingness to participate, it would be me, the researcher, to ask their students whether they would like to take part as well when they came to meet the supervisor. In this way, there would be no pressure coming from the supervisor that the student must take part just because the supervisor has agreed, and in reality, there were students who did say no. In this way, the extent to which the students were obliged to participate was minimised. The reason why the recruitment took such an order, i.e., recruiting supervisors then the students not the other way around, will be explained in 3.4 Recruitment. Furthermore, participants were given the right to withdraw from the study including the right to stop the recording in the middle of the interaction.

Anonymity is another important consideration of ethics. All student participants are pseudonymised; the supervisors are anonymised with the "SUP" speaker label in the transcripts (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Identifiable information in the participants' conversations like names, departments and locations are either pseudonymised or omitted in the transcripts. Since discussion relating to courses/modules and the use of terminology are prevalent in the corpus and pose analytic interests, it would be

impractical to omit the course/module names completely and also unappetising to see "modules L and E", "course B" and "an economic term" across the analysis. To prevent participants from being recognised and to ensure readability, this potentially identifiable information is replaced with made-up ones – what you see in the transcripts and analysis in terms of the courses and academic terms are fictionalised. As the majority of the data are videos and the analytic interests include embodied conduct from time to time, it would seem useful to present findings with images in various types of publications and dissemination. It is popular for researchers to use pixelation and filters to block the physical features of the participants and the surrounding environments. However, it does not seem to be practical for this study as the offices – where all the meetings took place – of the staff members' were very personal regarding the layout and the properties (e.g., the books in the background and posters on the wall), which makes it impossible to entirely prevent recognition. To address this, I only use the line drawings and one filtered photo still of the momentary interaction (e.g., Albert et al., 2019) in which I could selectively omit the identifiable and irrelevant features but also keep the phenomena of interest.

Only the researcher herself and the supervisors were able to access the data due to the confidentiality thereof. The participants were able to indicate on the consent forms whether the data could be shown in public for academic purposes (see Appendix I. Samples of information sheet and consent form). All raw data (including audio and video) are stored in an encrypted hard drive; the data extracts for analysis are stored in the password-protected personal computer and backed up in the university associated Google Drive account. The participants also indicated on the consent form whether to allow me to keep the recording for future use. If they ticked "yes", their data would continue to be stored in the hard drive; otherwise, the data would be removed permanently on the Google Drive and the hard drive.

3.4 Recruitment

Having covered the ethical requirements and consideration of the study, in this part, I aim to present how I recruited participants accordingly, focusing on some challenges and solutions during the process.

The participants I aimed to recruit were undergraduate or postgraduate students and

their supervisors in the university; they would allow their supervision meetings to be recorded so they could provide authentic supervision interactions for the purpose of the research, i.e., to discover the patterns of how students express their trouble and how supervisors respond to them. Recruiting participants is widely regarded as the most challenging part of a research project (Patel et al., 2003; Blanton et al., 2006). Indeed, my experience with recruitment proved to be one of the most daunting and at the same time adventurous parts of the whole research process considering supervision meetings may involve highly personal and confidential conversations, and most prospective participants would not risk it. Thus, I will now discuss the different recruitment methods I tried in response to the challenges and ethical considerations.

As the ethics committee required full voluntary participation as mentioned in section 3.3, I did start from the 'student-centred' approach. This means that I recruited students first to safeguard students' autonomy in deciding on their participation; then I would enquire about their supervisors' willingness. Hence, I had a go at many conventional methods like using social media (online posts, email circulations within the university, etc.) (Rife et al., 2016), spreading leaflets and putting up posters in areas designed to accommodate research recruitment on campus to advertise the research project. Many teaching staff members kindly let me advertise the project before their classes to the students so I could spread the information about the research project more effectively. However, these methods did not prove helpful. I only got one participant from the online post. The reason is that people simply just walked past the poster or leaflet, and scrolled away from an online post – it was too easy for them to not react to these advertisements.

After a couple of fruitless months, I decided to recruit student participants by talking to them. This involved finding opportunities for social events so I could interact and socialise with many students. However, it was a huge commitment to ask people I had just met. Based on these experiences, I began taking part in other research students' studies, thinking this would make it easier for me to start the conversation about my research project in the interaction we were situated in. It worked quite well. Some students said yes immediately. Unfortunately, later, they came back with a no-answer from their supervisors. However, most students who declined to participate expressed that they were "fine about being recorded", but would get stressed about either of us asking their supervisor to take part.

From several such loops of failure ("yes" from student --> student asking supervisor -->

"no" from supervisor or "no" from the beginning), I gained an impression that this recruitment method was not quite working; it stagnated whenever I got to the stage where I was going to get consent from the other party. To solve the dilemma, I applied for a revised plan for recruitment to the ethics committee. Before, their concern was that if a supervisor agreed to have the meetings recorded, students would feel obligated to agree even if they did not feel like it. Therefore, we came up with a plan to get the supervisors' permission first and then the students', instead of having the supervisors ask the students about their participation. An additional benefit was the efficiency of recruitment. The supervisors were likely to meet multiple students in a day back-to-back (with short breaks certainly), and there was a higher chance to record multiple meetings. Therefore, I began the recruitment from the supervisors By 1. setting up meetings with them via emails, 2. telling them who I was, what my research project was, and whether they would be willing to take part when I met with them. In-person communication was a crucial and pivotal part of recruitment compared to previous attempts with flyers and online posts. I was able to present the information sheet (see Appendix I) to the supervisors I met with, and to explain the project in more detail and address their concerns instantly. Even just a few minutes' acquaintance proved helpful because it gave the participants a clear sense of who the researcher was, drawing on the researcher's self-presentation (Goffman, 1959). Even though the chance of agreeing to participate was about 30 per cent, and I repeated the process 30 times before I collected enough data, it was way more productive than before. Unsurprisingly, the main reason for rejection was about the recording, as one supervisor revealed (in the email):

"I don't think that recording my … sessions would be popular with the majority of students who come to them. The sessions … involve discussion and spontaneity, and their spontaneous style would be affected if students (and me!) knew that they were being recorded."

But whether recording hampered spontaneity for the participants who did take part raises a curiosity; this poses a question as to what extent is the generated data naturalistic? Therefore, this will be expanded in section 3.5 Data collection.

Overall, the message I take from the recruitment is that the approach can be very individual; what works for one project does not necessarily work for the other, especially when it comes to topics that the members of society tend to be personal about.

Therefore, the recruitment should actively address what potential participants are concerned about and design the recruitment methods around them.

3.5 Data collection

Due to the interest in naturally occurring supervision interaction in this study, it is crucial to acquire data from authentic supervision meetings to examine how the participants organise the interaction and different pedagogic activities in which trouble is expressed and responded to. Therefore, data collection constitutes the most fundamental part of the whole research project; it is the very prerequisite for everything – the raising of specific research questions, phenomena of interest informed by the data, and the topics of each chapter. To this end, this part of the section details how I obtained the materials for analysis, selected the data extracts and ensured the safety and confidentiality of the data.

3.5.1 The procedures of data collection

This part involves how data were collected, the challenges during the collection, and how I ensured the data were naturally occurring; a particular controversy between getting such data and the use of a recording device will be expanded later.

To begin with, the data format is video apart from one audio (for more about this see section 3.5.3). The collection of data was greatly guided by a pilot study at the beginning of the data collection. Three participants (2 supervisors and one supervisee), having known that I was recruiting participants, volunteered to have their meeting recorded so I could test out various practical issues like:

1. how the recording device would be placed,

2. how the consent procedure would be obtained more efficiently,

3. whether the participants could control the recording,

4. how approximately early I should arrive at the venue to reduce the influence I would have on the participants.

Now to describe what happened in the pilot study: after they expressed the willingness

of participation, I sent them the information sheet and consent in advance of the meeting. On the day of the recording, I collected their signed consent forms before the meeting to cause as little delay as possible of the scheduled time. During the meeting, I waited in a separate room. As I reclaimed the recording device and checked the recording, I discovered that the participants spent some time adjusting the device in the hope of providing the idealist quality of the data, which led to slight delay for the meeting to officially begin. This meant that the data collection procedure more or less affected the timing of the meeting. Hence, from this pilot study, it was learned that allowing sufficient time before the data collection is vital to ensure the recording device is ready with respect to its location and condition (e.g., the battery is full and the mic is turned up) so the participants would not worry about the camera. It should be noted that there were other issues emerge from the later sessions, which were unprecedented in the pilot study. For example, some participants had forgotten to turn on the camera or delayed to do so. This led me to have less data to observe. The value of the pilot study, however, was still significant. It allowed me to get a handle on the collection in general so I was more resilient to situations illustrated before.

Given the pilot study, a systematic procedure was made as follows. The collection procedure began with the agreement on the time of participants' forthcoming meetings, so the supervisor would inform the precise time for data collection for the researcher. The participants themselves completely decided on this to minimise any interference caused by the research project. On the days of data collection:

- I brought the recording device[3] to the site of the meeting (normally the supervisor's office) in advance to place the camera, inform the participants about the manipulation of the device, and check its functionality. The camera was placed in the corner of the room. The position was designed to capture all the participants to observe their speech and bodily conduct and to avoid causing any distraction.

- After that (, if the supervisor had opted for me getting the students' consent, see section 3.3; otherwise, the supervisor asked about the students' willingness

---

[3] The make and model of the camera: Zoom Q4N Handy Video Recorder. For more information see: https://zoomcorp.com/en/gb/video-recorders/video-recorders/q4n/

themselves, which was more rare), I would wait for the students to arrive and then inform them (again) about the research project going on outside the office/in the hallway; the participation would involve recording their meetings, their supervisor had agreed to participate, and they were completely free to say no. And then, I asked them about their willingness. All this would take around 5 minutes.

- When the meetings started, I would leave the site immediately so the participants could carry on with their meetings. In a couple of sessions, the participants preferred me to switch on the recording before I left so they did not have to be distracted; in most cases, I left it to the participants so they could begin recording any time they felt like it. The video recordings show that all supervisors started the rolling at the beginning of the meeting as early as the students were still signing the consent forms.

- Last, I returned to the locations of the meetings after the participants had finished, to reclaim the camera and consent forms signed by both participants. This was the whole process of collecting the video data.

A single audio recording was provided by one of the participants due to the unavailability of the video-camera. The student recorded the meetings, and both participants granted me the right to use the recordings for research purposes. In these cases, I did not have to attend the data collection, and the meetings took place as usual.

3.5.2 Challenges and limitations

The challenges of video data collection I encountered mainly related to the device and the recording. When I had just begun the data collection, I went back to a supervisor's office to collect the camera one day. The supervisor apologetically told me that she failed to record anything because the camera was not on, misled by the indicator light (the green light means the device is "on" but "not recording" and the red light means "recording"). In fact, many later participants had been confused about the lights in the later data collections, and I remembered stressing what the "red" and "green" lights meant to them. The first lesson I learned from the collection was clearly and thoroughly telling participant(s) what to do. I could also get very quiet video data because the mics on the camera were not turned up. This caused great pain when I transcribed data

extracts from this recording, and I had to use video-editing software to maximise the sound volume. Overall, such technical issues can be avoided by attention to detail, familiarity with the device, and gaining experience from practice.

It also proved challenging to collect data that captured multiple participants. Because CA relies on highly fine-grained detail of the achievement of actions, I needed to make sure I could observe their postures, gestures, movements, facial expressions, and activities they were engaged in for analysis. Lighting and angle became the key considerations for the placement of the camera. I had collected data that were either quite dark or bright. On these occasions, additional edits to the video data were necessary to brighten the image. But to avoid this, the researcher ought to place the camera in a "safer" place that does not catch the light.

In terms of the angle, it was trickier than I thought it would be because I aimed to satisfy two considerations: to capture the participants and minimise the camera's noticeability. Therefore, I used only one video camera to collect the data. As it turned out, it was pretty hard to record every action of each participant with just one camera. The interactions were dynamic; supervisors could move behind the desktop and get blocked. Sometimes, the placement of the camera would only allow me to see the back of the student and a quarter of their faces. These inabilities undoubtedly limit what I could get from the data. However, it was not all bad news. The blockage of certain features and behaviours pushed me to observe and examine what I *could* see in more detail. In one of the recordings, the camera could only capture the back of the student Qiu most of the time (see fig.3.1). We can see the supervisor's conduct quite well, but Qiu's facial expressions and many bodily behaviours are blocked.

Figure 3.1 The change of embodiment

Nonetheless, we can still make some quite productive observations. For example, the illustration on the left-hand side shows how the student sits mostly, sitting straight up and facing the supervisor. From the right-hand side, she lowers her head, raises her hand, and touches her face (as she produces an expression of trouble about her exam results). This example shows that seemingly imperfect data can offer more than we might first think. Moreover, it can even help us stay focused on what we can see: some hand gestures, body positioning, and nodding rather than hindering our analysis.

On the last point about the noticeability of the camera, the idea was to minimise the distraction the recording might cause to the participants. Therefore, I will discuss the controversies about using recorders for naturally occurring interactions.

Is recording the enemy of being 'naturally occurring'? The worry about the "spontaneity" of the interaction in a frame was not groundless. But here we are dealing with the issue of recording supervision interaction not on a moral but an epistemological level. How do I make sure the data I recorded is 'naturally occurring' as claimed? Labov (1972) uses the 'Observer's Paradox' to contest the ecological validity that the observation itself 'contaminates' the ecology in question. The recording equipment is, for example, one source of distraction and impacts participants' behaviours as well as the observed phenomenon. Kent (2011) suggests that the recording device can be exploited when the participants are allowed to control it (see also Mondada, 2006). Kent's (2011, p.40) data

shows cases where the participants waved hands at the camera, which transformed the research device into a source of entertainment. In Hazel (2016), participants speak about their awareness of the existence of the recording camera in university student counselling settings as evidence of recording activity influencing participants' behaviours. Admittedly, the paradox between the course of research and the naturalistic-ness does stand. However, it is impossible to study naturally occurring interaction without recording or observing it, especially covertly. Therefore, what we should focus on is perhaps the minimisation of the impact of recording.

Given the empirical findings on how the recording activity impacts the participants, I want to address the question of whether the recording is the enemy of being 'naturally occurring' by splitting it into two sub-questions: 1. To what extent does the recording change participants' behaviours in the meetings? 2. Is recording a hindrance to being naturalistic? Starting from the first question, participants' do address the ongoing recording occasionally. For instance, in the module-choice meeting UGC002, the supervisor addresses the camera when the participants are viewing the student's exam results, saying that, "I'm really- don't like to talk about your scores in front of the camera but anyway" (see Extract 7.3). Although this would not have happened without the presence of the camera, the camera did not prohibit the supervisor from providing support for the student as immediately after the utterance, the supervisor carries on checking on the student's experiences with the modules she claims to be struggling with – it is only that the supervisor does not read out the scores to protect her privacy. Furthermore, most participants I asked recalled that they gradually forgot about the recording as the interaction went on (cf. Jordan & Henderson, 1995). For the second question, I would argue that some change of behaviour or adaptation does not mean contrived data. On the contrary to contamination, 'acting differently' reveals the innate order of the setting and the identities the interactants adopt. On the surface, the supervisor I just mentioned gave up on what she wanted to do, i.e., to talk about the exam results with the student. On the other hand, by declaring this, the supervisor shows an orientation to advice-giving (by accounting for why advice is not being given); it is done via the implementation of safeguarding the student's privacy. In Mondada's words (2006, p.4), such ways of addressing the recording "give us central insights into the organizational features of the recorded practices themselves, revealing their local order . . . by their display to and for the camera". Hence, it is argued that the recording does not prevent the collection of naturalistic data.

3.5.3 About the corpus

This section is concerned with what kind of participants and supervision meetings were researched. In total, 22 students and 10 supervisors participated in the project, contributing 12 hours of data (23 video recordings and one audio recording). They were identified and recruited at an anonymous university in the UK from various years or stages of study. All the interactions are in English, even though the students and some of the supervisors have come from countries all over the world where English is not their first language. The data collection started in the Autumn term in 2019 November and ended in the Spring term in 2020 March.

Table 3.1 shows the composition of the participants, the courses, and years they were in, and the correspondent recording codes. From this table, it can be learned that most supervision groups are dyadic – one supervisor and one supervisee, with one exception (triadic, one student and two supervisors, PGH001); the majority of students were undergraduate, and the rest postgraduate taught and PhD.

Supervisor(s)	Student (Pseudonym)	Course	Codes of recordings
SUP1	JAM (James)	Undergraduate Year 3	UGH011
	LEO (Leo)		UGH012
	CAL (Calvin)		UGH013
	JES (Jess)		UGH014
	GAR (Gary)		UGH015
SUP2	NIC (Nicola)	Undergraduate Year 2	UGH007
	JAC (Jack)		UGH002
	JOE (Joe)		UGH009
	ED (Eddie)		UGH008
	QIU (Qiu)		UGC001
SUP3	ALI (Alice)	Undergraduate Year 3	UGH010
	STE (Steve)	Undergraduate Year 2	UGH003

	XIN (Xin)	Undergraduate Year 3	UGC003
	MIC (Michelle)	Undergraduate Year 1	UGH004
SUP4	RAC (Rachel)	Undergraduate Year 2	UGH005
	MOL (Molly)	Undergraduate Year 1	UGH006
	MAY (May)	Undergraduate Year 2	UGC002
SUP5	NAT (Natalia)	Undergraduate Year 3	UGH001
SUP6	FRA (Frank)	MA	PGTC001
SUP7	CHR (Christina)	MSc	PGTH001 PGTH002
SUP8	RON (Ron)	PhD	PGC001
			PGC002
SUP9, SUP10	JUD (Judy)		PGH001

Table 3.1 Participants

I set few restrictions on the selection of participants in terms of degree, course, gender, discipline, age, and first language because the study seeks the systematics in the operation of various kinds of supervision meetings, i.e., the common practices being used in supervision interaction without selecting a particular population of students or supervisors. Therefore, I ended up building a corpus with a diversity of types of meetings on various courses (see Table 3.2). Below is an overview of the meeting types and the duration. As Heritage and Drew (1992) contend, each type of institutional interaction has its unique fingerprint – the constraints of the interaction that participants orient to. Hence, types of meetings do influence in a way that shape what participants treat as 'trouble' and relevant. Therefore, following the descriptions of each type, how the nature of the meetings figure in the analyses will be mentioned.

Supervisory dyads/group		Type of meetings	Duration of recording
SUP1	JAM (James)	Dissertation supervision	24 minutes 12 seconds

	LEO (Leo)		25 minutes 15 seconds
	CAL (Calvin)		24 minutes 54 seconds
	JES (Jess)		25 minutes 33 seconds
	GAR (Gary)		21 minutes 26 seconds
SUP2	NIC (Nicola)	Module-choice meeting	18 minutes 46 seconds
	JOE (Joe)		14 minutes 59 seconds
	ED (Eddie)		20 minutes 44 seconds
	QIU (Qiu)		21 minutes 34 seconds
	ALI (Alice)	Dissertation supervision	27 minutes 30 seconds
SUP3	STE (Steve)	Pastoral supervision	10 minutes 25 seconds
	XIN (Xin)		8 minutes 10 seconds
	MIC (Michelle)		6 minutes 18 seconds
SUP4	RAC (Rachel)	Module-choice meeting	27 minutes 27 seconds
	MOL (Molly)		20 minutes 26 seconds
	MAY (May)		29 minutes 29 seconds
SUP5	NAT (Natalia)	Dissertation supervision	19 minutes 35 seconds
SUP6	FRA (Frank)	Pastoral supervision	8 minutes 55 seconds
SUP7	CHR (Christina)		32 minutes 25 seconds (audio) 31 minutes 9 seconds
SUP8	RON (Ron)	PhD supervision	120 minutes 26 seconds
SUP9 SUP10	JUD (Judy)		60 minutes 16 seconds
			12 hours 2 mins 42 seconds

Table 3.2 Types of supervision/meetings and duration

Undergraduate module-choice meeting: The purposes of module-choice meetings were to discuss and decide on the modules for the next academic year. These meetings offered good opportunities for students to get to know different subjects and fields offered in a programme and how useful they were for individual students' pursuits, guided by the supervisor. Some other issues would be talked about such as grades because they would influence the choices. The length was about 25 minutes. In these meetings, students' trouble frequently orients to problems such as studying certain courses and choosing them, as in line with the very purpose of the meetings – to help students make decisions on the courses and complete the registration.

Undergraduate pastoral supervision: These were held regularly, which would be the start of the term. Supervisors would ask regular questions about students' recent progress such as in exams, experience with the course, application for postgraduate studies, ideas about dissertations and so on. Students could expand on these and raise their concerns and any difficulties they were experiencing. These meetings were shorter, lasting from 6 minutes to 10 minutes. Such brief encounters were organised by a series of questions on different aspects of the student's study initiated by supervisors and the student's responses (with post-expansions on the subject matter). That means, we will often see trouble relating to a wide range of aspects (such as exams and accommodation) being reported[4]).

Postgraduate (taught) pastoral supervision: Like undergraduate pastoral supervision, the postgraduate ones were undertaken every semester to check on students' progress and deal with questions students had. Some of the questions involved the next stage of study, i.e., PhD application and research proposal. They were slightly above half an hour, except for the recording PGTC001, which was a short eight-minute voice call due to the supervisor's sickness. Due to the pastoral nature, postgraduate pastoral supervision was handled similarly to the undergraduate – sequences of trouble reports can often be sought and found in the question-and-answer exchanges pertinent to the student's exams and applications to PhD study or research proposal initiated by supervisors.

Undergraduate dissertation supervision: These were scheduled by the supervisor at the start of the academic term (in Spring) to discuss the dissertation drafts students sent. Before the meetings, detailed feedback had been provided so the meetings were mainly to address students' questions about the comments. These meetings were around 30 minutes. The troubles students raise typically features struggles of fixing certain parts of the dissertations, as in line with the interactional goal of discussing the comments.

PhD supervision: They were regular monthly meetings in which students and supervisors

---

[4] In the case below, the supervisor, while operating quite a routinised question of checking on the student's study, actively solicits the potential challenges she might be experiencing via the how-question.

```
SUP --> how are you getting on wi' syntax and
    --> semanticsh:.
        (0.8)
QIU    m::m:: (1.0) semantics is more: difficult this year.
```

discussed specific issues of work at certain stages. The participants would make plans, explore the possibilities and potential risks of conducting the research projects and solve obstacles identified by the participants. These meetings were longer than other meetings, of which durations vary from one hour and half to, in a rare case, nearly 3 hours. In these meetings, specific issues with the individual research project are constructed are constructed and treated as trouble reports.

The extraneous variations might lead to difference in how the interaction unfolds. Moreover, the types of meetings help us access the projects and activities that the participants are engaged in and guide the analysis (Robinson, 2003). In Robinson (2003), through analysing the openings, we are able to identify participants' own orientation to the main project. Same with this study, how supervisors and students orient to openings shed a light on the main objective of the meeting so we have a handle on the what the talk about trouble was about and was doing. More importantly, the variety of environments pin down what trouble is oriented to as relevant and something for the supervisor to react on with advice or another.

3.6 The data analysis procedure

As mentioned before, an interest in the norms and regularities of how the members of society conduct social activities through talk-in-interaction makes conversation analysis a method about *patterns*. This involves close examinations of data taking the linguistic and embodied practices, sequential organisation, and the sequential environment. In what follows, I will introduce how I approached the collected materials for each analytic chapter.

3.6.1 Viewing the data and noticing candidate cases

The primary step of the analysis was to watch the data thoroughly. Then, as suggested by many, I began with 'noticing' how an action or actions get done (Wu, 2016; Hoey & Kendrick, 2017; Clayman & Gill, 2004; Schegloff, 1996b). The noticing involves what the action achieves and how it is unique, especially in comparison to elsewhere (Schegloff, 1996b). Because I proposed and predetermined to study a specific type of social action in supervision interaction – students' expressing trouble – I focused on how students talk about trouble differently or similarly, either in response to supervisors' questions or on

their initiatives, and how supervisors respond to them.

I had assumptions and intuitions about what this target phenomenon would look like in the data. That is, students would begin telling their trouble using expressions of emotions like "I'm worried about . . ." and negative assessments like ". . . is difficult". These do happen. For example, in PGTH001, the student explicates "I'm a bit worried about the uh exam?" In PGC002, the student once expressed a lack of knowledge "I didn::t (0.2) get thuh (0.9) uh: essay sometimes". These can be directly recognised as expressions of trouble. However, not all cases are like this. As Sacks asserts (1984, p.25): ". . . however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical, hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable." What I thought to be the ways of expressing trouble might not represent how it is done in reality. Therefore, I left aside those assumptions and started viewing the data without much motivation regarding what I wanted to find. Meanwhile, I needed to understand what the meeting was about so I could identify the sequences of discussing trouble the student had. For instance, in Extract 3.1, the PhD candidate Ron and the supervisor work to address feedback of the progression assessment[5], in which the trouble report employs the form of a statement of facts (lines 98-100).

```
Extract 3.1 PGC001 2936 data issue


 97   RON     [hh. (.) that's, that the gap they
 98       --> were talk(in') about=I mean, (0.5) the later spread
 99       --> would be: you know (.) supported by data but
100       --> the: (0.3) the gap between thuh::
101           (0.2)
102   SUP     yeah, (0.2) YEAH.=
103   RON     =PC yeah and ormulum=
104   SUP     =YE[AH.]
105   RON        [would] be.
106           (3.0)((both look at the screen))
107   SUP     yeah, so that- that's true.
```

[5] The progression assessment is also known as a "Formal Review of Progress". It consists of a written submission (e.g., a developed research proposal or a chapter of the research project, as the evidence of research skills and commitment, for the progression panel to review) and an oral examination (to address the panel's question to demonstrate the candidate's potential to defend the research project). If the candidate fails the Review once, they will be given a chance to re-sit. In Extract 3.1, Ron has failed once. Therefore, the participants are working to address the questions from the progression panel so they can pass the second Review.

It is not straightforward for us to pin down lines 98-100 as the target turn (a trouble report), even though the "gap" (line 100) does index some sort of deficiency. What we need to do is to zoom out and understand the content of the talk and see the situated sequential environment to be able to see how this utterance came to be produced. I will walk through the extract briefly. Prior to the extract, the supervisor expressed her optimism about addressing the panel's questions, but Ron holds a different opinion. In order to express the resistance to the supervisor's optimism, Ron negotiates the understanding with the supervisor by offering his recollection of the panel's point and marking it as what he takes to be the panel's point (lines 97-98) (which will be discussed as "third party mentioning" in Chapter 5). Then the trouble report specifies how the "gap" between two historical periods "PC" and "ormulum" is not supported by data (lines 98-100, 103, and 105). Although the syntax is not complete in line 105, it is treated as finished and is agreed with (line 107). The trouble is not just established as the existence of an unfulfilled gap pointed out by the panel but also an unsolved issue so far for the supervisor's recognition. From Extract 3.1, we see the importance of understanding the topic that the participants are on and the sequential context in building a collection of cases, instead of looking out for the lexical and phrasal items only. In other words, we need to take the topic, the sequential context, the social action, and the linguistic practice all into account in justifying the cases for analysis.

It should also be acknowledged that trouble reports are a type of social action students perform; they can be used as a "vehicle" for other actions too, as recognised by many studies (Schegloff, 2007, pp.9, 73–78; Rossi, 2018, p.380). That is, students use them to resist the supervisor's opinion (e.g., Extract 3.1), to disagree, and to do a self-deprecation, which were all included. To widen the mindset regarding what to include and exclude for inspection had certainly broadened the stack of cases. The next steps would be to transcribe the data and build collections.

3.6.2 Transcribing

Transcribing the data is typically seen as a step of data processing in preparation for analysis because it is not data analysis; it is a presentation of the data that the analyst uses to build the write-up and which the reader can refer to in order to validate the argument. However, here transcribing is counted as an analytic step for reasons as

follows. With Jeffersonian transcription (Bolden & Hepburn, 2018), which I use, what is said and *how* it is said (relating to the prosodic and temporal features) are both paid attention to (ten Have, 2007). It would be infeasible and unnecessary to transcribe 12-hour long recordings in Jeffersonian style (see Appendix II. Jeffersonian transcription conventions); I transcribed the data when they became analytically relevant. Therefore, the careful selection and some level of analysis came before the transcription. Here, it should be noted that transcripts cannot be equated to data (Ochs, 1979; ten Have, 2007). They are a product of the analyst's subjective hearing and inclusion of annotations of verbal, vocal, and embodied behaviours; in some cases, a chunk of talk is omitted considering the relevance of the analytic focus (but it must be noted in the transcript). With that said, the transcriber should try to visualise the features of the talk as detailed and accurate as possible. Next, I will detail how I transcribed the data using Jeffersonian conventions.

Jeffersonian transcription. ELAN (the Language Archive, n.d.) was the programme I used for transcription. It allowed me to annotate the speech (especially the overlapping turns), the embodiment of different participants and other elements (such as the objects being manipulated) on the tiers. It also made the measurement of time for silence, a word-stretch, and other aspirational conduct easy. I started a new project by importing the video and the audio files for each data extract. Then, I set up multiple tiers, typically for the supervisor's speech, the student's speech and their multimodal annotations as needed (e.g., eye gaze and face-touching like Extract 3.2 on the later page).

Transcribing is regarded as time-consuming work; only one minute's data can take hours (e.g., Kent, 2011) partly due to the attention to the temporal features of the speech specific to milliseconds. To begin transcribing in a more efficient way, I first delineated the speech according to what I heard from the video and the sound wave with empty annotation spaces (fig.3.2).
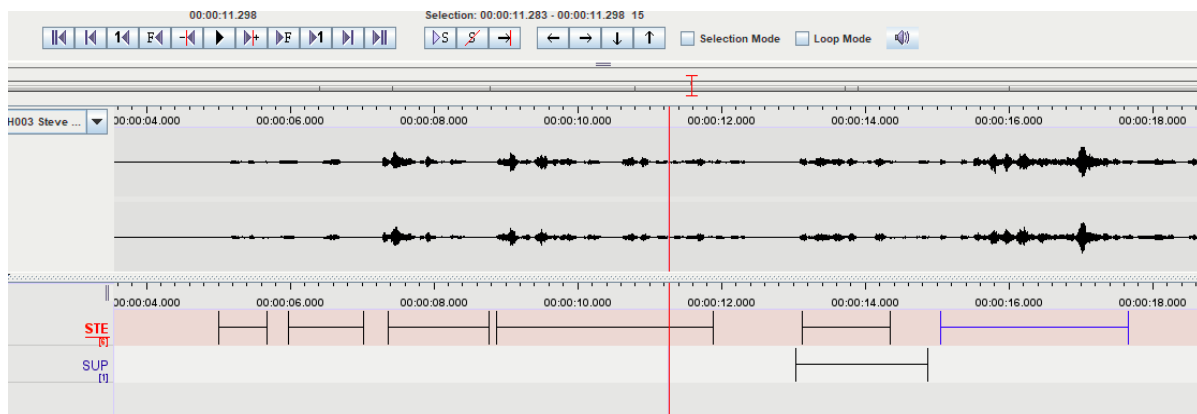
Figure 3.2. Initial annotations

After that, I revised the speech annotations on the timeline to precision, either by moving them forward or backwards, trimming or extending the lengths (fig.3.3). During this process, repetitive playing and hearing were necessary. Once the annotations were exhaustive, I started to fill in the blanks with what the participants said as accurately as possible. Sometimes it was not possible to make sense of what was said due to the accent, the noise, or other disturbances. In regards to this, I marked the inaudible part with "( )".
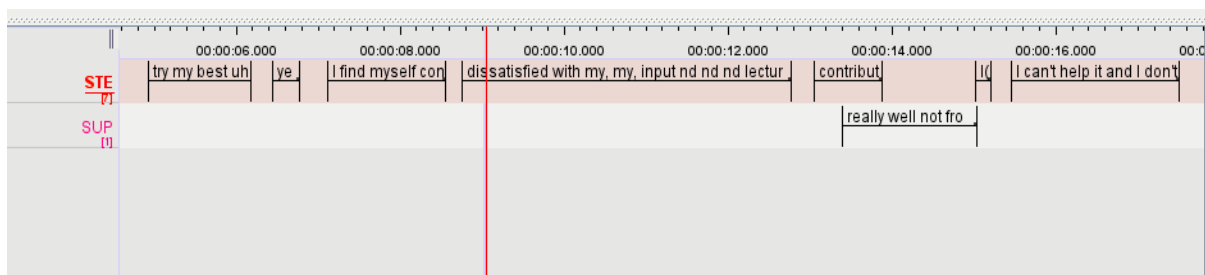
Figure 3.3 Detailed annotations

Once this was done, I converted the annotations on a Word document for more detailed descriptions of how the utterances were delivered with respect to the speed, intonation, pitch, loudness, stress, and laughter, in-breath and out-breath, silence, and anything outstanding. In the final stage of transcription, I formatted the data fragments for the write-up. This involved the labelling of the turns to the speakers and numbering the lines.

Transcription of embodiment. I included the transcription of embodied action under two circumstances. One was when a bodily behaviour was the focus of analysis. In other cases, I added multimodal transcription to make transparent what embodied action accompanies the talk or what was happening during the gap, i.e., what made the turn-

taking unavailable.

Since the increasing incorporation of visual details in interaction, various methods have been explored and developed to transcribe eye-gaze behaviours, hand gestures, and postural configurations (Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 1984; Mondada; 2014; 2018; Albert et al., 2019). For this study, I opted for Mondada's conventions (Mondada, 2014; see Appendix II. Jeffersonian transcription conventions) to transcribe the participants' embodied actions. Because the transcription is in parallel with the Jeffersonian transcription, it allows the observer to learn where the action occurs in relation to the verbal production or a specific moment. Another feature of Mondada's style is the delimitation of an action in terms of the preparation, the stroke and the retraction (Kendon, 2004), the "temporal trajectory" (Mondada, 2014, p.2), which provides more granular observations of the onset and offset of the conduct and the relationship with the turn as talk. The annotation of the embodiment is similar to the verbal production. In a new tier, I marked the focal conduct, in which case is face-rubbing, in line with the video (see fig.3.4).
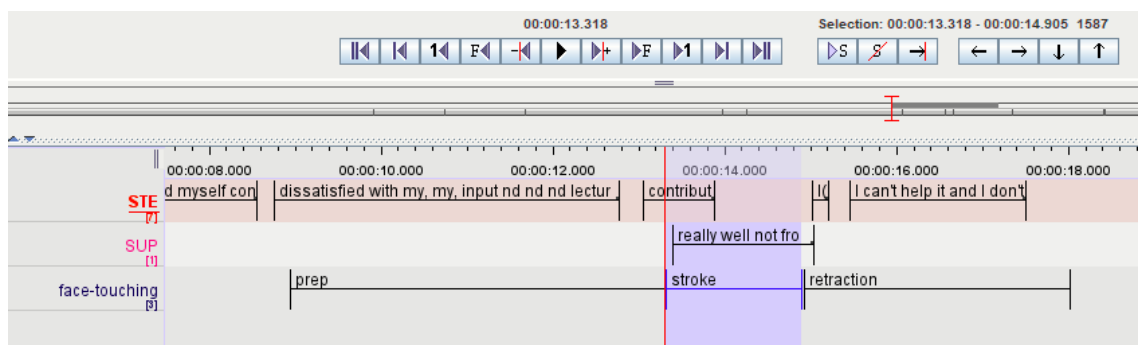
Figure 3.4 Annotations of embodiment

When it is exported as a transcript, it illuminates how Steve employs face-rubbing during an expression of dissatisfaction with his own performance (Extract 3.2).

```
Extract 3.2 UGH003 0850 Constant dissatisfaction


1    STE     (I'll) try my bes' uh::: (0.3) yeah.
2            (0.3)
3    STE     I find myself constantly, (0.2) di*ssatisfied
     ste                                 * ... ..-->
4            with my (.) my (0.2) input >nd ndnd< lectures, n::::
5            (0.3) contri*b[utions
     ste              -->*face rubbing-->
6    SUP  --> [↑REAlly well not from ↑my perspective?*
     ste                          -->*,,,-->
```

```
7    STE       I:::  (0.3) >I ↑can't help it and I don't really
8              know why it is. I think it's just s:*ad i thin-=mm<, (.) ↑MM.
     ste                                       ,,,-->*
```

In line 3, we see that Steve raises his hand in preparation for the focal action as he produces the item "dissatisfied" which directly conveys his state of troubledness. Then, his hands have reached and fully covered his face amid the last item "contributions" of his turn. Lastly, he retracts his hands from his face just as the supervisor's response has come to an end, the transition-relevance space (line 6), and places them on the knee to mark the completion of the whole action (line 8). In this way, I was able to see the systematics, specifically the timing of such embodiments in relation to the production of trouble reports. This was key to the grounding of generalisations and arguments.

3.6.3 Building collections and developing analysis

Conversation analysis is a research method that describes and justifies the regularities of social practices through which participants manage understanding. Hence, building up collections to see how interactants manage activities through recognised social practices is one of the vital steps before developing analytic accounts (Drew, 2003; Wu, 2016; Hoey & Kendrick, 2017; Clayman & Gill, 2004). The building of collections started from viewing and making notes of the whole set of data, and documenting every case of a student telling the supervisor about their troubles, which contributed to the large collection. Therefore, the overarching "collection" for this study refers to all the instances of talking about trouble to the supervisor in supervision interactions (N=94). In line with standard CA methodology, I focused particularly on patterns in turn design (e.g., in how troubles were reported), sequential environment, and their initiations (whether it is by the supervisor or the student and how). There were also regularities in how supervisors responded to students' expressions of troubles. These patterns were organised into four sub-collections for analysis:
- one collection for students' ways of indicating trouble and the other for more explicit expressions, i.e., "trouble reports" (Chapter 1);
- collections of recurrent embodied and linguistic practices before and during reports of trouble (Chapter 2);
- a collection of systematic practices of addressing dispreference involved in trouble reports (Chapter 3);
- systematic supervisory practices of responding to students' trouble reports (Chapter 4).

Readers will find that Chapter 1 focuses on supervision openings. This was because the

collections of the two approaches, as mentioned above, students adopt was discovered when I first began to view the data from the start, i.e., the opening sequences. It was found that students reveal troubles frequently due to the ability of soliciting potential trouble personal state inquiries have. Hence, this is how we are going to see the analytic chapters being organised in such a way: a chapter on supervision openings (Chapter 4), one about trouble initiated by students and the formats of trouble reports (Chapter 5), and how supervisors handle them (Chapters 6 and 7). The chapters are, then, four aspects of features emerging from the collection.

When I came to the stage of developing the analysis, drawing from the particular collection, I would examine systematically across the set of data to account for what is going on in them and what these practices achieve collectively. Schegloff (1996b) has offered a set of techniques to account for an action. One is to explicate the practices in the utterance to make it the case of the proposed action. For example, as mentioned before, descriptions of negative emotions was one of the features in the construction of trouble reports emerging from the data. This led me to being interested in TCUs like in Extract 3.2, *I find myself constantly, (0.2) dissatisfied with my, my, (0.2) input >nd ndnd< lectures, n:::: (0.3) contributions* (lines 5-7). The explicit expression of self-discontentedness with his academic experience using the word "dissatisfied" enables us to recognise it as a blatant conveyance of trouble. However, we need more validation via the response from the co-participant. As Schegloff (1996b, p.172-173) further points out, we need to see "that the interlocutors . . . have understood the utterances (or other conduct) in question to be possibly doing the proposed action(s) or that they are oriented to that possibility". This is summarised as the "next-turn proof procedure" (Sacks et al., 1974), examining what the interlocutor has done in response to test whether the prior turn has achieved the proposed action. Again referring back to Extract 3.2, the supervisor responds to Steve's trouble report (line 8), in overlap, with a newsmark "↑REAlly" (Thompson et al., 2015, p.52) and a denial from her perspective to disagree with Steve. This denial indicates her recognition of this self-deprecatory trouble report, which the supervisor shows affiliation with by a disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984). This kind of procedure is applied to all the data extracts.

Conversation analysis is by nature a comparative approach (Schegloff, 2009). Therefore, I also looked at how a set of cases develop in the same or different ways. Sometimes one or two cases depart from the expected pattern, which would be treated as the

"deviant case(s)". For example, it was found that following a trouble report, supervisors typically display their recognition of the trouble just reported (see Chapter 7). This systematicity, therefore, contradicts Extract 3.3 as we just saw the supervisor orients to contest Steve's reported trouble with "↑REAlly" and treat it as not worrisome or untrue with "well not from ↑my perspective". In response, Steve elaborates on his self-deprecation that he cannot help with: "I::: (0.3) >I ↑can't help it and I don't really know why it is", and assesses the situation as "s:ad" (lines 9-10). This shows that not displaying the recognition of the trouble as an advisable is treated as problematic, and is thereby pursued. Therefore, a deviant case is considered an important tool. It underpins an argued social norm not based on a statistical significance but on the evidence of how, if a social activity does not follow the normative way, it gets treated as problematic by the interactant (Maynard & Clayman, 2003).

Subsequent to the descriptions of the social actions, the employed linguistic and embodied practices and the sequential environments of the collection of cases, I would be in a position to yield arguments and reflections on them, this being the final step of the analysis. The realisation of this step will be seen in the analytic chapters in specific.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I attempted to show some theoretical and practical aspects of research – the ethical considerations, recruitment, data collection, and analytic procedures. Before collecting the data, I addressed two main challenges for recruitment: low response at first and the ethical expectation that participation is fully voluntary. They were simultaneously solved by the strategy of recruiting supervisors and then recruiting their students once the supervisor agreed to participate. Then I described how I carried out the fieldwork (to record the meetings) and the challenges I encountered: failure to record any data, low volume, and the placement of the camera for best capturing the participants' conduct. In particular, I discussed the widely disputed Observer's Paradox (Labov, 1972) caused by recording in relation to this study. I acknowledged that, from the data, the participants do not treat the camera as non-existent; however, the displayed orientation to the camera reveals the most authentic underlying order of the interaction rather than evidence of contrived data. Some demographic information in relation to the participants and the types of meetings I ended up getting was given. Most of the meetings are undergraduate module-choice meetings and dissertation supervisions, and the rest are postgraduate

taught and PhD supervisions. The last part of data collection is how I managed the dataset to keep it confidential and easy to use during the analytic process.

Finally, I demonstrated the data analysis procedures after I obtained the data: viewing and noticing, identifying cases, transcription, and developing analysis. This process accords with how many suggest conversation analysis is undertaken (Clayman & Gill, 2004; Hoey & Kendrick, 2017; Wu, 2016; Schegloff, 1996b). Having described the procedures of data collection and analysis, I will begin the analysis in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Trouble expression responding to supervision opening moves

4.1 Introduction

In the first analytic chapter, we will start from the opening of supervision meetings and examine students' expressions of trouble. Studying the opening is central to the understanding of sociality. In the opening, personal state inquiry, or the how-are-you question, is a means of self-presentation, showing what is considered appropriate, relevant, or necessary by the engagers based on their understandings of their identities and the nature of the interaction (Goffman, 1959). Besides, openings, being the starting point of an establishment or recommencement of a social relationship, consist of essential practices that are familiar, recognisable and practical for the members of interaction. For example, the opening of telephone calls recurrently includes the identification and recognition phases where visual access to the speakers is unavailable (Schegloff, 1979). In face-to-face interactions, the how-are-you question allows the participants to show each other's attentiveness to the affective or physical state to construct an affiliative and reciprocal atmosphere (Pillet-Shore, 2018b). Another important component of opening encounters, agenda-setting, in the openings plays a prominent role in institutional interactions. For example, in doctor-and-patient interaction, agenda-setting introduces the primary goal of the visit so the doctors can address the patient's concerns in an orderly way and thereby maximise the use of time in one session (Heritage & Robinson, 2006; Heritage et al., 2007). In supervision interaction, agenda-setting is documented as a place for negotiating the priority of the meeting between students and supervisors (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013). In this study, we will find that agenda-setting is somewhat nuanced to the previous studies. In this dataset, the interactional goals are pre-known or that the participants had a presumption about what the meeting would cover: to choose the modules, to discuss the feedback on the dissertation or the research project. However, students display the ability to negotiate the agenda so it is delayed or blocked so they can raise their trouble.

Overall, openings are crucial to our understanding of interaction. Given that we currently

have a limited understanding of the organisation of supervision opening (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013), the thesis will investigate the expression of trouble in students starting from the opening phase of the meetings. According to previous research, supervisory interaction is closely tied to and driven by a series of problem-solving events (e.g., Löfström & Pyhältö, 2012). The expression or display of trouble is the starting point of this endeavour. However, how students raise the problems has not been systematically examined. To this end, the objective of this chapter is to:

1. give an overview of the sequential organisation and the frequent opening moves in the transition to the "main business" (Robinson, 1998);
2. examine whether students raise trouble in different sequential environments of the opening phases.
3. show how they express trouble.

This chapter draws from 24 opening sequences from 23 video and audio recordings; trouble expressions occurred in 8 of the openings. The "openings" start from the "how are you" or "how are things" question (because the participants controlled the rolling of the camera without the presence of the researcher, they mostly started the recording when they had greeted each other and sat down or whenever they were ready to), from the personal state inquiry to agenda-setting of the meeting (see section 4.2). The results show the supervision openings routinely consist of initial and follow-up personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions. Secondly, trouble can be expressed in all of the opening sequences. Thirdly, two approaches are adopted by students in expressing trouble, direct "trouble reports" and utterances that project the relevance of trouble reports – "trouble projection". On "trouble projection" particularly, the question arises as to whether the projected trouble gets realised as the interaction unfolds, which will be discussed in section 4.3.4. From this chapter, insights can be gained on two aspects. One is about supervision openings themselves: they are an organisation in their own right and have a unique shape to them, orienting to the interactional goal. Another indication is that the expression of trouble is raised pervasively, regardless of its sequential environment.

The coming sections will first present an exemplar that possesses the key components of a supervision opening, so we have a better grasp of the sequential organisation and

how they transit to one another. Then, a detailed scruitinisation of each opening move. As the main focus of this chapter, trouble expressing turns occurring in these slots will be examined.

4.2 Supervisory opening moves

Before thoroughly investigating the opening sequences, it is worth showing an entire fragment of a supervisory opening to map out all the key moves (Extract 4.1). This extract is taken from an undergraduate module-choice meeting.


```
Extract 4.1 UGH005 "Fitting into different boxes"

1  SUP --> uh::: (.)°↑how are things going.°
2          (0.2)
3  RAC    .hh (.) em yeah (.) yeah
4          [(like) I] enjo[yed it]
5  SUP --> [↑GOO::d?]     [was  l]ast term::
6          (.) alrigh::t (.) ↑for you?
7  RAC    yeah, yeah. °I did- I really enjoyed
8          it, (.) [and (um::)-°
9  SUP            [goo:d.
10 SUP --> ↓and, ↓exams went alright,
11         (0.8)((RAC nods))
12 SUP    #wonderful.#
13 SUP    .h[  h h h ]h
14 RAC      [↓°yeah.°]
15         (0.2)
16 SUP --> um so, have you had a chance to
17         thin:k about (0.5) modules that you
18         wantuh' [ta', ne]#xt year#?
19 RAC            [y:::-  ]
20 RAC    ↑y::eah::::
21         (0.2)
22 RAC    but then I was jus talking tuh:: one of
23         my friends n she (0.2) mentioned oneo-
24         (.) a module thuh:::- (.) I hadn't seen
25         on the website?
```


From line 1, the supervisor begins the meeting with the question "°↑how are things going°" to inquire about the student Rachel's general state of affairs. In response, Rachel

delays to produce an all-good answer due to the gap in line 2. She first takes an inbreath, pauses, uses a hesitation marker "em", and then offers the confirmatory "yeah (.) yeah" (line 3). Then she continues to specify that she enjoyed the study. This shows she orients to the PSI as an institutional question that targets the study. While in ordinary interaction, such how-are-you questions are served as an "anchor point" and are followed by a "reason for the call" in telephone conversations (Schegloff, 1986, p.134). It should be noted is that in ordinary phone calls, how-are-yous tend to be reciprocated between the callers. As will be shown in Extracts in section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, the personal state inquiries, i.e., how-are-yous, in supervision meetings are only one-directional. In supervision openings, what comes next after the positive answer to the personal state inquiry is not the main business. Instead, the supervisor follows up with more specific inquiries about "last term" (line 5) and "exams" (line 10). Both inquiries are responded to positively (lines 7-8 & 11). Following the third position sequence closing assessment (line 12) and an inhalation (line 13) (during which the student agrees with the assessment "#wonderful.#" with a quiet "↓°yeah°" to enclose a sequence-closure implicative), the supervisor produces a question regarding Rachel's status of consideration about the modules she wants to take next year (lines 16-18). Being a pre-question to the base sequence of discussing the modules in detail (Schegloff, 2007), the supervisor brings the main business of the meeting into the light. Therefore, questions like in lines 16-18 will be considered agenda-setting questions. Rachel in response provides a "yes" answer (lines 19-20). The way she delivers the response begs some discussion in terms of the signalling of upcoming trouble (the overlap and the sound stretch); but for now, we only focus on the organisation of the opening. After the confirmation, starting from line 22, Rachel expands her response to the question by reporting having heard from a friend about the existence of a module she did not see as available to her on the website, which constitutes a trouble report. This marks the transition to the supervisor's asking whether Rachel has had a chance to look at module options, in response to which Rachel begins the discussion of the options; so the full opening sequence stops here.

From this fragment, we can see that the supervision opening is overwhelmingly supervisor-led. It is promoted by a series of questions initiated by the supervisor. The opening, as shown above, is governed by an initial personal state inquiry (lines 1-4), a follow-up personal state inquiry (lines 5-7; 10-12), and a pre-question to set up the discussion/registration of the modules as the agenda (lines 16-20). In the following sections, each of these slots will be explored in more detail.

4.2.1 The initial personal state inquiries (PSIs)

As mentioned above, although the first type of sequences to present are addressed as "the initial state inquiries", it should be noted that they are not the very first utterance of the interaction because the recordings did not capture the very beginning of the interaction because of how the data were collected. Therefore, the initial PSIs are only by reference to the first PSIs since the recording; they are "initial" in contrast to some more specific and topicalised questions such as "Last term went alright?", i.e., the follow-up PSIs to be discussed in section 4.2.2.

As seen in the first extract, supervision commonly begins from the initial PSI. By showing attentiveness to the interactant's affective or physical well-being, the initiator of PSI can establish an interpersonal relationship with others (Hepburn & Bolden, 2003; Pillet-Shore, 2008). Supervisors' PSIs show concerns for the student's study status, emotion, or general well-being. In response, students typically produce a lexical or sentential evaluation to indicate a no-problem stance. As shown in Extract 4.2, the supervisor employs a how-are-you question (Schegloff, 1986). It should be mentioned that the format of the initial PSI is not restricted to "How are you". There are also cases of "°↑how are things going.°" (Extract 4.1), "how are things GENerally" (Extract 4.10) and so on[6]. Using the standard how-are-you format, the supervisor targets the student Ron's state of affairs. What should be noted is that the question is delivered with a so-prefacing, an embedded exhalation (i.e., a 'sigh') to orient to an upcoming, potentially laborious topic

---

[6] 1. UGH005 "Fitting into different boxes"

```
1  SUP --> uh::: (.)°↑how are things going.°
2         (0.2)
3  RAC --> .hh (.) em yeah (.) yeah


2.  UGH008 "Sausage machine"

2 SUP --> how are things?
3 EDD --> ↑yeah? [(>>°(they are) goin]g well,°°<<)


3. UGH007 Slow reader

1 SUP --> how are things GENerally,
2         (0.4)
3 SUP     okay:::,
4         (0.4)
5 NIC --> ↑generally they are alright?
```

(see Extract 4.3). The question is responded by a minimal "good" (line 3), as how most responses noted above are like. The commonality is that these questions are located in FPP in the earliest phase of the opening sequence. This is due to the question itself orienting to generalisation.

```
Extract 4.2 PGC002 A 'niche'

1    SUP    s(h)o h(h)ow a(h)re you, ((breathy))
2           (.)
3    RON    good,
4           (0.3)
5    SUP    yeah?
```

The initial PSIs are made one-directional, i.e., they are not reciprocated by students, which is distinctive from ordinary interaction (Pillet-Shore, 2018b; Schegloff, 1986). This might be evidence of participants orienting to the initial PSI not just being social or phatic but more of an institutional question (cf. Coupland et al., 1992).

4.2.2 The follow-up personal state inquiries

The data shows that supervisors systematically continue to follow up with more questions to topicalise a specific aspect of the student's study or life. In general, these inquiries indicate the inadequacy of initial PSIs in getting to know how the student is doing. As we have seen, responses to the initial PSIs are brief with a positive or relatively positive lexical or phrasal answer. More fundamentally, initial PSIs are designed to be general. hereby, follow-up PSIs are allocated to address more narrowed-down questions. Extract 4.3 is one example. Following the initial PSI (lines 1-3), there is a post-expansion, in which the supervisor produces a knowledge-receipt token "yeah?" in rising intonation to do a "newsmark" (line 15) (Thompson et al., 2015, p.52), which not only marks the reception of news but also double treats Ron's answer as reconfirmation or specification-relevant and thus invites more response from Ron (line 7).

```
Extract 4.3 PGC002 A 'niche'

1    SUP     s(h)o h(h)ow a(h)re you, ((breathy))
2            (.)
3    RON     good,
```

```
4             (0.3)
5    SUP      yeah?
6             (0.3)
7    RON      [yeah.
8    SUP -->  [feel better after Friday?
9             (0.4)
10   RON      friday yeah it wasn't very intense
11            I think.
```

The reconfirmation is nonetheless belated (line 6). Hence, we see the follow-up question is in overlap with the reconfirmation, an inquiry on whether Ron "feels better" (line 8). With the comparative "better" and a time "Friday", the question indexes an academic-delated event without explicitly referring to it. Immediately after the extract (not shown), the participants carry on talking about what happened on "Friday", which was the progression meeting Ron had. Thus, the question seeks a response that focuses on Ron's state, specifically after the event, being treated as crucial by the supervisor. Following the gap in line 9, Ron first exhibits the common knowledge about the event the supervisor is referring to ("Friday yeah"). He then comments on the event as not "very intense" with a mitigator of the certainty "I think" (lines 10-11). The response overall de-problematises what the follow-up question (line 8) was referring to – the progression meeting, i.e., the examiners of the progression were not being very harsh etc.

Extract 4.4 similarly shows that the follow-up PSI comes after the positive response to the initial PSI (line 3). As the initial response "↑yeah?" does not constitute an adequate answer to "how are things?", Eddie follows up to evaluate that "°(they are) going well,°°". In line 4, the supervisor initiates the follow-up question in overlap with a possible completion onset (Jefferson, 1986). In other words, the onset is produced after the student Eddie's response to the initial PSI with "↑yeah?", a possible completion of his turn – as mentioned before, responses to the initial PSIs are typically phrasal and short.

```
Extract 4.4 UGH008 "Sausage machine"


2    SUP      how are things?
3    EDD      ↑yeah? [(>>°(they are) goin]g
              well,°°<<)
4    SUP             [   f i r s t ?    ]
5    SUP      yer- first term going alri:ght?
6    EDD      yeah.
```

To address the overlapping talk, the supervisor rebegins her question with "first term" to concern Eddie's experience of the first term (line 5), which gets confirmed in line 6.

In sum, the follow-up PSIs are like the initial ones, aiming to get students' evaluations on states of affairs. However, the follow-up PSIs were designed as questions targeting specific, academic-related aspects or topics to pursue more understanding in addition to the initial PSI.

4.2.3 Agenda-setting questions

Agenda-setting is another important opening move in supervisory interaction. In studies other than my own (most significantly on various medical interactions), agenda-setting sequence is closely associated with the overarching project so the succeeding interaction is directed toward the achievement of the project (Robinson, 2013). In primary consultations, participants use agenda-setting questions to map out tasks to be handled so the practitioner can ensure smooth transitions from one sequence to another and thus maximise time use (Robinson et al., 2015, p.718). It is found that open-ended questions like "What can I do for you today?" and "Is there something else you want to address in the visit today?" are often used to enhance the chance of patients raising more concerns for the practitioner to address (Heritage et al., 2007, p.1430). In this study, as we will see, agenda-setting moves are less 'open' and are more constraining, focusing on a specific task. Unlike practitioners' display of K- about patients' concerns (Heritage et al., 2007), either students or supervisors, or both participants in supervision interactions show K+ about the interactional goal of the meeting, considering the constructions of such agenda-setting turns (e.g., Extract 4.5, lines 5-7). Nonetheless, this is not to say the agenda is pre-determined with little space for adjustment. On the contrary, the pre-question formats supervisors adopt to orient to the overarching project (in many of the following extracts) and the fact that students do block the agenda (in section 4.3.3) show that both participants address the possibility of how the interaction can unfold alternatively, including handling issues students want to raise. In other words, there is a complex interplay between the constraints imposed by the overarching purpose of the supervisory meeting and the agenda that is jointly negotiated, in real time, by the student and supervisor.

As exemplified by Extract 4.5, in an undergraduate dissertation supervision, the supervisor checks whether the student Jessie has received the written comments (lines 5-7).

```
Extract 4.5 UGH014 Remedied them all

5   SUP    jessie so, um, (0.6) you got thee uh,
6          (0.2) ↑y::ou got the written commen-
7          comments from me.
8   JES    ye[ah?
```

As lines 5-7 demonstrate, the check on the epistemics regarding the comments in declarative sentence forms demonstrates a strong expectation of an affirmative answer (Heritage, 2010). In line 8, Jessie confirms the check. Recognisably, the sequence is preliminary to the main business of discussing the comments on Jessie's dissertation (Schegloff, 2007).

Questioning the knowledge relating to the agenda to negotiate the agenda is also employed in Extract 4.6, the extract we have seen in the beginning. The supervisor inquires whether Rachel has considered the ideal modules (lines 16-18) before discussing and registering the modules for Rachel.

```
Extract 4.6 UGH005 "Fitting into different boxes"

16   SUP    um so, have you had a chance to thin:k
17          about (0.5) modules that you wantuh
18          [ta' ne]#xt year#?
19   RAC    [ y:::-]
20   RAC    ↑y::eah:::
```

What is noticeable is that Rachel's abandoned first go of the confirmation is in overlap with the supervisor's agenda-setting question (line 19), suggesting her preferred response to push the sequence forward to the base sequence. In line 20, Rachel reattempts to confirm the question to repair the unfinished confirmation in line 19.

In addition to checking the epistemics, the agenda can be set up by other methods: direct announcement (Extract 4.7), solicitation of willingness plus relevantly the execution of

the proposed action (Extract 4.8), and open-ended questions (Extract 4.9). Cases of these are much fewer than the epistemic checks. To start with the direct announcement, a comparable practice "agenda statement" documented by Peräkylä (1995, pp.115) defines it as the "most obvious" and "simple, practice of displaying the specific participation framework". With such statements, the practitioners formulate "a scheme for the forthcoming interaction". In cases like Extract 4.7, supervisors use the declarative of the main task to inform what this meeting is about. For example in lines 30-32, the supervisor adopts an introductory voice starting from "the main point of this meeting . . .". On these occasions, supervisors do not check with the student's side previous knowledge about the subject like the last type – the epistemic checks (Extracts 4.15 and 4.16). Rather, this type of agenda-setting indicates the supervisor assumes a K- of the student about the agenda. Therefore, there is limited option for students to respond except by marking the recipiency like in line 33.

```
Extract 4.7 UGC002 The L2 dilemma


30  SUP -->  so. (0.3) uh- (.) the main point of this meeting
31      -->  is for us to: (0.3) for you to decide on (.)
32      -->  modules for the next year?
33   MAY     °yeah?°


Extract 4.8 UGH011 Unclear methods


4   SUP --> um (0.2) d'you wanna (0.2) sort'v
5       --> talk me through y:::our response to thuh
6       --> (1.5) the feedback=


Extract 4.9 PGC001 Progression


1   SUP --> so um:: (1.3)((rubs eyes)) what were we
2       --> gonna talk about today:
3   RON     uh::[:
4   SUP         [uh:
5           (.)
6   RON     progression: hhh. document,
```

Polar do-you-want questions are another common method of agenda-setting. Extract 4.8 is one example. The supervisor suggests the agenda of talking through the student's response to the feedback via asking about the student's willingness, making the

response of yes or no, and the implementation of the action (if the response is positive), relevant. Alternatively, the agenda-setting is done via information seeking using an open-ended question (Extract 4.9). Like in lines 1-2, the supervisor inquires "what were we gonna talk about today:". She uses past tense to indicate her status of remembering the agenda. Following the attempts of production (lines 3 and 4), the student Ron offers the answer of the agenda. From Extracts 4.7 to 4.9, we see a continuum of an increasing agency for students to determine the agenda. In cases like Extract 4.7, supervisors initiate the agenda in a way that announces it and leaves little contingency for rejection. In response to the do-you-want question, there is potential for hedging or rejection. In the last type, the agenda is set up entirely by the student in the responding turn.

To sum up, the agenda-setting sequence is to mark the pivotal point of transiting to the main business. Some methods of agenda-setting enact the epistemic status or the willingness to carry on with the main business; the other informs the main goal of the meeting or retrieves the agenda. The most used epistemic checks and do-you-want questions particularly are a set of pre-question to ensure the unproblematic proceeding to the base sequence. That also means that problems may occur, and the agenda gets blocked. Therefore, they are witnessed to provide the space for students to express trouble, which will be detailed in section 4.3.3.

4.2.4 Summary

To summarise, it is established that supervision openings are significantly supervisor-led, comprised of initial and follow-up personal state inquiries and agenda- setting sequences initiated by supervisors. Initial PSIs are the first personal state inquiry since the start of the meeting, varying from "how are you" to "how are things (going)". Regardless of whether students respond with positive or negative answers, supervisors routinely follow up with more questions regarding a specific area or a topic like the last semester or exams. Subsequently, supervisors initiate the sequence of agenda negotiation as the turning point into the main body of the meeting. The agenda-setting move can be a set of pre- questions that inquire about students' knowledge or willingness to proceed to the agenda. Alternatively, some supervisors announce the task of the meeting or ask the student in a question-and-answer sequence.

These supervisory moves show strong orientations to the nature of the supervision. The

first two slots, the initial PSIs and the follow-up PSIs, while overtly orienting to students' states of affairs, target more academic-related issues. Secondly, they are all one-directional, manifesting the participants' understanding that these questions are supervisor-to-student only and are not ritualised social questions. The agenda-setting sequence serves the shift to the main business. Therefore, pre-questions are mostly used in securing the sequences of implementing the agenda. Arguably, supervision opening is a social organisation in its own right. The coming sections will scrutinise how these moves occasion trouble-expression.

4.3 Trouble expressions in the opening sequences

This section will examine how the supervisory opening moves presented above occasion students' expressions of trouble. It is found that students approach troubles in two ways: one is to directly reveal the untoward status of affairs ("trouble report"), and the other is to foreshadow, allude to, or suggest something problematic while responding to the opening moves ("trouble projection") in response to the supervisor's openings moves. The proceeding subheadings will also relate these two sets of practices to the sequential environments they are situated in and the individual turn designs in the same sequential location that lead to varying outcomes in terms of the adoption of trouble report/projection.

4.3.1 In the initial PSIs

As noted before, the initial PSIs consult the states of students, making assessments relevant. Therefore, this section will discuss how this type of question has the potential to reveal trouble with a negative assessment(s). The first example is Extract 4.10. The supervisor utilises "how are things GENerally" (line 1) to consult the student's state of affairs. Notably, she prosodically stresses the item "generally" to attend to an overall observation of the status.

```
Extract 4.10 UGH007 Slow reader

1  SUP     how are things GENerally,
2          (0.4)
3  SUP     okay:::,
4          (0.4)
5  NIC --> ↑generally they are alright?
```

```
6          (0.2)
7  NIC     had a little (.) kinderm, a
8          little (.) blip?
9          (1.3)((SUP turns the pages))
10 NIC     [u:m: ]
11 SUP     [okay?] a blip you want me to turn the
12         camera off for,
13 NIC     no. no. It's j[ust my-
14 SUP                   [no? not that kind of blip?
15 nIC     Yeah WEll it ws like=it ws just
16         a little (.) a little blip.
```

The gap in line 2 manifests the absence of a response from Nicola, projecting an upcoming dispreferred response according to other literature (Clayman, 2002; Kendrick & Torreira, 2015). Due to the lack of uptake, the supervisor thereby follows up to address the potential of raising something problematic with "okay:::" (Pomerantz, 1988), which again does not receive a timely response. The two delays (lines 2 & 4) indicate the student Nicola's misalignment with the expected answer before her responding utterance "Generally they are alright" (line 5). Interestingly,

Nicola also adopts the item "generally" as part of her answer. According to Jefferson (1980), there is a set of answers to personal state inquiries considered as "downgraded conventional responses" (p.154). Compared to standard responses like "Fine" and "Good", downgraded conventional responses are recognisably reduced or have a negative import. "Generally they are alright", similarly, reduces the merit of the answer and constitutes an introduction to something less pleasant *in specific*. Therefore, this response is considered to project an upcoming expression of trouble. The absence of uptake shows the supervisor treats Nicola's turn as unfinished (line 6). In lines 7-8, Nicola reveals a "blip" – an unexpected and minor interruption. This has been identified as what Jefferson (1988, p.422) addressed as "lead-up", a revelation of events caused by something possibly untoward. In this case, telling that Nicola had a little blip states what happened to Nicola due to some interruption, leading up to an announcement of trouble. In combination, a strong projection of a revelation of trouble ("trouble projection" henceforth) has been achieved through a downgraded response and a lead-up (lines 5 and 7-8). Delayed by the page-turning of the agenda of the meeting (line 9), the supervisor then deals with privacy in preparation for the talk on the trouble (lines 11-12). In the design of the question, more importantly, instead of "Do you want me to turn off

the camera", it focuses more on the "blip". Nonetheless, as we see in line 13, Nicola first denies the necessity of turning off the camera and begins to explain what caused the "blip. However, she does not really display the orientation to the specification, using the formulation "it's just-". Also, this is cut off as the result of the supervisor's overlapping question (line 14). In line 14, the supervisor pursues the detailing about the "blip" but orients to the potentially delicate nature of it by phrasing with blockage – "that kind of blip". In return, Nicola alters the stress on the vowel of "little" to emphasise the un-noteworthiness of the "blip". However, it does remain open to the possibility of providing further description of what happened. Although we do not see the revelation of trouble in this extract and there are signs of deliberate avoidance of expanding on the "blip" (lines 13 & 15-16), Nicola does get to report the trouble later in the interaction – 1 minute further to the end of Extract 4.10, the supervisor inquires whether Nicola has missed anything due to the "blip" and her having to go back home for a while, and Nicola reports that she has found herself unfamiliar with the content of a course as a consequence. This verifies the importance of the trouble-premonitor devices employed by the student, i.e., the downgraded response and the lead-up, to make relevant an upcoming troubles- talk later, possibly as the product of the supervisor's pursuit.

4.3.2 In the follow-up PSIs

Like initial PSIs, follow-up PSIs make a negative assessment potential and thereby provide a slot for students to raise trouble. As shown in Extract 4.11, following the initial PSI (line 1-4), the supervisor moves on to consult Molly's last term (line 5). Noticeably, upon receiving the positive response from Molly (line 3, in overlap with the candidate response in line 4), the follow-up PSI "last term was alright?" (line 5) is a yes/no interrogative in declarative interrogative, demonstrating the great expectation of a positive outcome (Heritage, 2010).

```
Extract 4.11 UGH006 Need to chill

1   SUP     so how things been going.
2           (.)
3   MOL     [↑↑goo [d.
4   SUP     [↑good,[yeah?
5   SUP     last term was alright?
6           (0.4)
7   MOL --> £first term was not great.
```

```
8    ( )      °(↑mm ↓mm)°=
9    SUP      =OH [£WAS it,£
10   MOL          [£second term [w- is much
11   SUP                        [okay.
12   MOL      bett(h)a [hahaha
13   SUP              [£(good) that's good
14            to hear. what was- what wasn't
15            so great about first term.£FFFF
```

Nonetheless, like Extract 4.7, the gap in line 6 indicates a dispreferred response incoming, that the reply is likely to disagree with the preferred response (Pomerantz, 1984). In response, Molly provides a transformative answer (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010): while the question constrains the answer to be "yes" or "no", Molly instead produces an assessment of the first term not being great. Moreover, she replaces the supervisor's version "last term" with "first term", switching the agenda (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010) of soliciting the evaluation of a past experience to the "first half" of the experience. This not only avoids overtly clashing with the supervisor's expectation in line 5 but also highlights the improvement (lines 10 & 12) and the temporality of the trouble that was left behind in the "first term" (line 8). Then she follows up with an evaluation that the "£second term [w- is much bett(h)a" and post-completion laughter to reinforce the improvement (Jefferson, 1984a). Consequently, the trouble report obtains the supervisor's attention: she first appreciates the improvement (lines 13-14) and continues to investigate the cause of the unpleasant first term (lines 14-15). More analysis of the supervisor's way of attending to the trouble report will be given in a later chapter (Chapter 7).

In a different case, the follow-up PSI is responded to while suggesting trouble more indirectly. As shown in Extract 4.12 which is selected from a module-choice meeting, subsequent to the sequence of initial PSI (lines 2-4), the supervisor enquires about May's last term (line 5), subsequent to May's positive answer to the initial PSI.

```
Extract 4.12 UGC002 the L2 dilemma

2    SUP    so, how's everything going.
3           (0.2)
4    MAY    uh, everything, everything is okay=[hh.
5    SUP        how did uh, last term go?
6           (0.3)
7    MAY    *last term hh. (.) mtsk,
     may    *looks away-->
```

```
8            (0.8)*
             -->*
9    MAY --> a - abou thuh optional:: m:module?
10           (0.3)
11   SUP     tsk, or:: um, just in general,
12           was- (.) were you be able to get
13           throu:gh (.) uh the modules okay,
14           'nd (.) did you get your assessments back,
15           (0.4)
16   MAY     uh yeah.
```

Following a short gap, May first offers a partially questioning "last term" and an exhalation (line 7) to display trouble responding to the question (Robinson, 2013). Then she produces a click to register a negative stance prior to the response proper (Ogden, 2013). Meanwhile, she averts her eye gaze until line 9, which is associated with dispreferred responses (Kendrick & Holler, 2017). This series of responses point to the difficulty of giving a straightforward all-good answer and indicating an expression of trouble upcoming. Having gone through the remarkable silence (line 8), May initiates repair for the supervisor's question about the last term that "a - abou thuh optional:: m:module?" (lines 8). Although it is possible that the question is pertinent to the interactional goal of the supervision – the registration of modules next year (including the optional and the mandatory ones), it somehow manifests what May considers as "questionable". The repair initiation (line 9) sets up the relevance of the "optional module", after which she could raise the trouble. However, the supervisor merely treats repair-initiation as a problem understanding the question's orientation (to the "optional module" vs. "in general") and proposes her solution ("or:: um, just in general", line 11). In lines 12-14, the supervisor exemplifies a list of what the candidate answer can be about. Although May shows a tendency to express something troublesome by derailing the sequence about the "last term in general" to something more specific and more relevant to the aim of the meeting, the supervisor instead pulls May back to the track of the sequence being more about the "general" progress. Therefore, the projected trouble has not be realised within the fragment (line 16)[7]. However, what we can see is that May resists addressing the supervisor's question in line 5 and orients to the discussion on the "optional modules" as a sign of trouble (which will be discussed in section 4.3.4).

---

[7]The sequence of revealing trouble with the optional modules will be in Extract 6.4.

The two extracts above show that students can indicate trouble in response to follow-up PSIs. In these slots, students may display problems answering these questions, such as the gap (line 6) and the transformative answer (line 7) in Extract 4.11 and the OIR in Extract 4.12, to indicate an inability to provide an all-good answer straightforwardly.

4.3.3 In agenda-setting sequences

In supervision openings, the agenda-setting sequence has also proven to be a slot in which students raise trouble they have, even though agenda-setting questions do not explicitly solicit evaluations. Like in PSI sequences, the approaches students take to express trouble can be direct trouble reports or indirect "projections".

The first example of trouble reports in an agenda-setting sequence is Extract 4.13. In an undergraduate pastoral supervision meeting, before the targeted turns, the supervisor checks whether the student Xin has learned the assignment results and Xin confirms so the transition to the agenda is secured (lines 16-20).

```
Extract 4.13 UGC003 Master's application

16  SUP    e::m:: (.) okay (.) <↑f:irst of all?>
17         (1.3)((SUP types)) importantly have you:::
18         looked at your assignment results?
19         (0.2)
20  XIN    uh yes.
21  SUP    you [haven't-] I haven't had the time to=
22  XIN        [ u m : ]
23  SUP    =look at them at all so we don't we
24         don't have to talk about them but
25          (0.6) do you want to talk about them?
26         (0.9)
27  XIN    uh:: He huhuh,
28         (1.1)
29  XIN --> mm::::: (0.9) I think it's,
30      --> (0.5) not very good because
31      --> it's-=
32  SUP    =OH you are not °°happ[y,°°
33  XIN                         [yeah::
```

Prior to an explicit solicitation of the willingness "Do you want to talk about them?" (line 25), the supervisor prefaces the question by declaring her no-knowledge (a "K-") (Heritage, 2010) regarding the results (lines 21 and 23) to mitigate the obligation of talking about them from Xin (line 24). Nonetheless, the delay of an adequate response to the question is a sign of dispreference (Clayman, 2002). Furthermore, responsive laughter is often associated with dispreference to mitigate discordance (Holt, 2012; Clift, 2016a). Following the notable gap (line 28) and a hesitation (line 29), Xin reports a trouble that "I think it's (0.5) not very good because it's-=" – a negative perception of her exam result(s). In responding to the agenda question in lines 24-25 with a negative assessment of her exam result(s), Xin treats the question as not merely a pre-question that consults her willingness to talk about the exams but more of a request of exercising the agenda. Although the report is not finished, it is r ecognisable by the supervisor given the latching expression of sympathy and a newsmark "OH you are not °°happy,°°" to display her understanding of the trouble report (line 32). Overall, we see that the trouble report occurs by means of implementing the suggested agenda "but (0.6) do you want to talk about them?" (lines 24-25). The trouble report, produced with delays, laughter and hesitation, is taken as a dispreferred response to the agenda-setting question, as a systematic characteristic of the expression of trouble in this slot. The following cases will strengthen this finding further.

Apart from trouble reports, as the next two cases will show, a trouble can be signalled using the "trouble projection" method in the agenda-setting sequence. More specifically, it is done by pushing back against the proposed agenda. In Extract 4.14, the supervisor begins the undergraduate dissertation supervision by asking whether the student James wants to start responding to his feedback (lines 4-8).

```
Extract 4.14 UGH011 Unclear methods

4    SUP      um (0.2) d'you wanna (0.2) sort'v
5             talk me through y:::our response to thuh
6             (1.5) the feedback the written feedbackof
7             uh:::: (0.5) uh::::: >whenwasit<
8             seventh of march uh seventh of feb so,=
9    JMS      =yeah.
10            (0.3)
11   SUP      three weeks ago.
12            (.)
13   SUP      uh::,
```

```
14          (.)
15  JMS -->.hhhh (0.3) U:::::M:: (0.3) wul I've got
16      --> a ↓few questions for you. (0.2) uh::
17      --> (0.4) start off?,
18  SUP     °°mm hm[m?°°  ]
19  JMS          [eh: :]:m
```

In lines 4-7, the supervisor's agenda question is designed as a "do you want" solicitation of the willingness to talk through the response to the supervisor's feedback, which creates some contingency for the answer to be "no". The production of the question is interrupted by the trouble producing the specific timing when the feedback was provided, given the parenthetical question ">whenwasit<" (line 7) and the attempts to the answer "seventh of march uh seventh of feb" (line 8). Therefore, James first addresses the trouble specifying the date with "yeah" (line 9) before responding to the agenda question. Subsequent to the supervisor's additional description of the time in relation to the present ("three weeks ago", line 11) and an attempt of self-selection to speak due to James's lack of uptake (line 13), James initiates his turn to defer the agenda set up by the supervisor by prefacing a series of questions being raised (prefacing a series of questions). He first takes a long in-breath that projects a turn incoming. Then a stretched "U::::M::" is produced to register a sense of hesitation like that in Extract 4.10. Following a pause, James rebegins his turn with "wul" – introducing "his side" (Heritage, 2015), and that he has got a few questions to ask the supervisor instead of responding to the feedback straight away as suggested by the supervisor in the beginning. The incremental "uh (0.4) start off?," marks the defer of the agenda as something that only comes in front of the proposed agenda but does not completely replace it. In other words, James has not declined the supervisor's suggestion (to talk through James's response to the feedback); he merely prioritises his. In return, the supervisor offers a go-ahead (line 18) to grant James to proceed to ask the questions, after which James raises trouble dealing with the comments on his dissertation. From lines 15-17, we again see that the projection of trouble is delivered in a dispreferred manner: the production is repaired and delayed in places and the defer is mitigated.

The last example of pushing back against the proposed agenda as a way of foreshadowing trouble to report is Extract 4.15.

```
Extract 4.15 UGH003 the exam results
```

```
8    SuP    .hhh [ FIr]st of all you must=
9    SUP    =have had your results today right?
10          (0.4)
11   STE --> yeah. I, I'm not planning to
12       --> check them until fri:day.
13          (0.4)
14   SUP    Okay cool. um, (.) well I haven't
15          (0.2) had time to check [any]thing at all.
```

After the personal state inquiry (not shown in the extract), the supervisor consults Steve's reception of the results as a typical way of suggesting the agenda (lines 8-9). "First of all" addresses the exam results being the first topic the supervisor has raised since the start of the meeting. Moreover, it registers the foremost importance of the coming question as the agenda. Compared to other types of agenda-setting questions that use a polar question (e.g., Extract 4.11), "You must have …" and the tag question at turn-final exhibit a greater expectation of a "yes" response. While this could be owing to the supervisor's K+ or certainty that the results are released today, a "yes" answer, regardless, would very likely warrant the base sequence of discussing the results. Hence, Steve's response is belated (line 10) and two-folded (line 11). On the one hand, he first confirms the reception of exam results ("yes") as the supervisor has displayed a high epistemic status about the result-release. On the other hand, Steve announces that he is not going to check them until a few days later (lines 11-12). The announcement shows that he orients to the question in lines 8-9 as a "pre" to questions about the results. By answering "I'm not planning to check them until Friday", Steve shuts down the sequence to happen. Next, the supervisor simply respects Steve's decision and claims that she has not seen them yet either to show, in a tacit way, her recognition of a foreshadowed trouble relating to the exam results (lines 14-15) (Drew, 2018).

To summarise, it is found that trouble in an agenda-setting sequence can also be conveyed by the reports and "trouble projection", utterances that project trouble reports in later sequences. When a trouble report is produced as the response to the agenda-setting question, it is actually the implementation of the agenda (Extract 4.13). Trouble projection, on the other hand, takes the form of deferring or blocking the agenda (Extracts 4.14 & 4.15). Systematic evidence shows that students present these projections as dispreferred, delaying the turn-to-come and the turn-in-progress. So in nature, trouble projections in the agenda-setting sequence are dispreferred responses to the agenda question as they prevent the base sequence. The reader may wonder, how can one be

sure such utterances will be developed to the actual report of trouble as claimed?
Therefore, the next section will show how the projected trouble does get produced as the
sequence develops.

4.3.4 Does the projected trouble get revealed?

This section deals with the curiosity as to whether projected trouble as claimed above
gets to be produced and how the trouble reports are achieved in the end. In what follows,
I will briefly talk about or present how the sequences where "trouble projection" is used
develop into trouble reports. It can be learned that some trouble gets revealed very soon
in the sequence following the trouble projection like Extract 4.10, where Nicola provides
a downgraded response and self-selects to carry on announcing the "blip" she had to go
through as the trouble report. Or, like in Extract 4.16 in continuation of Extract 4.14,
James gets to raise the trouble after he defers the agenda by declaring that he has a few
questions to ask the supervisor first (lines 15-17).

```
Extract 4.16 UGH011 Unclear methods


15   JMS     .hhhh (0.3) U:::::M:: (0.3) wul I've got
16           a ↓few questions for you. (0.2) uh::
17           (0.4) start off?,
18   SUP      °°mm hm[m?°° ]
19   JMS            [eh: :]:m
             ((lines omitted; JMS looks at the device))
25   JMS     yeah. SO::: (1.0) li'=yi tuh say
26           like (.) I feel like the main::
27           li::ke (0.2) thrust of the comment is
28           that (0.2) my methods aren't clear?
29           (0.6)
30   JMS     #uh like# (0.2) how I'm going to do it.
31           (1.0)
32   JMS --> so like (0.8) I haven't been sure
33       --> myself? cause I've got, (0.2) I've got,
34   SUP     yeah?
35           (0.2)
36   JMS     all these pages o::v (1.3) sort of
37           archival material (0.2) that I've sort of
38           analysed (0.5) n it's like (0.2) you know
39           in a void (0.3) on a different=on a separate
40           document at the minute.
```

After James pre-requests to raise his questions in lines 15-17 and gets granted by the supervisor (line 18), James prepares for the formulation of his question by looking something up on his device (lines omitted). After searching for the relevant information for his question, James begins his questioning by rephrasing what he gets from the supervisor's comments to ensure he has understood the supervisor's message (lines 25-28). As the supervisor has not offered a timely response in confirming or disaffirming James's understanding (line 29), James uses his own words to paraphrase the supervisor's comment (line 30). As the supervisor does not overtly show his disagreement or agreement with James's understanding (line 31), James goes on to report his trouble that he has not been sure about his methods either. Then he expands on the trouble starting with "cause" for justification. The supervisor also marks his stance as a listener to spare the floor for James to provide more detail about the problem (line 34). Hence, in lines 36-40, James is enabled to articulate that the unclear method is caused by the pages of material that the supervisor did not see. This expanded sequence transfers from James's pre-question request and the go-ahead, James's pre-question rephrase, finally to the trouble report. This shows the success in producing the trouble report can be achieved through actively taking the lead in the sequence, and more specifically, inserting a new sequence to raise the trouble like in Extract 4.14.In Extract 4.17, the projection of trouble is indicated by active blocking the projected sequences; that is to say, it is not the result of allocating a new sequence for the production of the trouble report like in the last data extract but in response to the supervisor's pursuit of the agenda. As we recall in Extract 4.15, Steve blocks the exam results-related agenda by claiming that he is not going to check them soon and the supervisor claims to be K- regarding the exam results to address the delicacy with discussing them (lines 14-15).

```
Extract 4.17 UGH003 the exam results

13  STE     yeah. I, I'm not planning to
14          check them until fri:day.
13          (0.4)

14  SUP     Okay cool. um, (.) well I haven't
15          (0.2) had time to check [any]thing at all.
16  STE     o(h)kay.
17          (.)
18  STE     [good.
19  SUP     [so you don't want me to check them.
20          (0.3)
```

```
21   STE      #uh# (0.4) #uh:::# (.) #uh# (.)
22            N::NO::: (.) if that's okay,
23   STE      u:::m: (0.5) because I just want
24            to geT::: (.) thee:::: the week over with::::: uh
25            al-al- all the work or lectures (.) and then,
26            (0.4) and then worry about that over the weekend.
27   STE      .h[hhh um:,] when I(h)'ve g(h)ot (0.3) my job to=
28   SUP        [okay?   ]
29   STE      =distract me (.) uhHE::: °↑hehe°
30            (0.2)
31   STE      ££.HHhh (.) but yeah obviously I'm a little
32            bit #uh:::# an£xious about them?
```

While the sequence can be closed as Steve's sequence-closing assessments in lines 16 and 18, the supervisor pursues the agenda by seeking confirmation of checking the results for him (line 19). Sensitive to the previous blockage, the confirmation-seeking is formatted in a negative declarative sentence form "So you don't want me to check them". Having undergone some struggle speaking, as informed by the delay and vocalisations (lines 21-22), Steve refuses to proceed to the checking of scores with the mitigating clause "if that's okay" and starts to account for the rejection (lines 23-29). In the account, Steve indicates an untoward state of affairs, portraying the scores as something to "worry about" (line 26) and to be distracted from (line 29). The post-completion laughter is a typical demonstration of trouble resistance – to make light of the trouble (Jefferson, 1984a). Then Steve continues to make the trouble report about the anxiety of knowing the scores (lines 33-34). Overall, the trouble report is in response to the supervisor's pursuit of the agenda about the exam results even though it has been blocked once. Before the very production (lines 33-34), though, Steve again shows the signs of the dispreferred response (lines 21), declines the agenda (line 22), and accounts for the declination (lines 23-28 & 29). During these stages, the trouble relating to the worry about the results is illuminated more and more clearly – considering Steve himself also describes the trouble being about the results "obviously" (line 33). From line 21 to the end of the extract, the supervisor has offered little uptake apart from a recipiency marker (line 28). The floor given to Steve might also play a part in the realisation of the trouble report, enabling him to detail the justification for not checking the results and end up producing the underlying trouble.

The development from "trouble projection" to trouble report in Extract 4.12 is more complex than the three cases above. To refresh, May responds to the follow-up PSI

about the "last term" with an other-initiated repair "a - abou thuh optional:: m:module?". This is argued to be an utterance of "trouble projection" because, rather than providing a straightforward all-good answer, she orients to a specific aspect of the "last term", which seems to be an attempt to raise trouble regarding the optional modules, similar to Extract 4.15 where James defers the agenda proposed by the supervisor and raises his own questions for the supervisor. The difference is, in Extract 4.12, the supervisor repairs the question as one being about things "in general" and does not address the mentioning of the "optional module" (line 11). Hence, the trouble report is not realised until much later when the participants discuss the candidate modules, and May gets to express her struggle with certain modules. Thus, how supervisors attend to the trouble projection turns plays an important role in whether and when students achieve the trouble reports finally.

4.3.5 Summary

In this section, we examine how trouble can be expressed in supervision openings, respectively in response to initial and follow-up personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions. It is found that because PSIs are designed to solicit assessments, they provide slots for students to offer negative assessments on their state of affairs in general or something in specific. Hence, it is common to see trouble reports in response. In one of the cases, a student provides what Jefferson terms a "downgraded conventional response" (Jefferson, 1980, p.154) to suggest an upcoming report of trouble. In agenda-setting sequences, the questions are not designed to solicit assessments of the state of affairs. However, trouble reports can be produced in a way that implements the agenda. Students would first address the question then raise the untoward state of affairs. Alternatively, trouble projection takes the form of dispreference to the agenda questions. For example, when students have received unsatisfactory results they show reluctance to submit to the agenda of discussing them. For the last subsection, I show that such projections do get reported and how they achieve it, wherever possible. Drawing from this small number of cases, it seems that when a trouble report is projectably next, the supervisor should not actively promote the production of trouble report because it might get blocked as we saw in Extract 4.10, when the supervisor tried to solicit more description about the "blip" but Nicola responded with more de-problematised version. Similar for Extract 4.8, in which the supervisor orients to Ron's improved mental state and Ron treats the concern irrelevant (lines 8 & 10). On the contrary, simply taking the

stance as a listener (Extracts 4.12, 4.16 & 4.17) would be helpful for the development of trouble reports.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter has set out to investigate the expression of trouble in supervision interaction, starting from the openings. Before that, the sequential organisation of supervision openings is examined to enable us to understand where trouble reports occur in the openings. It is found that supervisors commonly take the lead in supervision openings, considering the openings are typically composed of supervisory initial and follow-up personal state inquiries that consult students' general well being and certain aspects of the study and agenda-setting sequence before moving on to the main business.

As the main task of the chapter, the second and third questions (Do students raise trouble in supervision openings? What are the methods employed to express trouble?) are answered: there are indeed cases of trouble expression in the sequential environments of PSIs and agenda-setting. Moreover, students adopt two kinds of approaches to express their trouble: trouble report and trouble projection. Trouble reports, most straightforwardly, declare an untoward state of affairs. Trouble projection refers to utterances that have a negative import but remain unspecified (yet). Therefore, it projects a new sequence to bring the trouble to light (Jefferson, 1980). In initial and follow-up PSI sequences, trouble reports are a set of negative assessments, and trouble projecting utterances are recognisably downgraded conventional responses like in Extract 4.12. In agenda-setting questions, trouble reports are made subsequent to the acceptance of the agenda and in the form of exercising the agenda. Trouble projections, on the other hand, are done via blocking or deferring the agenda. Regardless of the approaches, both trouble reports and projections are done in a dispreferred fashion: they are typically delayed in response to the supervisor's opening moves.

The findings of this chapter add to our understanding of the common supervisory practices in supervision openings and how they are organised. From one of the few previous studies (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013), we learn that supervision openings provide the slot for the negotiation of the agenda, where physical materials are a significant indicator of the participants' orientation. In this chapter, different slots of supervision openings were scrutinised. It was found that supervision opening offers not

only opportunities to negotiate the agenda but also for students to raise trouble.

The chapter has also provided evidence for the pervasive and spontaneous nature of trouble expression in the emerging supervision interaction as well as student agency in conversation in-situ with the supervisor. As Priestley et al. (2015) contend, "Agency is not something people can have or processes; it is rather to be understood as something that people do or achieve". In this context, students are not given (and thus do not "possess") the agency owing to the evidence of supervisors' initiation of every opening move. But they show the agentic characteristic in being able to 'break the mould' (Stivers & Heritage, 2001) shaped by the range of supervisor-led tasks and exploiting them to introduce their own agendas – the unlearned module, the technical issue with the reception of the supervisor's feedback and the delay of checking exam results, rather than being actively solicited by the supervisor. To this end, the next chapter will explore how this can be achieved in relation to various sequential locations in more depth.

Chapter 5. Uninvited trouble reports

5.1 Introduction: the sequential environments for trouble reports

In the last chapter, we saw some common supervisory moves in the openings of supervision meetings and the responses to them with the projection or revelation of trouble by students. It was found that openings, significantly led by supervisors, are fulfilled by personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions initiated by supervisors. As found in the chapter, personal state inquiries such as "How are things" and "How are you getting on with your current modules" can be responded to with direct trouble reports like "first term was not great" or projections of them like "↑GENerally they are alright". On the other hand, questions orienting to the agenda of the meeting do not actively invite students' trouble reports (see Extract 5.2).

Extending this idea, I will make a distinction between sequential environments that are created to solicit trouble reports and those that are not but somehow get responded with one. Trouble reports made in the second type of sequential environment are addressed as "uninvited trouble reports". But first of all, how do we distinguish between environments that have trouble-report potential? Most fundamentally, they differ from the sequence-initiating actions. An initiating action makes an accordant response relevant (Schegloff, 1996a), such as greeting to greeting (Schegloff, 1986) and requests soliciting assistance (Fox & Heinemann, 2016). In the supervision meetings, certain types of supervisory questions are considered to solicit a potential difficulty, trouble or challenge faced by the student. One is personal state inquiries in supervision openings, as just mentioned. In some other cases, supervisors check on how students get on with the courses in the middle of a module choice meeting to inform the module choice. To exemplify with Extract 5.1, the supervisory question (lines 1-2) consults Qiu's experience with two modules she is taking currently.

```
Extract 5.1 UGC001 0843 "Like mathematics"


1    SUP --> how are you getting on wi' syntax and
2        --> semanticsh:.
3            (0.8)
4    QIU    m::m:: (1.0) semantics is more: difficult
5           this year.
```

The question, beginning with "how", is an open-ended question that makes an assessment relevant (Peräkylä & Vehviläine, 2003). Although this kind of evaluation solicitation is associated with interactional trouble (Peräkylä & Vehviläinen, 2003, p.733), as we will see in the following lines and in the previous examples (e.g., Extract 4.11), the how-question makes a report of trouble relevant. As the gap (line 3) indicates, Qiu experiences a problem responding to the question (Stivers et al., 2009). Then Qiu begins her turn with a stretched word-search "m::m::" and another long pause, displaying the difficulty of responding to the question. Qiu's response skips commenting on the first module to the second one "semantics", which she has difficulty with. This shows that Qiu treats the question as providing an opportunity to raise anything worrisome about the modules. Concerning the construction of the trouble report "semantics is more: difficult this year" (lines 4-5), it is an assessment that involves a comparative "more:" to how it was before "this year" (line 5). In effect, it communicates a recently developed frustration.

Extract 5.1 is a standard example of supervisory initiating action that solicits trouble reports. However, supervisors execute a much wider range of initiating actions which do not orient to potential troubles, e.g., complimenting, agenda-setting, advice-giving etc. This is what I mean by initiating actions that *do not aim to solicit a problem* in contrast to the last type of sequential environment. One example is Extract 5.2.


```
Extract 5.2 UGH008 0147 French grammar


1    SUP --> yeah so [thats a] very nice Mark?
2    EDD    yeah. an:: the reason sort of thee: (0.3)
3           making history one was a bit m- disappoint[ing.
4    SUP                                              [↑YEAH?
5    EDD    I was so: worried about french grammar that
6           I sp[en' so]: much christmas=
```

In this extract, the supervisor sees the exam results of Eddie's and provides praise "yeah

so that's a very nice mark?". While this orients to compliment Eddie's performance and thus not to consult a possible difficulty Eddie might have, he first agrees "yeah" (more to see in section 5.4) and points to another disappointing score to raise his worry about "French grammar" which took up time that he could have spent on the module with the "a bit" disappointing result. This extract shows that trouble reports can not only be in response to questions that solicit assessments but also to other initiating actions, similar to what Stivers and Heritage (2001) find about patients' ability to "break the sequential mold" – a history-taking question elicits a more expansive answer from patients, providing doctors with a more comprehensive understanding of the problem.

Students can use self-initiating to raise troubles at the junctures or sequential boundaries, which constitutes another type of uninvited trouble report. In this chapter, we will see two cases of this category – Extracts 5.3 and 5.4 – but I will make the point with Extract 5.3 for now. In the last few minutes of a three-member (one student and two supervisors) PhD supervision meeting, the participants are wrapping up and one of the supervisors contends that the courses of action they have just agreed upon are enough until their next meeting. In line 1, Judy affirms her commitment to the actions.

```
Extract 5.3 PGH001 6001 Ethics and consent

1   JUD       ye[ah, °I'll do my best to do (this),°°
2 SUP-A          [.hhhhh uh::::: okay.
3               (0.5)
4   JUD   -->  °↑uh I ws gonna say something else.°
5               (1.0)
6 SUP-A       uh::::[:
7   JUD            [↑oh ↑↑yeah. em=
8 SUP-A       =ooh:.((looks at an object))
9               (.)
10  JUD       em (.) maybe w- (0.2) w- (0.3) th- (0.2) i <have>
11            quite a lot ov- (0.2) questions about ethics bu- (0.3)
12            maybe we can talk about it another <ti:me> °I think° THere's
13            quite complicated thing arou::nd .hhhh ethics and consent.
```

In line 2, one of the supervisors (supervisor A) offers a third-position acknowledgement ".hhhhh uh::::: okay." to close the sequence. Following a gap, Judy pre-announces a telling at the sequential boundary by doing a search of content (line 4) and remains silent for a second (line 5). Supervisor A projects her turn by a sound-stretched "uh::::".

But Judy comes in overlap with interjections to signal the reclaim of her floor to say what she was going to. At line 8, supervisor A makes a response cry to what she suddenly sees on the desk. In lines 10-13, Judy raises something tricky with the ethics of conducting the research project, glossing it as having a lot of "questions" and a "quite complicated thing". It does not get specified considering the sequential location of the end of the meeting as Judy suggests (line 12). Nonetheless, this case represents one of the circumstances of uninvited trouble reports self-initiated by students.

Drawing from the three extracts above, only questions that make assessments relevant actively provide an opportunity for trouble reports. In other environments, i.e., when supervisors make a compliment like in Extract 5.2 or students self-initiate to raise a concern like in Extract 5.3, they do not intentionally solicit a trouble report. As we might imagine, supervisors might play a major role to solicit students' revelation of trouble, given that we just found in Chapter 4 that supervision is largely supervisor-led. However, an overview of Extracts 5.2 and 5.3 shows that students are fully autonomous to create opportunities to initiate reports of trouble (taking 64 of the total number of trouble reports, N=94). This chapter is going to explore how trouble reports are achieved when they are not being solicited or requested.

Current literature has thoroughly investigated questions soliciting troubles in institutional interactions. For example, in doctor-and-patient interactions, doctors used "How are you feeling?" and the like to consult the patients medical concerns (Coupland et al., 1992; Robinson, 2006; van der Laaken & Bannink, 2020). Much fewer studies show that trouble reports can also occur when they are not actively solicited. Nishizaka (2010), for instance, presents one condition that patients tell the trouble on their own initiatives at the juncture of two activities in prenatal checkups. Overall, the occurrences of uninvited trouble reports have received much less scrutiny; in supervision interaction, little research has been done to examine the role of unsolicited student reports in particular. Therefore, this chapter aims to show:

- steps students take before arriving at the production of trouble reports;

- the embodied and linguistic resources used to begin them;
- the systematic linguistic formats of trouble reports.

The following sections will explore the stages of pre-beginning, beginning and the actual base TCU of trouble reports when students produce them. In the pre-beginning section, students' employment of bodily conduct to suggest an upcoming trouble report will be unpacked. The "pre-beginning" phase refers to anywhere during the supervisor's prior turn and when the student's turn is due. Then, a range of moves in transiting to trouble reports at the beginning of their turns are listed: gaze aversion (section 5.3.1) and the projection of incipient talk (section 5.3.2). Finally, I will present the recurrent linguistic practices of trouble reports recognisable to supervisors.

5.2 Bodily conduct before trouble reports

Embodiment plays a crucial role in turn-taking and action formation. It has been found that speakers project incipient speakership using throat- clearing, certain facial expressions, *um*s (Schegloff, 2006) and pointings (Mondada, 2007). In what follows, I will discuss how an array of embodied actions that, essentially, cut off the gaze direction at or with the supervisor, such as tilting the head, face-touching, and eyes shutting as resources to project the student's turn upcoming. In the cases below, some of them co-occur (see Table 5.1).

	Face-touching	Face tilting up	Shut eyes
Extract 5.4	✓	✓	
Extract 5.5	✓	✓	✓

Extract 5.6	✓		✓

Table 5.1 The use of embodiments

Thinking of what Levinson addresses as (2013, p.111) "front-loading" cues in the formation of action (Rossano et al., 2009; Kelly, 2001), the early formation of a trouble report done via the touching of face and moving the hand back and forth to display a state of frustration emotively will be documented. In some cases, these two actions co-occur.

To begin with the embodiment of facing upward, we will revisit Extract 5.3 but focus on the embodiment of head raising.

```
Extract 5.4 PGH001 6001 Ethics and consent


1   JUD       ye[ah, °I'll do my best to do (this)°°
2 SUP-A        [.hhhhh uh:::*: okay.
    jud                     *face touches-->
3             (0.5)
4   JUD  -->   #&°↑uh I ws g&onna say something else.°
    jud           &head raises&faces upwards-->
```



```
    fig       #fig. 5.1
                   SUP-A          SUP-B          JUD
5             (1.0)
6 SUP-A       uh::::[:
```

```
7    JUD            [↑oh ↑↑yeah.em*=
     jud                      -->*
8 SUP-A        =ooh:.((looks at an object))
9              (.)
10 JUD         em& (.) maybe w- (0.2) w- (0.3) th- (0.2) I <have>
     jud       -->&
11             quite a lot ov- (0.2) questions about ethics bu- (0.3)
12             maybe we can talk about it another <ti:me> °I think° THere's
13             quite complicated thing arou::nd .hhhh ethics and consent.
```

Following Judy's sequence closing implicature in line 1 by making the promise to complete the assigned tasks before the supervision, supervisor A produces a sound-extended "uh:::: okay" to close the sequence. During this sound-stretch, Judy raises her hand and brings her hand to the facial area (her lips) (lines 2-7), which is similar to what we are going to see in the next extract. To focus on the movement of head raising, when Judy does the searching-for-words, she raises her head and looks up to suggest the effort of accessing lost information (line 4 and fig. 5.1), which results in a long silence in line 5 to allow the production (achieved in line 7). Judy sustains the movement of facing upwards just before she finishes the word search and begins to raise the trouble of having questions about the ethics (line 10). Although this embodiment occurs during Judy's foreshadowing of an announcement instead of the supervisor's talk due to the approach of the trouble on her initiative (i.e., not in a responding turn), facing upwards is discovered to be a typical movement to project an upcoming turn, which will also be seen in Extract 5.5.

Extract 5.5 presents the co-occurrence of face tilting upwards and face-touching. But for this case, the "front-loading" of emotions via the touching of the face will be focused on. At the beginning of the extract, the supervisor and the undergraduate student Steve are at the end of their discussion about his dissertation (lines 1-7). The supervisor tries to reassure Steve regarding his anxiety about the project. Steve marks his recipiency of the supervisor's persuasion that there is no need to get worked up (line 4) and the supervisor gives an acknowledgement to signal the closure of the sequence. In the lines omitted and 7, Steve uses a post-expansion to display his resistance to the advice by clarifying his motivation to be prepared (despite what the supervisor has suggested) but he will still bear what the supervisor has said in mind to neutralise the resistance. So far, the sequential environment, i.e., closure of a sequence about an eased anxiety has not been made relevant for a trouble report. In line 8, Steve transits to a trouble report about not

being able to find accommodation by remembering the agenda as a parallel with Extract 5.4 (line 4) and extremely extended word searches (lines 11), during which we see the focal embodiment of face-touching.**Extract 5.5 UGH003 0604 "Accommodation"**

```
1   SUP     so there <rea:lly no need to be too anxious
2           about it ((the dissertation next year)).>
3           (0.2)
4   STE     ah alright, okay.
5           (.)
6   SUP     °yea::h,°
            ((lines omitted, STE explains that he wanted to be
             prepared))
7   STE     but I will keep it, everything in mind.
8           .hhh ↑↑uh: what else is there to (0.3) bring up
9           in this supervision.
10          (0.3)
11  STE     u::m:::::::::::::+:::::::: ↑m↓m:::::: @MSTK=
    ste                                          @closes eyes-->
    sup               --------------+gazes-at-screen-->
12    --> =&.HH#*H (.) u::+m::: (0.2) n&ot that it's particularly
    ste           *touches face and hair-->
              &faces up                    >&
    sup                 -->+gazes at ste-->
```
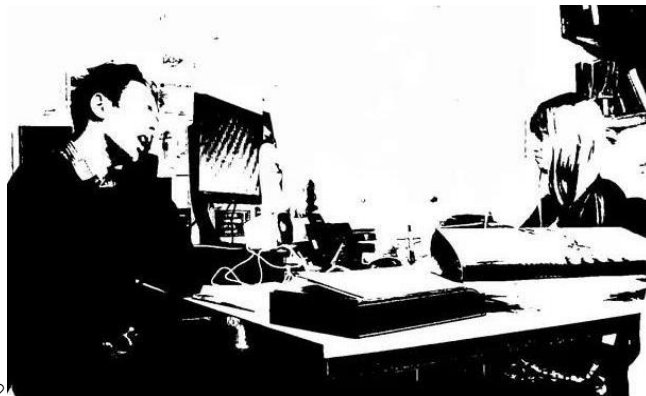


```
    fig         #fig. 5.2

                        STE                           SUP
```

```
13          (0.2) relevant tuh, (0.2) the degree but I r- realise::
14          um, thuh thee accommodation on ↑campus next year ws
15          pretty much @↑full. um.*
    ste                 -->@        -->*
16          (0.2)
17  STE     I should ha[v-
18  SUP                [cause at the moment you are living on campus,+
    sup                                                          ->>+
```

111

Following the word-searching, Steve initiates a new TCU with a loud click and inhalation to register a sudden remembering (lines 11-12). On the click, Steve shuts his eyes and sustains it until line 15. In line 12, he raises his head and faces upwards similar to the last excerpt. Almost simultaneously, his hand reaches his face and rubs back and forth (lines 12-15). It can be seen from the photo still that his face is torn upwards although the eyes are closely shut. This is what I mean by the embodiment of face-touching, eyes shutting and tilting his head to face upwards (see fig. 5.2) as a whole package that displays the state of frustration or troubledness. With these actions, Steve performs the trouble display before the verbalisation of the trouble report. This has obtained the supervisor's notice given her eye gaze at the screen has shifted from the PC monitor to Steve (line 12) and maintains this gaze toward the end of the extract. This indicates that Steve's front-loading of the trouble report has had an interactional consequence. When Steve begins the trouble reporting turn, he prefaces the report with the clause "not that it's particularly (0.2) relevant tuh, (0.2) the deg<u>ree</u>" (lines 12-13) in a dispreferred format. Then he continues to raise the struggle to find a new accommodation (lines 13-15), which is formulated as a (belated) realisation of the fully booked campus accommodation. What we also see is that these two embodiments are terminated around the completion of the trouble report (line 15), indicating that the bodily conducts assist and intensify the production and are thus retracted at the end of the report. Hence, the embodiment of face-touching and the related movements are part of preluding trouble reports.

In Extract 5.6, the face touching and eyes shut are also employed, however occurring at slightly different timing. For the background, Judy, at the early stage of the study, is not very confident of what her findings could offer for application. At the start of the segment, supervisor B responds to Judy's previous uncertainty in a positive way (lines 1-3, 5 & 8), using expressions like "I mean I can see how you could already design:: the proposal . . . " and "something that would work for your findings" to convey a sense of optimism. That said, the current sequential environment is not oriented to the solicitation of a trouble report.

`Extract 5.6 PGH001 1019 "Pre-analysis"`

```
1  SUP-B     I mean I can see how you could already
2            design:: the proposal for it- you know off
3            the back of that [((anonymised, organisation name))]=
4  JUD                       [          y e a : : h           ]
5  SUP-B     =study just adapt it *(.) [tuh something] that [would=
   jud -->                       *....-->
6  JUD                                [ °y e a h:::°]
7  SUP-A                                             [mm::=
8  SUP-B     =wor]k for your*# findings and then .h [(you'll al:s-)
   jud              -->*touches forehead-->
```

```
fig                    # fig. 5.3

           SUP-A         SUP-B              JUD
```

```
9  SUP-A    =:: ]
10  JUD                                    [°I mean depend]s
11          (.) findings I get I suppose.° i-i- it [does=
12 SUP-B                                            [tsh. hee=
13  JUD     [ =or #like ]
14 SUP-B    [ =   #hee  ] hee [°yeah.°
```

```
fig              #fig. 5.4
```

```
15   JUD                      [*THAT's the thing.
     jud                      -->*,,,,-->
16   JUD      it all* pre- [supposes having something useful]=
17 SUP-A                  [.  h  h  h  h  h  h  h  h  h  h ]
     jud      ,,,-->*
18   JUD      =to say n that (.) I can't. .hhh I need to
19            wait til I've done the research to know if
20            I have something ( [  )   ]
```

During supervisor B's delivery of optimism, Judy first produces "yea::h" (line 4) before supervisor B comes to the completion to show her access to the supervisor's production from lines 1 to 3 (Stivers, 2008). As supervisor B continues to account for her optimism that Judy's previous research could contribute to her current research project (lines 5-8), Judy lowers her head and raises her hand to reach her forehead at a possible completion of supervisor B's turn given the pause after "adapt it" (lines 5). Nonetheless, supervisor B maintains her floor after the minor gap with a clause to enrich her account. Before supervisor B completes her turn, Judy uses an interjacent overlap (Jefferson, 1986) to push back against the optimism that it is conditional – "°I mean depends (.) findings I get I suppose°". In response, supervisor B produces a laughing-with-Judy to address a level of humorous effect of Judy's trouble display (line 12) and a quiet "°yeah°" to acknowledge Judy's contrasting uptake (line 14). Meanwhile, Judy's hand remains on the forehead until line 15. In particular, during the course of touching, she moves the hand downwards to cover her eyes and smiles very subtly to make it more visible as a display of frustration (see fig.5.3). Similar to the last case, the sustainment of the trouble display has obtained both supervisors' attention (see the mutual gaze between supervisors A and B in fig. 5.3 and their simultaneous gazes at Judy in fig. 5.4).

Following the series of embodiments, Judy starts to retract her hand exactly on the point of her trouble report "THAT's the thing" (line 15). Although it does not explain what the trouble is and does, connecting to what she said previously – "°I mean depends (.) findings I get I suppose°", "THAT's the thing" is a report of a potential hindrance due to the uncertainty. Then, she carries on to specify that the optimism is built on a hypothesis and she cannot be sure about the findings (lines 16 & 18-20). During Judy's unpacking of her uncertainty, supervisor A takes a long in-breath (line 17), which suggests an upcoming response to the trouble report from her (Schegloff, 1996a; Mortensen, 2009).

From Extract 5.5, we again observe the projectability of face-touching for a trouble report. Students present themselves as mentally troubled with this movement before they arrive at the trouble report.

Overall, tilting upwards (Extract 5.4), face-touching and eye closing (Extracts 5.5 and 5.6) are two recurrent front-loading movements because they are located at the beginning of word-search or during the supervisor's talk and are terminated when trouble reports are produced. They often come as a combination of embodied features. It is uncovered that the face touching discussed here is distinctive from ordinary touching in two ways: the duration and its expressiveness. The duration of the actions is sustained across the verbal production until the trouble reports are produced. Regarding expressiveness, the last two cases demonstrate that the action of face-touching is accompanied by shut eyes, a smile or other facial expressions so it is recognisable as not simply a functional movement but a presentation of frustration. Hence, face-touching also adds an emotive stance to the trouble report.

5.3 Beginning the turns of trouble reports: transitional work

As this chapter covers how students raise their concerns voluntarily, either as a responding or initiating action, we have reviewed some embodied actions students produce that project a forthcoming trouble report; now our focus is on how students actually begin the utterances of trouble reports in sequential environments that do not predict them. The first recurrent conduct is gaze aversion from the supervisor to the document they bring. Secondly, verbally, students will address the prior turn and at the same time, add changes to the prosody or offer "yeah + partial repeat" of the question to signal that there is more to merely responding to the supervisory turn.

5.3.1 Gaze aversion

Gaze direction, being an important dimension of interactional resources, has significant implications for turn-taking, preference organisation and action formation and ascription (e.g., Kendon, 1967; Lerner, 2003; Duncan et al., 1979; Goodwin, 1980; Kendrick & Holler, 2017). Especially, the recipient's gaze aversion leading to the speaker's amendment of their talk shows that the switch of eye gaze is associated with dispreferred

actions (Kendrick & Holler, 2017). Gaze aversion from the supervisor to documentation (as a handout or an electronic version) when students are beginning their turns is to extract from the current interaction to the document as displaying the unavailability of a visual source for the incipient topic. And we see this recurrently before trouble reports.

To illustrate, Extract 5.7 is taken from an undergraduate dissertation supervision meeting. At the beginning of this extract, the supervisor comments on what Jessie said about her method: it was the simplest means. In particular, the supervisor suspends the progressivity of the turn at the item "all:," for 0.6 seconds before proceeding to "°imports,°", which suggests a difficulty with the content of the dissertation. Overall, lines 1-3 are assigned to display the supervisor's understanding of the dissertation, which makes Jessie's confirmation or disaffirmation relevant.

```
Extract 5.7 UGH014 1224 "UK GDP"


1  SUP      *it's the simplest kinda measures, (0.4)
   jes      *gazes at SUP-->
2           portion of all cotton coming in relative
3           to all:, (0.6) to °import[s,°
4  JES                           [YEs,
5           (0.2)
6  JES      [mm hmm. ye*ah.
7  SUP      [°yeah.°
   jes           -->*ahead-->
8        *(0.3)
   jes   ->*down at laptop-->
9  JES      but I'm- @yeah I know thuh the@ GDP
   jes              @frowns------------ >@
10          like approximations* for then it's quite
   jes                     -->*at sup-->
11          hard to work out.*
   jes                 -->*
```

Thus far, the sequential environment does not present the relevance of a trouble report. In line 4, Jessie confirms the understanding with a loud "YES". After a short gap (line 5), she produces another acknowledgement "mm hmm" and "yeah" (line 6) to do a sequence

closure-implicative. But then she shifts her gaze from the supervisor (lines 1-6) to ahead before the completion of the "yeah" token (line 6). Her gaze then falls on her laptop screen and remains on it to possibly monitor the content (lines 7-11). During this period, the supervisor does not participate in the talk given the gap in line 8. This indicates the supervisor has noticed that the student is occupied with reading from the screen. Hence, Jessie continues and arrives at the trouble report that the GDP is hard to work out with "but" to mark the continuation with the previous talk in lines 1-3 as a twist. That is, regardless of whether the method is as easy as the supervisor suggests, there is an obstacle to implementing the method because of the inaccessible GDP for the year. (After the extract, Jessie expresses her uncertainty about the only source she could find for the "GDP figure"). She also does a frown in line 9 during the denotation of the difficulty, which visualises the state of struggle and resembles a trouble display in the former cases (Extracts 5.4 and 5.5). Another example of orienting to documentation prior to a trouble report will be seen in Extract 5.14.

To sum up, students frequently avert their gaze from the supervisor to the document before the production of a trouble report. Although we cannot know for definite that retracting the eye gaze at the supervisor and looking at the content makes the production of trouble reports relevant, the trajectory of the aversion is comparable to section 5.2 in that it is another way of disconnecting the eye gaze at the supervisor, which constitutes a turn-taking feature preliminary to trouble reports. The difference is, the aversion of gaze is achieved by the more 'explicit' disconnection of visibility via embodiments like covering the face with one hand (see fig.5.4), while in cases like Extract 5.7, the disconnection seems to be the result of the effort of visually accessing something at hand. There is some other research demonstrate the association between looking at documents and upcoming some kind of bad-news telling as a method of delaying the dispreferred action (Pillet-Shore, 2016; Boyd, 1998). For example, teachers look at the document when reporting school children's unsatisfactory grades to a guardian (Drew, 2006; Pillet-Shore, 2016). It seems that orienting to the paperwork is projectable of trouble reports.

5.3.2 Projecting continuation of the turn: practices of doing "yeah"

When trouble reports are in the responses to various supervisory moves, the first principle is to comply with the constraint posed by the prior turn (Schegloff, 1996a, p.81), addressing what the FPP makes relevant in the SPP. Curiously, the data to be presented show that the answers turn out to be significantly "yeah" regardless of the actions the FPPs perform. Next, they work to expand the turn-in-progress after the SPP (Deppermann, 2013) so they are allowed to move on to the trouble reports. In the next couple of cases, we will analyse how the "yeah" responses are produced so that it will be recognised there will be an expansion of the turn.

Extract 5.8 illustrates that some prosodic features of "yeah" can project a continuation of the turn in which the student carries on to report a trouble. In this undergraduate module-choice meeting, the supervisor checks whether Rachel has thought about the candidate modules (lines 16-18) preliminary to the main activity of the supervision: discussing and registering the modules (see Chapter 4).

```
Extract 5.8 UGH005 "Fitting into different boxes"

16  SUP     um so, have you had a chance to thin:k
17          about (0.5) modules that you wantuh
18          [ta' ne]#xt year#?
19  RAC     [ y:::-]
20  RAC --> ↑y::eah:::
21          (0.2)
22  RAC     but then I was jus talking tuh:: one of
23          my friends n she (0.2) mentioned oneo-
24          (.) a module thuh:::- (.) I hadn't seen
25          on the website?=I think I've been looking at
26          the wron:::g=
27  SUP     =OKAY.
28  SUP     there are:: [there's-]
29  RAC                [thing.  ]
```

Rachel first attempts to provide the response early in an interjacent overlap (line 19) (Jefferson, 1986) yet abandons it. Then she re-attempts to respond with "yeah" when the supervisor finishes (line 20). Both attempts have extended the sound of "yeah" – the first

one, however, could be to monitor the ongoing production of the supervisor; the second one has an additional pitch raise and thus creates the effect of doing more than simply answering the question (Stivers & Heritage, 2001). Therefore, although the "yeah" in line 20 could have brought on a TRP, neither the supervisor nor the student moves forward to the expected base sequence of module discussion (line 21). Then Rachel strikes as self-select to speak (Stivers & Heritage, 2001) and begins with "but". The "yes but" combination has been used to reject (Steensig & Asmuß, 2005) and to disagree with (Pomerantz, 1984) assessments and offers. In this case, it is used to raise a trouble regarding the proposed action (to talk about the modules) (lines 22-26). Despite the distinctive sequential environments, the speakers all orient to the "but" part as socially problematic. In this case especially, Rachel treats reporting a trouble in response to the supervisor's proposal of agenda as problematic because it misaligns with the orientation of the supervisor's turn. That is, even though she displays the orientation to proceed to the discussion of the modules, as lines 16-18 project, she is unable to do that immediately because of her problem learning them (lines 22-26). Hence, the "yes but" construction is used here and will also be seen in the next extract. The analysis of the trouble report will be detailed in Extract 5.10. In this case, the prosodic features added to the minimal SPP, conveying a sense that although the response to the pre-question is positive, there is more to add. Therefore, Rachel achieves a follow-up with a description of what she has been told by others, which was problematic *despite* the yes- answer.

Another device for beginning trouble reports when they are not sought by the supervisor is "yeah" + partial repeats of the supervisory question, such as in Extract 5.9, where the student Frank tells the supervisor about an upcoming assignment in a pastoral supervision meeting.

```
Extract 5.9 PGTC001 0213 "Group presentation"

3    FRK    YEah next week. we nee- we we need to pre,
4           present. For the: (.) for it.
5    SUP    oh wow is that group presentation yeah?
6    FRK -->  yeah group presentation bu, (0.2) but
7           actually (I know:) uh (0.2) s:ome of our
8           group m- (0.3) students are not focused
9           on study, (0.7) s:o:, (0.3) they are not
10          very p'y-=attention to it.
11          (0.9)
12          [oh:: wow,
```

In line 3, Frank confirms with the supervisor the timing of their assignment (in the next week) as questioned by the supervisor. The supervisor employs an insert expansion "oh wow is that group presentation yeah?" to invite another confirmation on the format of the assignmention (line 5). Frank responds with "yeah group presentation", which repeats part of the terms used by the supervisor. In Enfield et al. (2019), repeating what others said is a way to claim agency. In Marian et al. (2021), repeating what has been said in the prior turn has two benefits: it grants the speaker's right over the words and promotes a longer turn for the current speaker. In the sequence here, the benefit of confirming the question in the FPP and repeating it partially can be unpacked as foreshadowing a topic shift. With the "yeah" it assumes the question-and-answer adjacency pair has been completed; with the partial repeats, Frank brings the item "group presentation" in front of the supervisor, hinting that he is going to talk about something related. Therefore, he extends the turn by following up with a "bu" to signal the change of stance, switching to a complaint about the uncooperative classmates as it is an assignment completed by multiple members (lines 9-10). In return, the supervisor replies with a sympathetic utterance as an initial response (line 12).

Extract 5.10 is another example of a yeah + partial repeat of the prior turn that projects an upcoming trouble report. At the beginning of the extract, the supervisor initiates the agenda question by asking whether the student Gary has received the comments on his draft dissertation.

```
Extract 5.10 UGH015 the printout


22  SUP     ahm::::, .hh you got the written
23          comment[s °I've sent][for you to read,°]
24  GAR -->        [ Y E A H   ][got  the  wri'en ]
25      --> comments,
26  GAR     .hh THEE o(h)n- thee ONLY issue::? (0.5)
27          is thuh:: (.) fer some reason? (0.7)
28          thuh: (0.2) the pages thuh' printed out
29          (0.3) are different from the pay- like
30          (0.2) #y-# (.) I don't know how it's been
            lay=eh- laid out when I printed them out.
```

Again, the question takes the declarative form to display a strong preference for a "yes" (Heritage, 2010). Indeed, Gary offers the confirmation in a much preferred fashion (line

24) (Pomerantz, 1984). Nonetheless, the confirmation adopts a clausal form "yeah got the written comments" instead of a "yeah", which designates something additional to the reception of the comments to say (Fox & Thompson, 2010). Subsequently, Gary expands the turn to report a problem with the printout being inconsistent with the comments. Gary uses "the only issue" to describe what he experiences with the printout, which constitutes the expression of the trouble as a trouble report. This case proffers an example of a trouble report being made in an environment not orienting to the solicitation of trouble. That is, the supervisor's initiating turn (lines 22-23) is utilised to suggest the agenda; the student responds to it nonetheless with a report of trouble.

Overall, the multi-unit turn is a collaborative effort needing the teller's signal of forthcoming incipient talk and the recipient's promotion and allowing the turn to proceed (Mandelbaum, 2013). For students who are to report trouble in responding turns to questions that do not solicit trouble reports, here I have discussed two specific ways students, as the teller, extend their turns after fulfilling the action initiated by the supervisor's FPP. The signals are made through and around "yeah", the SPP. One is producing it with prosodic features to convey that there is more to add following the positive answer. The other is, to attach a partial repeat of the question after "yeah" to suggest a topic shift to something negative about the repeated event.

To summarise section 5.3, students employ a range of moves before making unsolicited trouble reports, such as averting the gaze from the supervisor to the document/device, responding to the prior turn (with additional features) and describing hearsay from others. These moves are found to perform three tasks preliminary to the reports: to signal upcoming talk, to address the constraint of the supervisor's initiating turn, and to establish the source of how students get to know the trouble. This set of findings provides evidence for the great sensitivity to sequential environments. They get introduced in a very subtle way – gaze aversion and prosodic and linguistic changes to the response to show their gradual withdrawal of the current interaction (e.g., supervisory pre-question-and-grant to the pre-question). These findings show that making trouble reports is an interactional achievement.

5.4 Trouble reporting TCUs

Having gone through the suggesting and beginning phases of doing uninvited trouble reports, we now move on to the recurrent formats of trouble reports proper. Notably, uninvited trouble reports share the characteristics of ones actively solicited by how-questions (e.g., lines 1-2, Extract 5.1). When students have accomplished the environment necessary for the delivery of trouble reports with the moves just demonstrated, their reports demonstrate two main characteristics: overtness and resistance (Jefferson & Lee, 1981). By overtness, I mean that the trouble reports are formulated in a self-evident way with the expressions of negative emotive states, difficulties or no-knowledge, which can be recognised by supervisors as an invitation for supervisory responses, e.g., advice, informing, empathy, or emotional support (see Chapter 7). However, some additional designs are often added within the TCUs or turns, which are coded as trouble resistance by Jefferson (1984a) to orient to the manageability of trouble and to emphasise the quality of limited impact. The phenomenon of trouble resistance is found to be a particular feature imbedded in trouble reports.

5.4.1 Overt expressions: emotions, difficulties, and lack of knowledge

The analysis begins with a typical overt report of trouble, the expression of emotion *I'm X* (normally *anxious, nervous, worried, unsure,* etc.). As illustrated in Extract 5.11, the supervisor asked whether Steve had checked the exam results to propose the first agenda of the meeting. Steve answered "no" and extended the response that he planned to check them later in the week. In Extract 5.11, the supervisor double-checks Steve's unwillingness to see the results (line 21), to which Steve responds with explicit negative answers (lines 23-24). Then he accounts for checking at a later point to avoid being distracted by the scores in the week, which indicates he is worried about them.

```
Extract 5.11 UGH003 the exam results

21  SUP      [so you don't want me to check them.
```

```
22          (0.3)
23  STE     #uh# (0.4) #uh:::# (.) #uh# (.)
24          N::NO::: (.) if that's okay,
25  STE --> ££.HHhh (.) but yeah obviously I'm a little
26      --> bit #uh:::# an£xious about them?
27          (0.3)
28  STE     mtsk an::d (1.1) m- even though, yi
29          know last .hhhh LAst supervision I wa I wasn't
30          entirely happy with how I approached them.
```

In line 25, Steve continues his turn to report the trouble as an emotive state: "££.HHhh (.) but yeah obviously I'm a little bit #uh:::# an£xious about them?". He first audibly takes a deep breath ".HHhh" to signal incipient talk (Schegloff, 1996a; Mortensen, 2009) and begins the TCU with "but" just like many other cases in this chapter (Extracts 5.6 and 5.8) to indicate the relevance to the previous talk, that he wanted to check the scores at the weekend to avoid being distracted from of his other commitments. "Yeah obviously" further validates the projectability of a trouble report regarding the exam results is strong because of how he describes the anxiety as "obvious". There is the use of mitigation of the anxiety "a little bit"; the production comes with smiles (lines 25-26) – there is an element of trouble resistance in the base TCU of trouble report (Jefferson, 1984a). As preluded before, the resistance of trouble is concurrent with the report (which will be detailed in the next section). Given that Steve has not been responded to following the trouble report (line 27), he continues to expand on the basis of his anxiety, that he was not happy about the learning of the modules as reported in the last supervision (lines 28-30) to try to solicit a response from the supervisor. Although we do not have the "next-turn proof" here or later in the interaction that the supervisor ascribes the expression of anxiety as a trouble report, the pursuit of it shows Steve's expectation that the expression of trouble is supervisory response relevant.

The next common practice of trouble reports is the declaration of difficulty or challenge. In a pastoral supervision at Master's level, the student Christina told the supervisor where she was at with an assignment (a 3000-word essay). She indicated her uncertainty about how she was doing because she had only received feedback on the introduction. The supervisor responded to the uncertainty by informing her that often the problem with students' work was unclear research question(s), after which he provided the solution: to adjust the question(s) to the results the student got in the end (lines 90-91). Then, he shares his own experience with the same problem to validate his incoming advice in line

98: just like line 98 shows, the supervisor finishes his turn by emphasising the ability to change the question as needed.

```
Extract 5.12 PGTH001 2030 fifteen times

90    SUP    and n you don't forget that you're selecting
91           your own question so if you end up writing
92           your essay it's ended up- (0.5) [it ha- happens to me=
93    CHR                                    [°°yih°°
94    SUP    =you r' writing something, .hh starts off (0.3) about one
95           thing, [ends up] with something slightly different?
96    CHR           [.mh h h] ((laughs))
97           (0.2)
98    SUP    you can change your question.
99           (0.4)
100   CHR    °right,°
101          (0.3)
102   CHR    yeah.
103          (0.2)
104   CHR --> >cause it< was difficult (0.2) for me to decide
105       --> on which question=I've chan[ged it] already=
106   SUP                                [  mm, ]
107   CHR    =like,
108   SUP    ye[ah.
109   CHR      [fifteen times, hehe.
110          (0.4)
111   SUP    y(h)eah. £yeah, I know the feeling.£
```

Given the gap (line 99), the response is projected as dispreferred (e.g., Clayman, 2002;). Christina first responds with "°right,°" to mark the recipiency and then offers an agreement "yeah". The series of construction features suggest a mild resistance to the advice (cf. Jefferson & Lee, 1981) and projects further exposure of the trouble. Succeeding the resistance, Christina continues to the focal turn ">cause it< was difficult (0.2) for me to decide on which question". With "cause", Christina first addresses the resistance by giving the account of how the supervisor's previous advice is not sufficient. That is, she is not able to decide on the research question despite being able to change it. Then she expands the turn by quickly following up with an Extreme Case Formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) "I've changed it already like, fifteen times". As this more blatantly challenges the advice in line 98 (in that "you can change your question" assumes new knowledge to Christina, but now she shows the opposite), Christina adds a laughter token to mitigate the discordance. In response, the supervisor produces an acknowledgement also with a

smiley voice to manage the delicacy of advice not being accepted as adequate and offers empathy before following up with more comments.

The third overt expression of trouble is the claim of lack of knowledge; it uses a multi-clause "I don't know/I'm not sure what/how/why . . ." instead of a standalone "I don't know" in response to information-seeking. The example can be found in Extract 5.13. In this PhD supervision meeting, one of the supervisors asks about Judy's plans for the coming two weeks (lines 1-3). Judy provides a non-serious answer that she is going to play with her puppy (line 4). After collective laughter (lines 5-7), supervisor B tries to get back on the track of discussing the research objectives and to solicit a response oriented by the question in the beginning – she first questions the relevance of "playing with the puppy" as if it was the genuine plan for Judy's research project (line 9). Then the supervisor follows up to ask "£can you answer research questions?" (line 11), which can have either of the imports: a request-for-action for Judy to talk academic, or a rhetorical question of "will playing with the puppy help you answer research question".

```
Extract 5.13 PGH001 5313 Playing with my puppy

1    SUP-A     what would we like you to do:: next
2              two weeks,.hhh=what would you like to in
3              the next two weeks?=
4      JUD     =°↑↑playing with my puppy:↑↑°=
5    SUP-A     =hhhh[hahahaha]
6    SUP-B          [hahahaha]
7      JUD          [.hhh huh]
8              (0.4)
9    SUP-B     £why are you playing with [your puppy?]
10     JUD                               [((chuckles))]=
11   SUP-B     [£can you ans]wer research questions?
12     JUD       [he he he he]
13   SUP-B     =((chuckles))]
14     JUD     and that's what I should do isn't it
15   SUP-B     .hhh [I-]
16     JUD          [ d]o I need to do:: (0.3) I mean
17              (.) hhh. (0.5) .hhhhh (0.2) w- (.) yeah::
18              what I wud research que- I mean I've only
19              just done my masters on social research bu'
20              .hh ##I-I-## (0.2) hhhh. (2.5) hhh. (0.4)
21     JUD --> I don't really know what my research
22         --> questions are.((headshaking and smiles))
```

```
23              (1.6)
24  SUP-B      I always star:t (0.3) with::: (0.4)
25              what you (0.4) informally genuinely as an
26              individual want to know.
```

Considering Judy begins her response with "and" to demonstrate the junction with supervisor B's question, she treats line 11 as an implicit request to formulate research questions. "And that's what I should do isn't it", although continuing to have a 'cheeky' element, begins to show a slight resistance to the request. While supervisor B is going to respond to the insert question (line 15), Judy produces an incomplete question "do I need to do::", projectably a more explicit resistance as "do I need to do that now" (line 16). This reminds us of rejecting the agenda as a means of "trouble projection" – Judy is anticipated to report trouble in regards to the formulation of research questions (Chapter 4, section 4.3.3).

Moreover, in lines 16-20, Judy presents the struggle of production with multiple self-repairs. She first cuts off the resistance of proposed request "do I need to do::" with a self-repair initiation device "I mean" (Schegloff, 1992). After a few attempts of relaunching the turn, in line 18, she directs a question to herself "what I wud research que-" to display trouble with articulating her research project without explicitly reporting it yet. Again, she begins the response with "I mean" and a pre-condition that she only just did a Master's dissertation (lines 18-19), and moves on to the trouble reporting clause "I don't really know what my research questions are". She does this with a head shake and a smile to enhance the no-knowledge with embodied resources. This verbalises her effort in formulating the response that she does not have a clear research question (lines 16-20). Following the trouble report, there is a long silence (line 23) probably due to the two supervisors (supervisors A and B) waiting for one another to take up the response. In line 24, supervisor B self-selects to give advice on how Judy can begin to find her research questions – by starting from her personal curiosity. This manifests that the supervisory team has ascribed lines 21-22 as somewhat advice-relevant.

Following the interactional work students have done to construct such slots for trouble reports, the formulations are overtly education or supervision-oriented, including reports of negative emotion, difficulties, and lack of knowledge (that make supervisory support, assistance or enlightenment relevant). We can also see that these overt expressions are sometimes formulated with softeners or mitigations like "a little bit anxious" and "I don't

really know . . .". As a characteristic of the trouble reports, students tend to construct them in a trouble-resistant manner. The next section will present a few frequently adopted formats of trouble-resisted reports in more detail.

5.4.2 Trouble-resistance constructions: the use of contrast

In the following three cases, I will illustrate three cases of how trouble reports are designed to exhibit trouble resistance in the environments of unsolicited trouble reports: *it's just X; I have done X but Y; at first X but Y*. These constructions seem to be making a contrast of some sort. *It's just X* is used to convey everything is good *apart from* what the student is about to report thus and has a limited impact. With respect to *I have done X but Y*, the X part denotes what the student has done within their part or ability, and the *but Y* clause reports the trouble nonetheless. Therefore, it is a means of reporting specific trouble orienting to a specific solution. *At first X but then Y* is what I call an improvement marker, in which the trouble had been resolved as expressed in the *then Y* part. Through a contrast made between different states of affairs, the trouble is resisted in a way that it no longer stands.

Let us look at the first format, *it's just X,* in Extract 5.14. In the opening sequence of a Master's pastoral supervision, Christina is filling in the supervisor about her recent achievement and ends with a summary in line 39: "so that's good.". At this point, Christina has averted her eye gaze away from the supervisor (similar to Extract 5.7), which suggest a possibility of bringing up a trouble. What is also like Extract 5.7, lines 39 and 41 are sequence-closing implicative, which will be unpacked next. First, the assessment in line 39 is positively ended. The supervisor does not take the turn at the turn-transitional space (lines 39 & 40) and Christina continues her turn at line 41 with a bit struggle.

```
Extract 5.14 PGHT002 Research proposal

39  CHR     so that's good.
40          (.)
41  CHR     u:::m::: mTSK (0.4) and=yeah.
42          (1.1)((looks down))
43  CHR --> it's ↑just (.) maybe thee::::: project,
44      --> thee:: research project.
45  SUP     Oh:: ↓yeah.
46  CHR     like al(hh)way(h)::[s
```

```
47  SUP                      [yeah, yeah, yeah.
```

Christina first does a word search and a click to mark the start of a new turn. Although she starts a new TCU with an "and" to indicate more talk to come, she stops there and restarts with "yeah" to mark the completion of this turn, being what Hoey (2017) calls the "turn-exit" device. Immediately after, she looks down at the document on her knees (lines 41-43) just like what we saw in Extract 5.7 that the orientation to the visual source is preliminary to a trouble report, after which she makes the trouble report that it is just "maybe thee:::: research project" that bothers her. In so doing, Christina orients to the supervisor's response that specifically addresses trouble with the research project. What is unique about this trouble report is that it assumes previous knowledge. First, Christina self-repairs from "the:::: project" to "thee:: research project" for accuracy. But it at first assumes an abbreviation way of addressing it would have been adequate for the supervisor's recognition. The way the supervisor responds also marks that this is not new to him, using an "Oh::" and a dropped pitch on "yeah" to mark the recipiency (Gardner, 2002). Furthermore, Christina adds an increment "like al(hh)way(h)::s" to describe the repeated nature of the trouble (line 46). Therefore, the previously noted trouble indicates the unsolved state and is thus constructed in a dispreferred format. Specifically, Christina sound-stretches on "thee::::" to delay the production of the source of trouble (lines 43 & 44). Moreover, she adopts the *it's just X* format to emphasise the limited impact that *everything is good apart from* this longstanding problem with producing a satisfactory research proposal, and makes advice specifically on the new research proposal relevant.

The next example is the use of another variant of this format: *I have done X but Y*. In this undergraduate module-choice meeting (Extract 5.15), the student May (who speaks Chinese as a first language) jokingly proposed to take Chinese as her choice of a language module[8] (line 4). The supervisor laughed and declined the proposal and gave the account that "£you already speak Chinese".

```
Extract 5.15 UGC002 0430 which major

 1  SUP          was- (0.3) did you have a course in mind?
 2               (0.9)
```

---

[8] It is worth mentioning that the same practice (giving an obviously 'wrong' or impossible answer) is used in Extract 5.13 when Judy reponds "playing with my puppy" to the supervisor's question about her plan for the next stage to project some sort of trouble implementing what they should be doing – planning the research questions, taking a different language module that is not the student's first language (in Extract 5.15). Therefore, these responses belong to "trouble projection" as discussed in the last chapter.

```
 3  SUP          the- on FLA course?
 4  MAY          °°chinese? hh[hhh
 5  SUP                      [no. hhh.
 6  SuP          S(h)O(h)RRY? hhhhh .hhh [come on, may HEhehe]
 7  MAY                                  [   hhh h h h     ]
 8               (0.4)
 9  SUP          £you already speak chi[nese.
10  MAY          [hmhm huhu .hh
11               (0.8)
12  MAY    -->   but for::#::# (0.2) other language uh-
13         -->   I have choose the f:rench:: in this year but s
14         -->   this quite difficult for me so I don't want,
15               (0.3)
16  SUP          okay,
17  MAY      -->  (have) some risk (0.2) [for my] credic ((she means
                  "credit")).
                  ((lines omitted))
30  SUP          let's- I'll put Japanese at the bottom of the list so
31               something that think about,
```

In overlap, May continues the cheeky laughter at her obviously absurd idea. Then she begins the response to the supervisor's implicit bidding for another proposal in line 12. In lines 13-14 and 17, May reports the trouble with learning French using the format *I have done X but Y* to acknowledge that she is aware of the basic rule of taking a foreign language and she indeed *did* "this year". This is to stress what has been done to her ability. The second half of the report denotes her personal struggle with this language, which leads to her desire to switch to an easier choice that does not risk her credits as much. Via this construction, May displays what she has done within her understanding (of the requirement of the course) and the ability. However, in the second half "but Y", she denotes trouble with a specific language. This format creates the resistance to trouble in a way that she has *some* knowledge in regard to the solution and indicates possibilities of other options, thus showing a level of competence and autonomy as mentioned in Chapter 2 (cf. Vehviläinen, 2009b; Nguyen & Mushin, 2022). In addition, in stressing what May has done but finds difficult, she calls for more tailored or personalised options. Therefore, in the following lines omitted, she also proposes a switch to Japanese for consideration. Therefore, the supervisor declares her action of putting Japanese "on the bottom of the list" of May's module choice as a backup (lines 31-31) to address May's trouble expressed in lines 13-14 & 17. In this sense, *I have done X but Y* is used not only to resist the trouble but also to foreground a suitable solution that excludes the trouble stated in the *Y* part.

The last format to show is *At first X but Y*, a trouble that has been improved or resolved. This type of trouble reports is similar to the case we saw in Chapter 4 (Extract 4.11),

where the student Molly reported "£first term was not great." and followed up with an improvement "£second term w- is much bett(h)a hahaha". The difference is, *At first X but Y* in this section is designed to be within the same turn as shown by Extract 5.16.

```
Extract 5.16 UGH014 Remedied them all

39  SUP    think you're realising your po:tential
40         now, hhh.
41  JES    h[hh.
42  SUP     [an::,
43  JES    °°'anks?°° huh::. ((laughter))
44         (0.3)
45  SUP    er:::m,
46         (0.3)
47  JES --> no I got a bit, (0.2) um. (1.2) like, (0.4) when I
48      --> first saw all the like recommendations
49      --> I was like oh [my gosh] I've got so much=
50  SUP                   [. H H H] ((astonished))
51  JES --> =to do bu', (2.0) ahm:: once I actually
52      --> got a go and like it was all- it w's
53      --> really helpful. and I think, yeah. I think it's
54         .hhh WEll=I think it's lot better now, hehe.
55  SUP    ↑yeah? >oh here we go,<
```

In this data extract, the supervisor offers an encouraging remark on Jessie's undergraduate dissertation draft at the opening of the meeting. In response, Jessie displays her appreciation and flattered laughter (line 43). Although the supervisor takes this as a completion of the sequence and attempts a new sequence by a word search (line 45), Jessie continues to comment on her dissertation in relation to the supervisor's feedback. She begins with "no", which denies the overall positive assessment of her work (lines 39-40) and thus, an alternative way to mark the consistency with the prior talk as discussed in 5.3.2. In the *At first X* part, Jessie describes what she received as "all the like recommendation", which conveys a great number of comments in a negative import. Also, "when I first saw" projects a switch with another clause on what she thinks/feels now or later. In the report of trouble, she does not declare her difficulty as other cases do but animates her reaction to the amount of the feedback, using a response cry "oh my gosh" and an exclamation "I've got so much to do". In overlap, the supervisor recognises the trouble even though it is articulate at this point, and also animates the projected emotive status Jessie indicates with a radical in-breath to perform

astonishment (line 50). Not suggesting a possible turn-transitional space, Jessie uses "bu" to introduce the change. That is, even though the feedback was a lot to address, Jessie found the comment helpful. With the format of *At first X but Y*, Jessie first conveys the overwhelmingness of the comments as well as that the trouble was mitigated. Following this trouble report, Jessie does not bring her turn to a closure but again stresses the improvement that she personally thinks "it's a lot better now". Hence, this construction lays more emphasis on the improvement part to signal the low relevance of advice or other kind of support, which can be gathered from the supervisor's turn that signal his discovery of Jessie's dissertation on his computer but nothing advisory to Jessie's report of trouble in the lines arrowed.

In this section, we go through some recurrent linguistic formats of student trouble reports. Compared to the pre-beginning and beginning practices, the base TCUs of trouble reports are not as environmentally sensitive. That is, the construction of trouble reports is universal regardless of whether they are solicited by supervisory how-questions or not. In terms of their formats, the overt expressions of negative emotions, difficulties and lack of knowledge repeatedly emerge in the data. It is argued that these formats orient to problems students encounter in various forms (e.g., anxiety, challenges, and questions to be answered) and thus the 'supervisability'. This finding, relating to the issue of action formation and ascription (Levinson, 2013), answers how students are recognised as having trouble and soliciting advice or other types of support. Apart from overtness, trouble reports are typically mitigated to show trouble resistance – the manageability of trouble (Jefferson, 1984a). Three constructions are discussed*: It's just X, I have done X but Y,* and *At first X but Y*. A commonality is that they are making a contrast between "just" one issue and the overall positive picture, what has been done and what cannot be done, and what strikes as challenging and the later improvement. Although the overtness and trouble-resistance seem to be contradicted, it is argued that their coexistence sheds light on the uniqueness of trouble reports in supervision interaction. On the one hand, they are designed for supervisors' recognition. On the other hand, the resistance manifests that the student is competent, independent, and has fulfilled their part or responsibility but implicitly requests appropriate support from the supervisor. Furthermore, such trouble-resistance formulations orient to more personalised supervisory turns in terms of what to advise on and to what extent. Like in Extract 5.16, by constructing the trouble as a historical problem that has been improved, the student manifests minor orientation to the supervisor's advice at length.

5.5 Conclusion

The expression of trouble has been studied as responses to how-are-you questions (Jefferson, 1988) and questions that solicit the purpose of the visit (Coupland et al., 1992; Robinson, 2006; van der Laaken & Bannink, 2020; Nishizaka, 2010). However, before this chapter there had not been any studies concerning the production of trouble reports on occasions of self-initiation. In this chapter, we focused on three major issues in relation to student trouble reports that occur without supervisors' active solicitation. First, what constitutes an environment created for a trouble report? The first section offers some insight on this, finding that when a supervisor's FPP links personal state or experience with the course like in Extract 5.1 and personal state inquiries in Chapter 4, student trouble reports can be a potential response and are considered as 'solicited'. Alternatively, students reveal problems they have in response to the supervisory turn or in the initiating turn. This brings us to the second question: how do students achieve them in various sequential environments that are not assigned to solicit trouble? It was found that students take two steps before the arrival of trouble reports:

- visually signalling an upcoming turn (via facing up) and a display of troubledness (via e.g., face-touching),
- marking a switch to another topic in the continuing turn while addressing the prior turn (gaze aversion, and practices of "yeah");

Following these routine moves, students arrive at what is called the "base TCU(s)" of trouble that announces its nature. Hence, for the third question, it was found that their construction is oriented to 'supervisability', centralising the emotion, difficulty, or lack of knowledge. Meanwhile, the element of trouble resistance is significant in the reports, often embedded in the formats of contrasts (*It's just X, I have done X but Y,* and *At first X but Y*) to demonstrate the student's ability or autonomy.

One insight that can be made is that 'front-loading' work is prominent when students make an unsolicited trouble report. We see students begin the face-touching, tilting upwards or averting eye gaze from the supervisor to the document before the production of trouble reports. This shows the multimodal nature of expressing trouble that utilises the resources of embodiment and documentation. In a sense, these practices are to

make up for the relevance of a trouble report that would have been provided by some how-questions (e.g., "how are you getting on wi' syntax and semanticsh:."). Moreover, this is done by doing a stance of "despite what you (the supervisor) are saying, now I have something more that I think is problematic to add" via this series of embodied actions (Levinson, 2013). As for the pedagogical implications for supervisors, students might have very subtle moves as such to indicate their initiation to speak up through the extension of their turn, a display of frustration and so on, considering the orientation of the current sequence. It is important to notice them and encourage the realisation of the trouble report. By "encourage", in particular, I do not mean to verbally encourage but to spare the floor, and create silence to allow students themselves to move on to talk about their trouble, such as the gaps in Extracts 5.4 (line 5), 5.7 (line 8) and 5.8 (line 21). These gaps, i.e., supervisors' not opting to take the turn, demonstrate the ascription of continued possession of the floor for some purpose and are proved productive (cf. Stokoe et al., 2020).

Next, it was discovered that trouble reports proper are explicit formulations orienting to emotional status, lack of knowledge or difficulties as supervisable matters (see Chapter 7). While Jefferson's discovery of routine trouble-resistance orients to the manageability and 'business as usual' to get away from the topic in ordinary interaction (Jefferson, 1984a), the co-existence of overtness and trouble resistance in student trouble reports show their evocation of competence, autonomy, agency and such while trying to solicit support of some kind (Drew & Heritage, 1992). Moreover, this kind of construction aims to solicit more personalised advice or to control how much advice they receive. This sheds light on, as revealed in moment-by-moment interaction, the emphasis on the demonstration of the students' ability and endeavour to gear towards the solution of a problem (Vehviläinen, 2009b).

This chapter, overall, presents how trouble reports unsolicited are achieved across different sequential environments. In the next chapter, we will explore a special way of

constructing trouble reports that involves the student and supervisor in particularly delicate sequential environments.

Chapter 6. Co-constructed trouble reports on delicate matters

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns trouble reports co-constructed by students and the supervisor. The previous chapters view student trouble reports as student side work only. For example, when asked how things have been by the supervisor at the beginning of a meeting, the student could directly report a dissatisfactory experience of the last semester: "First term was not great" as the response. Alternatively, students can launch a new sequence themselves about the trouble at the boundaries of sequences (cf. Nishizaka, 2010). Overall, it is plausible to think that students play the main role in signalling and producing trouble reports in the given sequential environments. In this chapter, however, I will show a particular way in which trouble reports get done by both participants. That is, a student initiates a trouble report, and the supervisor somehow ends up completing or articulating it. Moreover, these reports involve authorities such as the institution or the supervisor and making such reports could be heard as challenging or criticising a party with greater power. Therefore, they are oriented to by students as dispreferred actions. To address this potential issue, supervisors use the co-construction to speak on behalf of the student. In effect, the student becomes the recipient and the assessor of the criticism instead of the critic. In these co-constructed parts, the criticism or complaint is made stronger or consistent with the student's unfinished version; supervisors are also enabled to show affiliation with the teller-student.

On delicacy, Silverman (1997) in his study on HIV counselling raises the point that we should avoid intuitively taking anything as intrinsically delicate, sensitive, or embarrassing (which will be again demonstrated by this chapter); it is how participants orient to and manage a potentially delicate matter in interaction in a given cultural and social context that matters (see also, Heath, 1988; Bergmann, 1992). For example, in

check-ups topics relating to sexual life are oriented to as health concerns that are vital for the later advice-giving (Silverman, 1997, pp.66-67) and medical procedures (Heath, 1988); therefore, they should not be developed as delicate or embarrassing activities for the participants after all. Lerner (2013, p.95) offers a comprehensive overview of practices used when participants in everyday interaction "show a special concern for interpersonally sensitive matters as the voicing of potentially offensive terms . . .": suppressing the production by quieting it down (Schegloff, 2003) or accompanying the talk with laughter (Jefferson, 1984a), doing word-searches, suspending the progressivity of talk via cut-offs and so on. Overall, delicacy is addressed by the deliverer's delaying of the realisation of the turn's talk to show cautiousness regarding the potential delicacy. Looking into how delicacy is addressed is one way of going about it.

Another lens from which we can look at delicacy is how interactants construct the talk as dispreferred formats or actions. For example, Schegloff (1988) takes an interest in the management of bad news delivery in ordinary interaction. When participants share bad news, telling negative information to another is treated as a dispreferred action for the tellers, so the recipients are made the actual articulator of the news by the tellers via two main practices. One is a pre-announcement of the bad news, e.g., "I, I-I had something (.) terrible t'tell you." (p.443), after which the recipient figures out and articulates that the terrible thing is their mutual friend's demise. Alternatively, the teller of bad news can only inform some part of the bad news. For example, one friend informs another about the cancellation of their joint trip. Instead of directly saying that he is not able to make it, the teller only tells an emerging inconvenience that "Yihknow I really don't have a place tuh sta:y" to nudge the recipient to explicate the bad news herself: ".hhh So yih not g'nna go up this weekend?" (p.443). These practices are described as forecasting strategies in Maynard (1996), leading the recipient from a state of ignorance to knowledge about the bad news. Hence, they are able to realise the bad news. Rather than delivering the bad news, the teller gives clues and leaves it to the recipient to work it out. Through practices like these, tellers address the delicacy by delaying the delivery of the dispreferred action and end up turning them into a collaborative effort (Maynard, 1996; Lerner, 2013).

Building on the previous studies about delicate talks, this chapter will contribute to another practice used to address the delicacy of certain student trouble reports. That is, participants are collaboratively devoted to producing the report in one TCU (i.e., the co-construction of trouble reports) or in the supervisor's contribution in overlap for students to confirm. In this way, students are not, at least solely, the producer of the dispreferred action in the FPP. Specifically, these questions will be answered:

- In what sequential environments do co-construction of trouble reports occur?
- What are the interactional outcomes?

It is argued that while such trouble reports relating to authority are delicate for students to make, this is not the case for supervisors. To foreground the idea about the differing delicacy on one issue, I will first illustrate how supervisors criticise and how students report the institution-related trouble respectively at the talk – only students avoid the critical element when delivering the trouble. Then I will analyse in detail why and how the central cases of co-construction are done and what they achieve in the interaction.

6.2 Criticisms that concern the institution by supervisors and students

First, some distinctions between how supervisors and students talk about problems and flaws in the institution need to be spelt out – this will help us see how they come to construct a trouble report jointly. Supervisors tend to elaborate the institutional problems as explicit criticisms with verbal and sometimes embodied conducts, whereas students avoid using such resources to minimise the recognisability of a criticism. Starting with the supervisor's case, prior to Extract 6.1, the supervisor commented that Eddie's mark on a French (as a foreign language) module was high. However, Eddie revealed that it is because he spent more time preparing for the exam. In line 1, the supervisor conducts further questioning about whether this is because Eddie likes French more. In response, Eddie reports that it was due to being more worried about passing the module.

```
Extract 6.1 UGH008 0210 language learning


1  SUP      and is that cuz you enjoy French ↑↑more::: o[r,
2  EDD                                                    [no
3           it was cause I was v-v- (0.3) more worried about French
4           [that's all.
5  SUP      [(y-) so French is harder.
6           (0.3)
7  EDD      yeahyeahyeah.
8           (0.2)
9  SUP      yeahyeah.
10 SUP       mstk! .hh I ↑wantuh, (0.7) ca:pture that cus=.hh
11    -->   we have this weird thing in the universi+ty
   sup                                              +gazes
12         (and we w-) don't+ (.) tell the °vice chancellor
   sup            at camera-->+
13         I'm saying this,° (.) .hhhh thuh-  (0.8) they
14         simultaneously think tha' languages are:: (1.0)
15         too easy and too difficult.
```

In line 5, the supervisor paraphrases Eddie's perception into a more objective statement about the course – that French is "harder" for him to confirm. Eddie repeats the confirmation of the supervisor's understanding checking to acknowledge the ongoing course of working up the trouble (line 7) (Stivers, 2004). After the supervisor's recipiency, she starts to respond with the criticism that the course has made the language module difficult, i.e., being a "weird"/unreasonable thing to make the language module difficult to pass with a click to register the disapproving mood (Wright, 2011) (line 10). The supervisor treats the trouble as an institutional problem by prefacing it as something she "wants to ca:pture" in the department. In the causal clause starting with "cus", she directly points out that this issue is a "weird thing". The criticism is delivered in the single-TCU – on this feature, more will follow in the main section on co-constructed trouble reports where it will be repeatedly seen in supervisors' co-constructed parts. But for now, "cus=.hh we have this weird thing. . ." is what Goodwin (1996, p.384) terms as "prospective indexical", a practice to draw Eddie's attention to upcoming multi-TCUs to detail what the "weird thing" is even though it is now not clear. Nonetheless, as far as line 11, the critical stance has been adequately established as detailed below.

From line 11, the supervisor adopts "we (have this weird thing in the university)", the collective self-reference (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) – instead of "there is a weird thing . . . ". In Lerner and Kitzinger (2007, p.546), the self-repair between "I" to "we" sheds light on the "shift of responsible authority from an individual to a collectivity". Here, the supervisor uses "we" to aggregate herself to the institution – the collectivity, as part of the criticised. In this way, the criticism does not strike as a criticism of the Other but one of Self. For the recipient student, the supervisor has also taken an insider position on the criticised matter, which indicates her access to relevant knowledge and strengthens her claim about the institution. Following that, the supervisor switches the eye gaze to the camera (lines 11-12) and requests that she does not "tell the °vice chancellor I'm saying this,°" (lines 12-13). On the one hand, she prefaces the criticism with a secretive voice. On the other hand, she again engenders what she is going to say is critical of her workplace, which she should not be doing, especially with students in private (that is why she has prefaced it in a secretive voice). With the emphasis on the collectivity, her and the institution, the criticism is directed toward her workplace as well as herself self-deprecatingly. From lines 13 to 14, she specifies what she finds problematic, that the course is not balancing well the difficulty. To sum up, criticism about the institution delivered by a supervisor is blatant with a single-TCU assessment using expressions like "weird thing" (line 11). The criticism is made not delicate in a self-deprecatory fashion (even though the criticism is directed at the institution not herself personally), in that what she does while criticising the institution is not to depart from the institution but to claim collectivity with it.

On the other hand, how trouble reports on departmental or course-related issues are done by students makes for a stark contrast; these are forwarded as something that is hardly recognisably a criticism; but still, the reports convey the idea that the student has encountered an obstacle as a result of departmental dysfunction. Using Extract 6.2, in response to the supervisor's pre-question to introduce the coming activity of module registration, Rachel points out finding incompatible information about all the modules on the website (lines 16-18).

```
Extract 6.2 UGH005 "Fitting into different boxes"

16   SUP     um so, have you had a chance to thin:k
```

```
17          about (0.5) modules that you wantuh
18          [ta' ne]xt year?
19   RAC    [ y:::-]
20   RAC    ↑y::eah:::
21          (0.2)
22   RAC --> but then I was jus talking tuh:: one of
23       --> my friends n she (0.2) mentioned oneo-
24       --> (.) a module thuh:::- (.) I hadn't seen
25       --> on the website?=I think I've been looking at
26          the wrong:::g=
27   SUP    =OKAY.
28   SUP    there are:: [there's-]
29   RAC               [thing.  ]
30   SUP    they are listed on a coupleo' of the pages
31          [so let me] go to the right::
```

Very briefly, the supervisor inquires whether Rachel has had a chance to consider the modules she would like to take preliminary to the base sequence – the discussion of the modules (lines 16-18). After the proffering of the positive response (line 20), the focus of this extract is from line 22 onwards. Here Rachel moves on from the pre-sequence to report trouble with finding consistent information on the modules on the website. In line 22, she does not report that the website has been confusing to her; instead, she recounts an exchange she had with a friend (enacting the third party) and what she learned from that encounter – a module she did not see on the website that displays the information about the modules (lines 22-25). To start with, "but then I was jus talking tuh:: one of my friends" frames the communication with Rachel's friend as a casual chat and finding the module unknown to her as casual. The verb "mentioned" also stresses that the unknown module was learnt about in a coincidental way, not intentionally mentioned by Rachel's friend. Nor does this informing exhibit her uptake about the news, i.e., whether she takes it to be true, given the self-repair from what is projected to be "one of the modules" to "a module" – the first formulation acknowledges the unknown module is one of the options and the second is simply a module not necessarily belonging to the range of options (lines 23-24), or evidence of the inadequacy of the website. She simply recalls this experience quite vaguely. Then, she attributes the unfamiliar to her module referring to the source (lines 25-29). In line 26, she delays the item "wrong:::g" to suspend the production, projectably the web page that has gone wrong (Lerner, 2013). In line 27, the supervisor marks the recipiency of the trouble report even though Rachel has not reached a possible completion. Then the supervisor follows up with "there are:: there's-

", projectable as an account for getting information on incompatible modules (line 28). Rachel only gets to produce the item "thing" after the supervisor has begun responding in a delayed fashion (line 29). The selection of "thing" indicates an intention to obscure an accusation of a concrete object like "the wrong website" and sorts. Taking these into consideration (framing the trouble as a result of casual communication between friends and displaying her lack of knowledge), Rachel has worked to avoid sounding like she is pointing out a problem about the departmental website not being useful. Even so, the supervisor still displays her understanding and addresses the possibility that the modules are indeed listed on different pages (line 30). Compared with Rachel's telling of the unfamiliar module and her own alleged mistake, the supervisor's account is more oriented as knowledge asymmetry on a technical level.

From extracts 6.1 and 6.2, there are distinctions between how supervisors and students handle issues related to the institution, like courses or other resources: supervisors point out the criticism recognisably, while students do not show the stance of criticising and may even formulate their own wrongdoings. What gives rise to this difference is the divergent levels of delicacy as embodied by their handling of the trouble, which will be further strengthened by the focal cases of the chapter.

6.3 Co-constructed trouble reports zoomed in

Drawing from the comparison between how students report trouble relating to the department and how supervisors criticise the institution, it is clear that students tend to minimise the recognisability of a charge or accusation even though the trouble is caused by the institutional side. On the other hand, supervisors do not hold back showing their critical stance, being an insider of the institution. This difference embodies the underlying machinery, that it is delicate for students to point out a problem with the institution or the authority but not for supervisors. This will be further demonstrated by the co-construction of trouble reports in the section that follows. The four cases considered will show that when students initiate trouble reports relating to the supervisor or a course being taught, it is the supervisors who end up completing them via collaborative completion or co-construction. In supervisors' completions, they are stronger as criticisms.

6.3.1 Co-construction via collaborative completion

Co-constructed trouble reports can be done via collaborative completions. When students are making trouble reports relating to the affiliating institution or department or the supervisor in situ, they may retard or suppress them halfway from being completed. In this way, supervisors' assistance in completing might become relevant next (Lerner, 2003). In effect, the student's role as a trouble reporter is switched from prospective critic to recipient and endorser of the candidate completion. The subsequent two cases will unpack how the collaborative completion unfolds.

To begin with, questions that solicit personal preference on modules (e.g., line 58) can be tricky because students may have an equal interest in them but they also have to prioritise. In this case, Jack has to choose two modules from three options: Psycholinguistics, Prosody and Forensic Phonetics. At the beginning of the extract, Jack first makes the easy choice, choosing Psycholinguistics as "the dead cert", a definite choice (lines 59-60).

```
Extract 6.3 UGH002 0055 "sold prosody to you"


58   SUP     any preferences in those?
59   JAC     um, I'm definitely- (0.4) the dead cert
60           psycholinguistics.
61   SUP     mkay?
62           (1.4)
63   JAC     um (0.7) an:::::d (1.5) I'm leaning
64           more towards forensic phonetics,
65           (0.9)
66   JAC  -> bu:t (0.2) *now you've kindov-
     jac                *rubs forehead-->
67           (0.3)
68   SUP     heh:::. ((laughs))*
     jac                     -->*
69           (0.4)
70   JAC  -> you've-=
71   SUP --> =+SO*L:d+ prosody to you.
     sup      +shakes+
     jac        *smiles-->
72           (.)
```

```
73   JAC    you- yeah you ha*ve a bit.
     jac                 -->*
```

In line 60, the supervisor only gives a continuer "mkay?" because Jack's response is unfinished as he has not said anything about the other two modules (Prosody and Forensic Phonetics). When displaying the hardness of having to pick one (lines 63-66), Jack utilises "um", pauses, and a sound stretch (line 63) to delay the response (Clayman, 2002). Moreover, the construction of "leaning more toward forensic phonetics", even though showing a tendency to choose the module, is not definitive compared with lines 59-60 and how enthusiastically he chose Psycholinguistics. In addition, it ends with a slightly rising intonation to indicate a continuation of the turn. The tendency toward Forensic Phonetics is delivered with indecisiveness and projects a switch in the decision. This does what Chapter 4 mentioned as "trouble projection"; it foreshadows upcoming trouble with the choosing of modules even though Jack has not yet announced it. As line 66 shows, Jack begins with "but" to explicitly mark the shift, following which he uses "now you've kindov-", the present perfect tense to, as projected, stress what the supervisor has done to influence Jack's choice. Meanwhile, he rubs his forehead to display a state of troubledness (see in Chapter 5 as common bodily conduct while delivering trouble reports unsolicited). However, the trouble report is cut off and left unfinished grammatically. Nonetheless, the laughter (line 68) produced by the supervisor shows that she foresees the incomplete utterance in line 66 as accusatory. By laughing, she marks the light-hearted uptake of and might have encouraged Jack to re-start the trouble report (line 70). Yet he again halts at "you've-", so the supervisor comes to complete with "SOL:d prosody to you". The word selection of "SOL:d" emphasises the supervisor's influence in a way that she has talked Jack into choosing Prosody. With the enhanced prosody of this word and the embodiment (rapidly shaking her head with a lifted chin) combined, the supervisor completes Jack's unfinished trouble report (lines 66 and 70) and enacts the outrage that the supervisor has complicated the decision-making in a light-hearted and playful manner, as can be told by Jack's reciprocal smile (line 71). In return, it is reciprocated by Jack with a smile in response to the candidate completion and the enactment (lines 71-73). As to totally agree with the supervisor's admission to having persuaded him, he would be at the risk of sounding accusative, Jack cuts off "you- " and re-launches the response "yeah you have a bit" to only partially confirm the

supervisor's candidate completion. As it is accompanied by a smile (line 73), the response is delivered in a "playing along" manner, not a blameful one.

To summarise, in this extract, Jack tries to denote the trouble caused by the supervisor's influence. As producing such a statement would constitute a dispreferred action, he delays and suspends the turn before the delicate item ("sold" as the supervisor completes). This opened up an opportunity for the supervisor's completion to produce the word "sold" and in effect co-construct the trouble report. In this way, the nature of the trouble report altered from a projected accusation toward the supervisor (for interfering with the module-choice) – the more delicate matter, to a confession made by the supervisor herself – the less delicate.

Extract 6.4 also demonstrates how collaboratively completed trouble reports resolve the delicacy that would be established if they are made by students solely. Earlier than this fragment, the student May expressed her dislike toward several modules in the current programme (English Language) and her interest in the modules in a different course instead (Linguistics). However, she was not certain about transferring from English Language to Linguistics, nor did she explicate her willingness to change course. Therefore, the supervisor would need to clarify May's personal interest in order to move the process forward. At the beginning of this data excerpt, the supervisor solicits May's preference in a confirmation-seeking way (lines 1-5). Beginning with "it sounds like", the supervisor constructs her understanding check as a speculation that leaves space for rejection.

```
Extract 6.4 UGC002 1511 Course change

1     SUP     it sounds like what you are saying though
2             is (0.2) thee (.) course- thee uh modules
3             that are offered in english language, (.) are
4             less interesting? (0.3) than the modules offered
5             in (.) Linguistics. (.) for you. yeah?
6             (0.4)
7     MAY  -> £<I'm very not interested in,>£ h.
8             (0.6)
9     SUP --> thee eng*lish langue-* like history [yeah.]
      may          *nods------ >*
10    MAY                                  [uhuh.]((laughter))
11    SUP     [which is totally] fine. [I'm-
12    MAY     [the history    .]       [and sociolinguistics.
```

```
13   SUP    £tha- that's- me too. [so I understand(h) (you).£
```

It is noticeable that the understanding check is also delivered with micro pauses in lines 2 to 5 to divide each part of the question such as "thee uh modules that are offered in English language", "are less interesting?", "than the modules offered in" and "linguistics". These pauses could also orient to the delicacy of requesting May's personal interest in the courses by the delayed production. Especially as, at the end of the question, she adds an incremental "for you" to individualise May's forthcoming answer that does not concern other parties to avoid the delicacy (Line 5). Lastly, the supervisor uses a tag question "yeah?" to handle the lack of more immediate response from May (e.g., line 6).

Even though the question is clearly designed to push the process forward, May's response orients to the emphasis on disliking certain modules in English Language. Her response, being apparently non-type-conforming to the yes/no question (Raymond, 2003), simply focuses on the problem that she is "very not interested in'' the present modules, which is an unusual construction, compared to "not very interested" and "have no interested". We could argue that "very" upgrades the quality of her repulsion (line 7); on the hand, it leaves some room of interest as she does not utilise the formulation of "no interest at all". Again, as she did in the last extract, she halts the trouble report in-progress. Simultaneously, her facial expression remains a smile. These two practices indicate her awareness about the delicacy of naming her dislike of the course (Lerner, 2013) and her attentiveness to minimising the dispreferred action (e.g., Kohler, 2008).

Following the halt in the trouble report in progress (line 8), the supervisor sets out to collaborate with the trouble report by producing the projectable part. Her first version is the programme of English Language, shedding light on her understanding of the trouble to be with the entire course. This has been confirmed by May as she nods to the "English langue-" part. But the supervisor cuts off and illustrates the module "History" offered in the English Language programme very soon. In line 11, she also adds an incremental clause "which is totally fine" to justify/un-problematise the fact that May does not like it. So far, the supervisor has resolved the delicacy established by the revelation of not liking the course by collaborating with the unfinished TCU in line 7 by announcing what May does not like for her and un-problematising it. In overlap, May continues the TCU begun at line 7 that it is History and Sociolinguistics she does not like, to modify the supervisor' completion (line 12). In response, the supervisor shares a parallel feeling toward these

(line 13) to again address the delicate side of such outbursts by normalising the dislike of certain subjects. In other words, the supervisor makes May's issues with the modules a matter of "one man's meat is another man's poison" instead of anything to do with fault with the content or delivery of the modules. Moreover, they adopt a sympathetic and affiliative stance toward May in response to her frustration.

In this sequence, while what is oriented to by May is to account for switching of courses, the trouble report "I'm very not interested in" could be heard as personal discontent with the teaching or course design only, constituting a dispreferred action. Therefore, May withholds the completion of the trouble report and the supervisor ends up completing this part. Therefore, the sequence has altered from a report of disliking certain modules to the supervisor's offering her understanding about the student's trouble, which avoids one party producing dispreferred action like in bad news delivery (Schegloff, 1988). In effect, May becomes the recipient and evaluator of a candidate understanding, rather than the critic, after which she modifies the supervisor's completion .

To conclude this section, when the participants use collaborative completion to co-construct a trouble report, the student treats the turn-in-progress as dispreferred, thus suspending the completion and creating an opportunity for another completion. This aligns with Lerner's (2013) findings on one of the methods in which interlocutors attend to delicacy – speaker A delays the completion of the delicate turn to make speaker B's completion relevant. What this section adds to the existing literature is that delicacy is also addressed in the form of collaborative completion owing to such other-completions altering the projected dispreferred initiative action (expressing discontent feeling toward the supervisor or courses) to a responsive preferred action (proffering the supervisor's affiliation with the student). In the next section, it will be proposed that co-construction via overlapping talk is another approach to resolving delicate matters.

6.3.2 Co-construction via overlaps

Now we move on to a different approach to supervisory participation in trouble reports – using overlaps. Contrasting with the collaborative completion sequences where students' turns can lead to completion by the supervisor, overlaps are spontaneous attempts to join in the production or formulation of trouble reports.

To start with extract 6.5, the participants are discussing the procedure of transferring Ron from a doctoral programme to a Master's due to his personal circumstances. Extract 6.5 begins with the supervisor starting a new sequence of how to do the transfer.

```
Extract 6.5 PGC002 0319 transfer

23   SUP      now, ↑I can't remember what- do-=↑have you looked at all
24            into the- the rules or like how long these
25            things [(   )
26   RON  ->       [I tried to look but the handbook
27            didn't [list (      one)
28   SUP -->       [the handbook'S N(h)ot very h(h)elpful
29            he he hehe
30            (.)
31   RON      yeah they say I can do a transfer but then,
32            (0.8) that's jus: (0.3) a paragraph or two
33            and didn't (0.4) have a lot of detail,
```

In line 23, the supervisor first shows a "no-access" to the procedures of transferring course by claiming her inability to remember the rules (Raymond, 2000) (line 23). However, she alters the action from a display of lack of knowledge to instead checking Ron's epistemic status about the procedure via a self-repair (Drew, Walker & Ogden, 2013). This version, then, strikes as a question preliminary to advice-giving that Ron finds out the procedures involved in a transfer (Vehviläinen, 2012). Here Ron offers a non-type conforming answer (Raymond, 2003), not responding that he has checked the rules but that he has "tried". As uncovered in the last chapter, a response like this projects that a trouble report is coming. First, non-type conforming answers could point to the question being somewhat problematic (Fox & Thompson, 2010) – the question presumes that looking into the terms and policies would be a primary step to get to know the requirements for transferring course. However, this presumption is in question now. Secondly, while "tried" claims that Ron has indeed looked up the rules, i.e., has done his part, it orients more to the failure to find anything useful. Therefore, the second half of the trouble report "but the handbook didn't" accounts for the failure of the handbook not providing certain information and preempts the advice given. Although the trouble report is not audibly full, it stands legitimately as a revelation of the incapacity of the handbook.

In line 28, the supervisor produces an interjacent overlap in the report. The early arrival of the supervisor's turn, to begin with, demonstrates the capacity of offering uptake and thus the supervisor's understanding of the trouble. Also, she rephrases the trouble as the handbook being not "very helpful". Compared to Ron's version ("but the handbook didn't list (one)"), it is more explicit as a negative assessment ("N(h)ot very h(h)elpful") and more general as an assessment. Unlike Ron's specification of missing information, the supervisor denies the overall usefulness of the handbook and therefore elaborates the trouble report. Thirdly, the supervisor's construction is a one-TCU clause, unlike Ron's compound sentence. In this way, the trouble report is made brief but definite. In so doing, the supervisor, being in a less delicate position to criticise the department- related issue, enhances the trouble report via the co-construction because it does not pose an interactional challenge to criticise the writing of the handbook by the department. In line 31, Ron agrees with this criticism and specifies what he sees in the handbook – the eligibility of transfer with one or two paragraphs of information. While it accords with the supervisor's criticism that the handbook has not been informative, it balances the generality in the supervisor's criticism. This again, demonstrates that the student has become a recipient, an evaluator, and a modifier of the co-construction instead of a pure producer of it. To summarise Extract 6.5, the supervisor takes over the turn to produce the trouble report and upgrade with an overall denunciation.

Extract 6.6 further shows that in co-constructing trouble reports, supervisors elaborate them from the student's version. In this extract, Eddie reports a dissatisfactory experience with a module offered in the History programme, and the supervisor joins in.

Extract 6.6 UGH008 0302 "Sausage machine"

```
2   SUP     but, enjoying history?
3           (0.2)
4   EDD     I am enjoying history *↑um,
    edd                           *looks away-->
5           (1.4)*
    edd        -->*
6   EDD     ↓I didn't enjoy ((module name))
7           an[yway,
8   SUP       [mtsk [okay  asa  ] mo-
9   EDD             [mstk uh bu-]
10  EDD     [I  spo-  I ] spoke to quite a few people,
11  SUP     [as a module.]
12          (0.3)
```

```
13 SUP     okay?
14         (0.2)
15 EDD     um, (.) who've done histories previously in the
16         in the years above, (.) and they said, they
17         they didn't like it but it's:
18         (.)
19 SUP     (as [m-/as in)    it's  d]one.
20 EDD        [  (      )   then:]
21         (0.2)
22 EDD     yeah.
23         (0.2)
24 EDD     but the next ones are (.) pretty good I'm
25         enjoying:: (0.2) [my (.) (modules now.)
26 SUP                      [IS it um quite a general:
27         (1.0) v- bring everybody on the same page
28         [(type of m-) is that the idea.
29 EDD     [yeah: i think >i think< it's exactly
30         [   what  it  is.   ]
31 SUP     [>everybody's coming] from all your
31         different ways of doing [history] at school:<=
32 EDD                             [↓y eah.]
33 SUP     =[and then,
34 EDD      [and this is how we do in the univer[sity,
35 SUP  ->                                      [i- it's
36    --> the sausage machine,
37 EDD     absolute[ly.
38 SUP             [who, who likes being turned into a sausage.
```

Starting from line 2, the supervisor asks if Eddie is enjoying the History programme. The question, designed as a positively polarised declarative, indicates the supervisor's assumption of a yes-answer (Heritage, 2012) and the orientation to positive news about Eddie's experience with the course. In response, "I am enjoying history", instead of only a yes-answer, suggests that the confirmation is only partial – that there is something he does not enjoy, although Eddie enjoys History overall. With a turn-initial hesitation marker"um" and the gaze aversion that is associated with dispreferred action (Kendrick & Holler, 2017), a response that does not accord with the orientation of the question (line 2), i.e., a report of trouble is projectably next (see Chapter 4). In lines 6-7, he reveals one of the modules offered in History that he did not enjoy. Since line 10, Eddie refers to the communication with "quite a few people" about their views on the module (lines 10-17). Like in Extract 6.2, Eddie informs about communication with others so that he can introduce the trouble as a general, widely accepted feature. However, continuing line 17

he produces "but it's" to mark a switch to move forward from the criticism. Therefore, so far Eddie's unenjoyment is expressed in a light manner. The supervisor's candidate completion in line 19 also supports the idea that Eddie's incomplete turn in line 17 is projectably a possible exit of trouble (Jefferson, 1988) in a way that has become history ("it's done"). Although Eddie also produces the completion in overlap (line 20), he does not seem to exhibit any problem with the completion, acknowledging with a "yeah" (line 22). His follow-up assessment is that the other modules are good (line 24), marking the complained module a past experience and signalling the closure of the sequence.

While the participants could have moved on to another sequence, the supervisor chooses to carry out diagnostic work on the cause of the unpleasant experience, asking whether it is because the course brings "everyone on the same page", i.e., only focusing on uniformity and ignoring individual differences (lines 26-28). "Everyone" here, emphasising the diversity of students, is almost an extreme case formulation in that it has the effect of exaggeration (Pomerantz, 1986). It should also be mentioned that "everyone" is recurrently used in what Sacks called "account apparently appropriate negativer" (A3N) (Sacks, 1989, p.250). Facing a challenge, the speaker gives an account that aims to be undeniable because everyone else does the same, e.g., "Everyone does, don't they?" (p.247). In this case, "everybody" is being used to account for the introductory module being not fascinating but necessary for everyone to be on the same page. Hence, in a way, the supervisor is taking a mediating or neutral stance at this point, facing Eddie's exposure of his dislike for the module (lines 6 & 15-17).

In response, Eddie agrees with it but with mitigation: "I think >I think< it's exactly what it is" (lines 29-30) compared to straightforward "yes" or "exactly" (like he does in line 38). So what can be learned is that the confirmation is strong still, yet relatively downgraded.

From line 31, the supervisor extends her description that students from different backgrounds of approaching history are gathered in the same classroom (lines 31-32). In line 35, again, she uses the device similar to ECFs, that ">everybody's coming from all your different ways of doing history at school:< " to implicitly justify the course design, which should take every student into consideration by default. This is collaboratively extended by Eddie with an incremental clause: "and this is how we do in the university" to display his understanding of how the course is delivered "in the university", which indicates his 'benign' take on the module compared to the upcoming overlapping co-construction of the supervisor's. Then, the supervisor overlaps to offer her assessment (after the description has been achieved) in line 36, adopting the analogy that the university is a "sausage machine". Capturing the characteristics of uniformity and lack of individuality, it is stronger than ever as it adopts an accusatory voice that students are treated as products without a choice. In response, Eddie provides the strongest agreement "absolutely" (line 38) with the supervisor's characterisation. The supervisor's overlapping co-construction, like in the previous cases, marks his role as a recipient of the trouble report taken up by the supervisor. It becomes clear that the supervisor's construction upgrades the student's trouble report, pointing to the lessened delicacy of criticising the course.

Regardless of the differences in linguistic construction and sequential location, both Extracts 6.7 and 6.8 demonstrate that the parts contributed by supervisors following students' tentative complaints upgrade the criticisms implied. These criticisms have been achieved by three dimensions of practice. The first is timing. As suggested by the name of the category of the co-construction, they are delivered earlier than turn-transitional place (TRP) in overlap with students' trouble reports. The second feature is the fact that these co-constructed parts are one-clause assessments, unlike students' multi-clause constructions "I tried to look but . . ." and "and this is how we do in the university". Like Occam's Razor, the principle that "plurality should not be posited without necessity" (Franklin, 2001, p.206), the simple assessments by supervisors here display themselves as powerful and unchallengeable truth with no further modification and condition needed. Thirdly, the co-constructed parts orient to the generality of the critique, comparing, for instance, Ron's discontent expression about "a paragraph or two" (Extract 6.5, line 32) with the supervisor's overall assessment that the handbook is not useful at all. In some cases, the use of "everybody" (Extract 6.6, lines 27 & 31) enhances and expands the

scope of the criticisable by evoking the collective feature of the trouble (Pomerantz, 1986).

6.4 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on sequences where students and supervisors work collaboratively as one of the means by which trouble reports get done. I first explored how students and supervisors tend to deliver a problem themselves to justify why co-construction emerges as a means of reporting trouble. Then I showed two devices through which co-construction can be achieved using collaborative completion (Lerner, 2004) and overlapping completion. Then, in the main body, four cases of co-construction are analysed in detail to explore how they unfold in their sequential environments. It is found that:

1. There is a difference in how students and supervisors reveal institutional problems. When a student points out trouble caused by, for instance, inadequate information given by the department, s/he minimises the recognisability of a complaint and formulates the missing information as her lack of knowledge. On the contrary, when supervisors make the criticism, they are explicitly criticisms using lexical items like "weird" and "not helpful"; they are typically brief one-clause assessments to register the negative assessment.

2. This systematicity also applies to co-construction. When students are actually in the process of reporting trouble relating to the course, the supervisor, or the university, they are at risk of challenging authority or conducting dispreferred actions of a sort. Co-constructions are developed to position students as the confirmer of what the supervisor has said and thereby as a preferred response, to resolve this delicacy by turning supervisors into those who finish off the reports and do the "dirty work";

3. Co-constructions also are places where supervisors show affiliation with the student as their completions accord with students' orientations and even upgrade students' formulations as more intensified complaints.

Having considered the commonalities, it must also be stressed that collaborative and overlapping completions unfold differently. In collaborative completions, students show attendance to the reports-in progress being dispreferred; thus, they utilise practices such as halts and sound stretches (Clayman, 2002), which facilitates assistance from the supervisor. Alternatively, in overlapping completions, students do not observably treat the reports as dispreferred by pausing and stretching or warranting supervisors' assistance. Supervisors' participation is completely self-selected. In treating students' complaints as weak, not capturing or doing justice to the complainability, supervisors re-start the trouble report in overlap, so they do not have to try fitting the grammatical properties to the collaborative completion of the student's ongoing trouble report. In their re-started version, in overlap, supervisors are fully at the liberty to modify it to their standards. Their versions of trouble reports are upgraded or intensified and generalised, from a specific informing "the handbook did not list . . ." to a general dismissal "the handbook'S N(h)ot very h(h)elpful", from "and this is how we do in the university" to "it's the sausage machine". This explains what I mean by "not observably" addressing the dispreference – students' reports are made comparatively mild (like Extract 6.2) to mitigate the criticism.

One major indication that can be drawn is the universal social constraint that certain judgements, news or assessments might be problematic to deliver for one party. This adds to what we know about some other social activities like responding to compliments (Pomerantz, 1987), self-praise (Speer, 2012), bad news delivery (Schegloff, 1988) and death announcements (Maynard, 1996). For example, when accepting a compliment and praising oneself there is a danger of being accused of bragging or narcissism (Pomerantz, 1987); delivering the bad news in full could appear rejective or dismissive. In this more specific context, students expressing discontent toward a course or the supervisor are also vulnerable to breaching the norms. However, the same action does not raise such concerns for supervisors; they are in an easier position to talk about problems in their workplace. Therefore, this chapter has also supported the idea of Silverman (1997) that nothing is intrinsically delicate for everyone in the sense that the perception of delicacy very much relies on *who says it* rather than *what it is.* In terms of resolving embarrassment or delicate situations, Heath (1988) and Bergman (1992) suggest that professionals orient delicate tasks (e.g., examining patients' bodies) to medical

necessities. This chapter provides another example of how this can be done: participants locally manage the delicacy as shared work.

Pedagogically, this chapter provides empirical evidence that the production of trouble reports involve supervisors. The solution can be sought from the global idea that supervision is a co-endeavor (Anderson & Swim, 1995; Maor et al., 2016). This chapter began by exhibiting supervisors' contribution to the construction of trouble reports. In the coming chapter, we continue to discuss how supervisors handle student trouble reports but focus on their responses.

Chapter 7. Supervisors' responses to trouble reports

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have examined aspects of student trouble reports regarding their directness (trouble report vs the projection of trouble), sequential environment (where trouble reports are not invited), the linguistic and embodied resources, and the participation (by the two parties). This chapter will focus on how supervisors respond to trouble reports – their first utterances after students' articulations of trouble.

Ample evidence from ordinary and institutional interactions has suggested that the expression of trouble provides possibilities for solution-oriented responses like advice-giving (even though it might be resisted, Jefferson & Lee, 1981) and offer of assistance in response to the expression of trouble. Curl (2006) demonstrates that the statement of difficulty can elicit offers to help in response. One of the examples is that a mother declares her inconvenience of bringing big luggage when she stays with her daughter over Christmas, and her daughter offers to lend her clothes in SPP (Curl, 2006, p.1271). Similarly, in Kendrick and Drew (2016, p.6), when a participant expresses her rejection of dining with the recording camera, her co-participant proposes to turn off the camera as the solution in response. In some institutional settings particularly, proffering advice from the professionals is an expected response to the expression of trouble. Heritage and Sefi (1993, p.373) reveal that parents describe "an untoward state of affairs" as one of the means to solicit advice from health visitors, which indicates a trouble report-and-advice package. In supervision interaction, students use wh-questions to invoke a sense of incompetence in which trouble is indicated. In this way, supervisors respond with advice-giving (Vehviläinen, 2009b). However, these studies have not formally established the relevance of advice-giving in response to trouble reports, especially in supervision interaction; their focus is on how advice is solicited, and the expression of

trouble or the description of an untoward state of affairs is one of the methods. Therefore, the chapter poses the question of whether advice-giving is the relevant response to trouble reports.

A bulk of studies take an interest in advice-giving in supervision; the majority focus on the tactics for more effective advice acceptance. For example, Zhang and Hyland (2021) discover a power-over approach when supervisors give advice. Supervisors routinely begin the advice with "you need to" or "you have to" to reinforce the necessity of implementation. This adoption of directives does fit our impression (Zhang & Hyland, 2021) about what an advising turn might look like. Nevertheless, the chapter onwards will present a more diversified way of delivering advice. Ta (2021, p.218) generalises that story openings like "I had another PhD student who was in a real rush to rush off en do data collection" are employed to validate their experience in handling students' problems in data collection and to strengthen their knowledge about the issue. More relevantly, Vehviläinen (2012) mentions the usage of question statements in the pre- sequences to topicalise the advisable issues and provide more fitting advice. This chapter will also explore how questions serve the advice-giving, although in quite a distinctive way (Vehviläinen, 2012). Generally, studies on supervisory advice-giving mentioned above are treated as a standalone pedagogical practice, not as an interactional outcome – they overlook the significance of sequential locations. Moreover, when the researchers look into the advising turns, they start from them without showing, let alone problematising students' previous turns (Vehviläinen, 2001; 2012; Park, 2014; Zhang & Hyland, 2021; Ta, 2021). This leads us to wonder how advice-giving emerges in the course of interaction, especially how they occur in sequential environments where trouble has been reported.

Given the prior literature, the chapter aims to:
1. establish the relevance of advice-giving in response to trouble reports;
2. present how supervisors arrive at the advice-giving turn;
3. show the alternatives when advice-giving is absent.

To realise the aims, this chapter systematically draws on supervisors' responses to trouble reports (N=94) in the dataset I collected. The identified cases meet these criteria: 1. the trouble report is brought up for the first time in the meeting; 2. the student has fully finished the trouble report; 3. hence, mid-telling continuers like "mm hmm", "yeah", are not considered as a supervisory response for study. In one-third of the cases does advice-giving immediately follow a trouble report as the response, which will be exemplified by Extract 7.1. This underpins that advice-giving is indeed a relevant response to trouble reports, even though not being very common in immediate next turn. Next, I show that there are other ways to stick to that relevance although advice is delayed (from sections 7.3 to 7.4). In specific, three recurrent practices before advice-giving (other-initiated repair, follow-up questions, and offering parallel experience) are found to have a strong orientation to advice-giving, not only because they are crucial for the understanding of the trouble epistemically but also because some perform diagnostic and advisory work. For the third aim, we will see that supervisors do not always offer advice. In the last analytic section (section 7.5), I will show how supervisors respond to students without an orientation to advice-giving, which I call "unsupervisable responses". However, in their responses supervisors routinely display sympathy and orient to the trouble being reported as something that normally happens and that they have little to do about.

7.2 Advice-giving as an immediate response

Let me first illustrate how advice can be offered in the SPP adjacent to trouble reports. In Extract 7.1, the participants are discussing the inconsistency between Natalie's research interest (in lower-class people in WWI) and the source she uses (an upper-middle-class figure) for her undergraduate dissertation due to the lack of historical sources available. In the extract provided, the supervisor had already raised her general reaction to Natalie's draft, that she thought highly of the work but Natalie needed to think more about the "coherence" between the argument and the sources. In line 59, Natalie responds to the supervisor using the *I wanted to do X* construction to indicate that her attempt was unsuccessful (lines 59-60) (cf. Fox & Heinemann, 2016).

Extract 7.1 UGH001 0018 sources

```
59   NAT    so- and I kind of wanted to find some
60          accounts that were more::
61   SUP    yeah.
62          (.)
63   NAT    ov-
64          (.)
65   SUP    ye[a h : :. ][>which is h a r:d<]
66   NAT       [in the lo][wer class (0.2) ye]s I'm
67          still working on that.
68   SUP --> don'- I mean don't worry about it.
69          I think it's it's less abou::t
70          (0.3) less to finding out more material.
71          (0.2)
72   SUP    just be more careful about what you claim
73          [and what you've got [with.
74   NAT    [(how-)              [yeah, definitely I th[ink?
75   SUP                                               [um::
76          (0.2)
77   SUP    ↑and again like just I said it's whether (0.8) it's worth
78          of thinking of a particular geographical focus,
```

The incomplete grammar of the report ending with "more::", however, suggests Natalie was struggling to find a suitable term that summarises the supervisor's feedback even though her attempt of formulating this point displays her understanding and acceptance. Thus, the Supervisor produces "yeah." with a falling intonation to acknowledge Natalie's trouble even though the trouble report was not finished (line 61). In line 63, Natalie proceeds with the report but it is cut off very quickly, which leads the supervisor to acknowledge again what she is trying to say and add an incremental assessment to translate the whole idea across lines 59-66 to an explicit expression of trouble ">which is hard<", thereby recognising Natalie's dilemma. Meanwhile, Natalie continues to finish the trouble report (from line 60) with "in the lower cla::ss" and agrees with the assessment in line 65 with a "yes" and a commitment to continuing effort "I'm still working on that" (lines 66-67). Subsequently, she declares her ongoing effort to resolve the issue (by finding a more suitable source about the lower class) (lines 66-67).

Starting from line 68, the focus of the extract, the supervisor advises Natalie not to struggle to find more material but be clear about the claims to make. She starts with a

negative imperative "don'-", projectably "don't worry about it", considering what she says next. The supervisor re-begins with the repair-initial phrase "I mean" (Maynard, 2013) to construct the advice that Natalie should not be too obsessed (i.e., "I mean don't worry about it") with finding the materials. As she continues, she expands the advice-giving as her perception "I think" that the main issue is not about the sufficiency of the "material" but the coherence depending on the available source (lines 69-73). In response, Natalie demonstrates her agreement, although "I think?" with a rising intonation mitigates the level of certainty (line 74). Therefore, the supervisor abandons the attempt of the iteration of the advice starting with "↑and again like I said . . .", and follows up with a more specific recommendation of action – to come up with a geographic focus.

Overall, this extract can readily support the relevance of supervisory advice-giving as the immediate response to student trouble reports. In an ideal event like Extract 7.1, advice comes neatly in the SPP, immediately following the student's trouble report. However, this does not often happen in the dataset. Therefore, the subsequent sections will show what more commonly comes next in response to students' trouble reports.

7.3 What comes before advice-giving

This part of the chapter will demonstrate that supervisors routinely do other things before the arrival of advice: initiated other-repair, follow-up questions, or/and the offering of parallel experience following students' trouble reports. It is argued that even though these utterances are not immediate advice-giving, they orient to it in different ways. The other-initiated repairs (OIR) and follow-up questions are seen in preparation for the delivery of advice epistemically and diagnostically. With the parallel experience, supervisors also display empathy with the student, while conveying an advisory stance in the detailing of the experiences. This is what I mean by "orient to advice-giving": ultimately, they are at the service of the later advice-giving. Therefore, in these cases, advice-giving does come eventually; if not, the supervisor will account for the absence of advice.

7.3.1 Other-initiated repair of students' prior turn

The first example of supervisors using other-initiated repair is Extract 7.2. This extract illuminates that supervisors' other-initiated repair helps to establish the trouble in a way that allows for a more effective delivery of the advice and increases the chances of its acceptance. In this segment, in an undergraduate dissertation meeting, James talks about his difficulty addressing the supervisor's comment, which is to explain what he is "doing" clearly in the introduction (as lines 44 to 48 show).

```
Extract 7.2 UGH011 0010 Unclear methods

44   JMS      .hhhhhhhhhh U::M: I'm just like .hhh
45            um unsure how to like, (0.8) explain
46            what I'm doing like,
47            (1.9)
48   JMS      mtsk I'm unsure how to lay that out in
49            the introduction.
50            (2.5)((SUP chews))
51   SUP -->  you mean to talk about your sources.
52            (0.5)
53   JMS      yeah.
54            (2.0) ((SUP chews))
55   SUP      °°I°° °th°ink jus do as a (3.0) as:, as a sort of
56            (0.7) a paragraph or: (0.8) a subsection. um: ((eats and speaks))
```

From line 44, the delivery of the trouble report is filled with in-breaths, hesitation markers, pauses, and fillers "like". This suggests James was struggling to articulate the trouble, which might have made the supervisor's assistance with the formulation relevant. The expressions of the objectives like "explain what I'm doing like," and "lay that out in the introduction" remain quite colloquial and vague. Hence, the supervisor initiates repair to clarify the nature of the trouble. He reformulates James's trouble in a more academic way "to talk about your sources" starting with an understanding check "you mean". The declarative form ("you mean to talk about your sources.") also implies the supervisor's epistemic domain of what the trouble is (Heritage, 2012). After the other-repair initiation is addressed (line 52), the supervisor (while he is engaging in the action of lunching) carries on giving the advice: "°°I°° °th°ink jus do as a (3.0) as:, as a sort of a paragraph or: (0.8) a subsection". This is only, of course, a small part of the advice. But this TCU

has adopted a form that is clearly recognised as recommending a course of action, using an imperative "jus do as . . ." and giving guidance on what to do – to use "a paragraph" or a "subsection" that focuses on the sources. Hence, we see how the repair-initiation assists with the supervisor's understanding but also "you mean to talk about your sources" is already hinting at the solution by articulating the whole point of what the supervisor has asked James to do, to introduce the "sources" instead of vaguely "laying that out". In this sense, the repair possesses some advisory value. Also importantly, it foreshadows the advice of allocating a slot or paragraph for the introduction about the "sources"; so upon the confirmation of the repair, the advice (lines 54-55) is legitimately given. This is how the other-initiated repair not only deals with a trouble resource in James's FPP before the supervisor can produce the SPP, but also the OIR itself plays a role in foregrounding the advice-giving by asking for additional information. Relating to Schegloff's (2007) distinction between 'post-first' and 'pre-second' insert-expansions, the supervisor's OIR in this case seems to do the work at the same time. On the one hand, it initiates a repair of James's turn in lines 47-48; thus it is a 'post-first'. On the other hand, it orients to advice-giving in relation to the writing about the "sources" as just discussed. In this sense, the repair is forward looking in that serves the proceeding to the advice and a 'pre-second'.

Another example of the use of other-initiated repair to address the understanding issue of a trouble report is in Extract 7.3. It is taken from an undergraduate module-choice meeting, featuring the opening phase of the meeting when the supervisor checks how Qiu's exams went in the last semester (lines 30-31) because they will matter for the later selection of modules.

```
Extract 7.3 UGC001 0052 just passed


30  SUP     let's look- ANd how were they=how did
31          you feel about them.
32          (0.6)
33  QIU     mm: just passed.
34  SUP --> just?
35          (.)
36  QIU     I don't know? hehe.
            ((SUP slides the chair away to get stationery))
40  SUP     okay, so, (0.4) u:::m::
```

```
41            (2.2)((both look at the screen))
42  SUP -->  °um I'm really- don't like to talk about
43            your scores in front of the camera (0.2)
44            but anyway.°(0.2) u:::m,
```

It is noted that the supervisor's turn was first designed as an imperative to suggest the upcoming course of action by looking at the results jointly ("let's look-"). However, the supervisor changes the sentence form to a question that solicit an assessment of how the exams went ("ANd how were they="), which seems to indicate an outlook for positive outcome. That is, the wh-question is an evaluation-soliciting conduct (Skovholt et al., 2019). Nonetheless, the supervisor again changes her question, still orienting to the student's self-evaluation, but targeting Qiu's own perception rather than the judgement based on the scores more objectively ("=how did you feel about them") (lines 30-31). This series of self-repair demonstrates the supervisor's attempt to inquire about Qiu's exam results without being intrusive (Drew et al., 2013). However, the gap in line 32 and the turn-initial "mm:" (line 33) suggests an upcoming trouble report because it is designed as a dispreferred response (especially the first version "ANd how were they="). Moreover, the report itself ill fits the question. While the questions are directed at "how", i.e., some subjective evaluations (Skovholt et al., 2019), Qiu instead informs with a fact, revealing what the result is – "just passed". With the modifier "just", the trouble report is made with a sense of self-deprecation. In return, the supervisor repeats the trouble source "just?", treating the turn with "just" as not specific enough. Clearly, it does not indicate trouble listening or understanding what Qiu has said – otherwise, the supervisor would not have been able to repeat the item in the first place. The repetition, although being identical to what Qiu has said ("just"), orients to the objective and exact (barely passed) score but in an occluded way that is possibly to protect her privacy, instead of merely a description. Therefore, the supervisor's repetition is quite a supervisory move, in promoting more specification on how the exams were only just passed or to reason how this has not met Qiu's own standard. After all, a score is not inherently problematic unless there is an expectation, and passing a course can be good or not so good new, just like how Qiu constructs it – "just passed", indicating that it could have been better. Interestingly, Qiu resolves the repair initiation by claiming uncertainty, which shows resistance to revealing more about the disappointing grades. Hence, she also laughs to mitigate the resistance. After that, the supervisor spins the chair and slides away to get stationery to materially get ready to take notes, projecting her next action as taking notes. When she comes back,

as can be inferred from line 40, the supervisor verbally cues her readiness, both participants start looking at the screen that shows Qiu's marks. In lines 42-43, the supervisor explicitly expresses unwillingness to talk about Qiu's scores due to the privacy concern. However, this is nevertheless a way of addressing Qiu's dissatisfaction with her own performance. In saying "I'm really- don't like to talk about your scores in front of the camera", the supervisor marks the relevance of an in-detail discussion about her studies or certain modules – and they did proceed to the discussion of the scores, just without announcing the scores in front of the camera. Such other-initiated repair is routinely used as a preliminary step proceeding to advice.

7.3.2 Follow-up questions for specification

Apart from other-initiated repair, supervisors can use one or multiple follow-up questions for more information about the trouble. But these follow-up questions are not only to seek information but also to do diagnostic work (Schegloff, 2007). In the module-choice meeting depicted in Extract 7.4, May declares the struggle of deciding on the modules offered in the course of English Language (line 13) and presents greater interest in the modules offered in Linguistics. Therefore, the supervisor recommends May switch courses. At the beginning of the extract, the supervisor reminds May that she is able to take the module she previously showed an interest in (on the English Language course) with a stretch on "still:", strengthening her recommendation. While lines 8-9 stand as a recommendation and make the acceptance or rejection relevant, May does not display a clear stance with a passive recipiency marker "mm hmm?" in line 11 (Jefferson, 1984b). Then a lengthy lapse follows, where May freeze-looks at the screen, and the supervisor waits for her. The unmarked "mm hmm?" and the long silence progressively show May's resistance to the advice offered by the supervisor, echoing Heritage and Sefi (1992) and Stiver's (2005) findings on "unmarked acknowledgement" developing into a "more overt expression of resistance" (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, p.402).

```
Extract 7.4 UGC002 2157 which major

8    SUP     FOR Linguistics you can still: take
9            ((module name, the one May fancies))

10           (0.4)
```

```
11  MAY     mm hmm?
12          (12.6)((MAY stares at screen))
13  MAY     °it's quite h(h)a[rd°.
14  SUP                      [mh huh huh
15          (.)
16  MAY     .hhh
17          (0.6)
18  SUP --> ↑what is, (0.2) so::, (1.3) wha' w- would hold- wha-
19          why::: (0.2) I guess why are you still thinking:::
20          what's your reasoning for staying in English.
21          (2.6)
22  MAY     maybe::#::# hhh. (2.4) uh: #I# think English is
23          (0.3) m:ore: (0.6) bigger (0.2) square for me
24          to#:::::# study, (1.2) to choose w::hat we
25          (0.6) what I really want to do in the future.
26          (0.3)
27  SUP     ye[ah.
28  MAY       [but the Linguistics is just a small,
29          (0.5)
30  SUP     [yeah.]
31  MAY     [part.]
32          (0.6)
33  MAY     so,
34          (0.4)
35  MAY     .mhh ((sniffs))
36          (1.4)
37  SUP --> so, (0.2) let's- so do you have s- an idea of
38          what you wanna do after? (0.2) undergrad? it
39          sounds like maybe something like teaching english: (.)  or::,
40          (2.0)
41  SUP     not neces[sarily,]
42  MAY             [maybe, ]
43  MAY     (0.7) maybe, I will, (0.2) be (.) come a (0.4)
44          hhhh. (0.6) a- (0.3) teacher?
45  SUP     ↑okay?
46          (0.4)
47  MAY     and teaching in the univer↑sity?
48          (0.2)
49  MAY     [ but   I ] didn- I(h)I(h)
50  SUP     [↑mm ↑hmm,]
51          (.)
52  MAY     I don't know very sure about this. ((should be "not very sure"))
53  MAY     .hhhh [caus ]e I also want to do some,
54  SUP           [yeah.]
```

```
55          (2.4)
56   MAY    transla (.) te hh[hhh.
57   SUP                     [translation?
58          (.)
59   SUP    [yeah.]
60   MAY    [yeah.]
61          (0.6)
62   SUP    okay.
63          (1.0)
64   SUP --> ↑u::m::: (1.6)↑honestly for translation (.)
65          thee::[:          [the Linguistics
66   MAY          [hee hee yea:[:h hhh
67          (0.2)
68   SUP    the wul- the Linguistics might actually
69          be:::: (0.3) better::?
```

Subsequent to the 12.6 second-long silence in line 12, May accounts for the lapse by admitting to finding it difficult to make the decision (line 13). The report is accompanied by brief laughter, which is considered to be apologetic and dealing with delicacy – even though the supervisor is suggesting a reasonable option (to switch to another course), she is resisting it by claiming the decision is hard, which should remind us of how, in doctor-and-patient interaction, patients use laughter when they challenge the doctor's instruction (Haakana, 2001). In line 14, the supervisor reciprocates the laughter to make light of the dilemma. Now the trouble is not only May's problem, it has also become an issue with progression of the module-choice procedure. Therefore, the supervisor embarks on solving the dilemma by carrying out some questions to find out May's unspoken reasons for staying on the English Language programme, even though she is not keen on a sufficient number of modules (lines 18- 20). It is significant that the supervisor self-repairs multiple times to formulate the follow- up question. She first starts with a wh-question that is projectably a solicitation of the reasoning behind May's reluctance to change courses. However, the supervisor abandons it, re-starts with a so::," to suggest a coherence with May's trouble report, and frames the question "wha' w- would hold-" as an investigation of what would be the concern of switching to Linguistics that holds May back. In line 19, the supervisor re- launches a why-question "why::: (0.2) I guess are you still thinking:::"; but it sounds quite accusative with "still" even with the softener "I guess" as it seems to put an emphasis on May's persistence. Therefore, she comes back to the original question to unpack May's reasoning for staying on a course that she does not like enough. Moreover, this question does more than solicit the reason;

it orients to English Language as the inferior option for May to reconsider. Thus, these attempts at follow-up questions are actually quite diagnostic and advice-implicative. Through these self-repairs (lines 18-20), we also see the supervisor has negotiated among the ways of directing the solution to make it as easy as possible for May, suggesting, trying to understand the reasons for May's reluctance to switch courses while helping her to see the benefit of another possibility without sounding accusative.

After the 2.6 seconds gap (line 21), May gives her answer that an English degree would give her a wider range of job opportunities when she graduates (lines 22-31). The turn-initial "maybe::#::#" with the sound-stretch and "#I# think" engender her response as hesitant. She also uses a comparative form when talking about the benefit of staying on English Language as a "bigger square" (line 23), indicating that English Language is better in some respects. However, considering the comparative form and the hesitating voice (line 22), the overall response shows that May is not entirely confirmative when she actually unpacks her insistence on English Language. Here the supervisor shows her agreement with "yeah." but she also intends to keep May talking. Indeed, May in overlap continues to give another side of the comparison, that Linguistics is a more narrow subject (lines 28 & 31). In overlap, the supervisor marks the understanding of May's rationale for choosing English Language over Linguistics (line 30). With "so," and the silence and sniff (lines 34-36), May signals the termination of her floor and passes the turn to the supervisor (line 36).

In line 37, the supervisor produces the second round of follow-up questions. She abandons a *let's-imperative* and turns to ask whether May has a specific professional aspiration after graduation. Having not waited for the response, the supervisor continues to offer her assumption based on the previous discussion: "it sounds like maybe something like teaching English: (.) or::,". Ending the turn with "or" in this question is considered to be one way to solicit potentially sensitive information in a less intrusive way (in this case, the supervisor treats the student's career plan as something personal) in the form of seeking confirmation or otherwise correction (Stokoe, 2010). However, this receives a considerable gap (line 40), which suggests a dispreferred response that would disaffirm teaching English as May's desired job. But it could also be May's failing to recognise the completion of the supervisor's turn, treating it as there was more to come

after "or::,". Hence, the supervisor adds the phrase "not necessarily" as a candidate answer (line 41). May's response indeed proves that teaching English is not the desired job for her: although she acknowledges the possibility (lines 42-47), she again adopts "maybe" to stress that becoming a teacher is only conditional. The description of a scenario "and teaching in the univer↑sity?", especially with an emphasis on the work environment of "the univer↑sity", portrays the job as a desirable one. In effect, it accounts for her insisting on staying in the course that would assist with the pursuit of "teaching in the univer↑sity". Nonetheless, she adds that she is not sure about this (lines 49 & 52), and claims what she truly wants to do instead is to "translate" (lines 53 & 56). The supervisor initiates repair on the job type as "translation?". This not only modifies the grammar but also underpins translation as a proper, legitimate professional choice. As May confirms the repaired version and the supervisor's overlapping marker of knowledge, the supervisor closes the sequence with a third-position assessment (line 62) and begins the advice-giving starting from line 64.

In line 64, the supervisor begins her turn with "↑u::m:::", a long pause and "↑honestly" which has a dispreferred nature in a way that it pursues the same line of advice (of taking the Linguistics course), given that May has been showing rejection to it. This range of practice shows the management of delicacy, as the advice would go against May's insistence on English. While the advice is still in progress, May produces laughter and "yeah" to pre-vindicate the supervisor's yet-to-come suggestion that Linguistics is the more suitable course for the pursuit of doing translation (line 66). In other words, through the follow-up questions, May has got a sense that transferring to Linguistics is a promising option. For one thing, the justification for remaining on English Language is not that strong. As May herself informs, translation is more tempting than teaching for her personally, and translation would be better supported by doing the Linguistics programme. Her laughter and "yeah" almost manifests that she is convinced. Indeed the advice is given that taking Linguistics would be more beneficial for the pursuit of doing the translation: "the wul- the Linguistics might actually be:::: (0.3) better::?"

Throughout the whole extract, the supervisor uses two follow-up questions to ascertain May's reasons for staying on a course that she does not enjoy. The insistence is simply due to the account that the English degree would make it easier for her to find, in others' views, a decent job (teaching English). However, through the follow-up questions, it

becomes apparent that May is inclined to jobs like translation. Consequently, the supervisor is able to fit what May has just told about her interest ("translation") to the supervisor's own proposal of transferring to the course of Linguistics. Therefore, we see that these follow-up questions are not only about understanding the nature of the trouble, they are also pedagogically important for supervisors seeking to steer students toward their proposals. Equally, they help students to see the justifications of the advised action. In this sense, these follow-up questions are diagnostic and remedial in their own right.

Extract 7.5 is another example, but a more straightforward one. This is taken from the opening phase of an undergraduate module-choice meeting. As we see elsewhere, Molly directly answers that she did not have a great time in the last term (line 8), but the second term is improved (lines 11 & 13). Following the trouble report in line 8, the supervisor produces a "newsmark" (Thompson et al., 2015). As Thompson et al. (2015) show, responses like "OH £WAS it,£" invites the speaker to reconfirm what has been said and even expand on it. In this way, the supervisor demonstrates her notice of the trouble report, which pre-signals a follow-up question.

```
Extract 7.5 UGH006 Need to chill

6    SUP      last term was alright?
7             (0.4)
8    MOL      £first term was not great.£
9    ( )      °(↑mm ↓mm)°=
10   SUP      =OH [£WAS it,£
11   MOL          [£second term [w- is much
12   SUP                        [okay.
13   MOL      bett(h)er£ [h .h h h h
14   SUP                 [£(good) that's good
15     -->    to hear. what was- what wasn't
16            so great about first term.£
17   MOL      ↑↑um I don't know. >just didnt get used to it.
18            I think [i tried t]o make myself< <do too mu[ch.>=
19   SUP              [ y e a h.]                         [mstk! (.) yeah.
20   MOL      =now (    ) I'm [like I] need to chill=HE[he .hh
21   SUP -->                  [that's-]                [chill, yeah.
```

As Molly has carried on with the improvement (lines 11 & 13), the supervisor first expresses appreciation for the improvement: "£(good) that's good to hear." Then she comes back to the trouble report with a follow-up question for more specification on what made the last term "not great". Molly initially shows difficulty putting her finger down on a particular event, after which she summarises it was because she did not get used to the routine and that she was engaging with too many things (as a first-year student) (lines 17-18). During the telling of the cause of trouble, the supervisor displays her attentiveness in line 19. Because Molly has expressed an improvement (lines 11 & 13), she continues to tell what she has done to ensure the second term goes better, to tell herself to chill. This leads the supervisor to abandon an underway evaluation "that's-" and repeat "chill" and a "yeah" as an advice-giving move. In other words, since Molly has displayed knowledge of solutions to the trouble she experienced last term and indicated that there is "no need" for advice, the supervisor is not in much of a position to give further advice or instruction. Still, the supervisor manifests a visible orientation to advice- giving. Only she does it in a way that endorses Molly's proposal, repeating the verb "chill" (which stands as an imperative to instruct Molly to "chill") and confirming line 20 with a "yeah".

7.4 Offering parallel experiences

As an alternative to other-initiated repair or follow-up questions, supervisors can also match the student's trouble by recalling their own similarly troubling experiences. Through this, they show understanding and empathy for the student's difficulty. On some occasions, sharing parallel experience, like what we saw in the last two sections, can convey an advisory stance (Extract 7.7) or can even be directly followed by advice (Extract 7.8), in which case supervisors build the advice in a stepwise manner through a comparable experience.

The first case to show is Extract 7.6, in which the student Nicola reports a disagreement with her flat mate who keeps turning off the heating, which annoys Nicola who would prefer a more consistent approach(lines 1-6). As Nicola constructs her account that "it would be less ↑damp (0.2) and it would be war↑mer", the supervisor contributes "and it will be cheaper in the long run" in overlap to constitute a listing to show her

understanding of Nicola's advocacy of the heating (lines 7-8). However, this co-construction of listing results in Nicola's discontinued talk where she could go on to expand on the account ("because a-") (line 6).

```
Extract 7.6 UGH007 Freezing house

1    NIC      [so it was u:::::m (0.2) I managed to have a big
2             talk about (0.5) a- it- with the flat, sayin::g,
3             u::m:: .h (0.2) listen. if you <heat the house,>
4             (0.7) you know, sortov >relatively consistently
5             throughout the< day (.) it would be less ↑damp
6             (0.2) and it would be war↑mer, [because a-
7    SUP                                     [and it will be cheaper
8             in [the long run yeahyeahyeah
9    NIC         [exactly in an- in the long run exactly [(and I also-)
10   SUP                                                  [(but then not to)
11            turn it >on and off all the time.<
12            (0.2)
13   NIC      °yeah.°  ((nods))
14            (.)
15   NIC      an- and the [boiler-
16   SUP -->              [('s) ME and my husband, you are jus-
17            (0.3) reliving.
18   NIC      y(H)' huhuh .h[hh
19   SUP -->                [he turns it ↑down, ↓I turn it ↑up.
20   NIC      y:ea:h.
21            (0.2)
22   NIC      but it's like the boiler kept brea↑king,
```

Following the supervisor's completion of her co-construction, Nicola agrees with the supervisor and attempts to continue from what was cut off in line 6 (line 9). In lines 10-11, nonetheless, the supervisor offers her follow-up comment in overlap and upholds Nicola's turn in line 9. After Nicola nods to the supervisor's view, she tries to initiate her turn regarding the "boiler" (line 15). In lines 16-17, the supervisor offers her parallel experience that Nicola's trouble is like what happens with her husband. Nicola responds with laughter to display her amusement at the similarity. In line 19, the supervisor extends the parallel by what she does in reality to the disagreement on the heating: "he turns it ↑down, ↓I turn it ↑up". With this specific offering of a scenario, the supervisor enriches this co-complaintship by telling what she and her partner do – turning the heater on and

off (lines 1-6). With this, she manifests her full understanding about Nicola's problematic housing situation. This is endorsed by Nicola with a "y:ea:h". However, in line 22, we also see that Nicola carries on to say that the boiler keeps breaking, in an attempt to expand the trouble and solicit advice. Hence, offering parallel experience only serves to exhibit understanding of the trouble as an alternative to doing advice-giving, following which the student will continue to pursue the matter.

Nonetheless, the sharing of parallel experience can convey an advisory stance as Extracts 7.7 and 7.8 will show. To start from Extract 7.7, the undergraduate student Calvin reports that he has had a hard time consuming the comments given by the supervisor on his draft dissertation.

```
Extract 7.7 UGH013 0055 Why and how

60  CAL     but first when I read it I was like
61          oh god hh a(h)nd t(h)hen-=
62  SUP      [REAlly.]    [ h : e h . ]
63  CAL     =[when I']ve r[eadit the se]cond time
64          I think actually tha' ts:::: (0.4) not
65          too difficult.
66          (0.7)((SUP looks at screen))
67  SUP --> that's what we experience when
68          we send things off to:- for anonymous
69          review (0.2) [for j]ournal arti- you=
70  CAL                  [yeah.]
71  SUP     =go back an' °aw, that's freaking annoying°
72          (.)
73  CAL     °y(h)eah.°
74  SUP     uh but then you think, (0.2) ↑°ah that's
75          actually quite sup[portive° and I think]=
76  CAL                       [ yeah,     yeah   .]
77  SUP     =I can do that,
78          (0.3)
79  SUP     SOMe things:: you c'n (0.7) I think
80          most of the things you can do actually here
81          s[o,
82  CAL      [yeah.
```

At line 61, Calvin depicts the trouble he had addressing the comments by animating his initial reaction. The supervisor during the ongoing trouble report produces a token of disbelief "REAlly" and a short laugh. As the report continues, Calvin declares an improvement and that he does not think it is as difficult as he first thought (lines 63-65). The supervisor's examination of the computer screen gives rise to the silence in line 66. After that, he begins offering a parallel experience of finding it hard to receive peer reviews for publication (lines 67-69 & 71). Line 70 is just Calvin showing the recipiency at a transition relevance space (Zama & Robinson, 2016); the supervisor carries on in line 69. Interestingly, like Calvin, he also animates his verbalisation of annoyance with the comments "°aw, that's freaking annoying°". The quietened-down volume on the animation points to the management of exposure of an outburst in private (Lerner, 2013; Schegloff, 2003). It is also seen that, during the description of parallel experience of receiving peer reviews, the supervisor switches the pronoun from "we" to "you" (lines 69 and 74) like Extract 7.6. Likewise, the switch of pronoun makes the turn recognisably advice-giving implicative, directing at "you", Calvin. In line 73, Calvin identifies the relevance of the supervisor's similar experience with a quiet and laughter-accompanied confirmation. After that, the supervisor does a change in attitude (with the conjunctive "but then") that the comments are not absurd, and he is able to address them (lines 74-75 & 77). What makes this extract interesting is not only the similarity between the anxieties caused by the supervisory comments and the peer reviews, but also that they are parallel in terms of practice. First, both Calvin and the supervisor animate their outcries: "oh god" (line 61) vs "°aw, that's freaking annoying°"; they follow up with a realisation that "I think actually tha' ts:::: (0.4) not too difficult" and "↑°ah that's actually quite supportive° and I think I can do that". More specifically, both participants in lines 64 and 75 use "actually" to mark the shift. This conformity in form and content fully reflects the supervisor's understanding of the student's trouble. Moreover, the supervisor's sharing of his own experience of receiving feedback for a publication and the change in attitude also implicitly expresses that handling the comments is an essential part of the academic process. Therefore, the exchange is both empathetic *and* advisory. Finally, the supervisor returns to what Calvin says about the improvement (lines 79-82). In line 79, the supervisor begins the turn with an instructive voice "SOMe things:: you c'n" that is projected to be advice, which is repaired as "most of the things" to upgrade his recognition of Calvin's capability to improve his work. Instead, the supervisor turns to de-problematise Calvin's revision and signal further advice-giving (lines 79-80). However,

lines 79-81 overall indicate that the supervisor originally shows an orientation to advice-giving as a relevant move in response to Calvin's outcry of trouble "oh god"; it is only when the trouble is revealed to be resolved that the supervisor cancels the advice-giving for the interactional need.

In the postgraduate pastoral supervision meeting that Extract 7.8 is selected from, Christina is at the end of her reflection on the feedback given on the introductory part of her essay. In lines 40-42, she expresses the limitation of what the feedback could offer as it was only on the introduction (lines 40-42). This sheds some light on her concerns about the essay overall. Furthermore, the concern adopts an *it is difficult/hard to do X* format, which is a typical construction of a trouble report documented in Chapter 5. However, since the concern is formulated as a lack of confidence and not a concrete difficulty with the essay, the orientation as to what is expected(e.g., advice-giving or comforting) from this utterance remains vague. Hence, the supervisor only produces a minimal acknowledgement (line 44) (Jefferson, 1984b; Schegloff, 1982). Christina, on the other hand, also marks her trouble report as complete with an incremental "I think" to pass the speakership onto the supervisor (line 45). Hence, the supervisor weakly signals an upcoming long talk with an in-breath after an acknowledgement "okay" (line 46). However, given the supervisor has not sufficiently flagged the orientation to advice-giving, Christina does a sequence-closure in lines 47-49, line 51 and line 55, claiming her intention to carry on with the essay regardless by telling "but most most people (0.7) planned (.) thee:::: (1.0) other parts of the essay already". Another point to raise about these lines is that, by mentioning that "most people" have begun to write the essay, she seems to be suggesting some kind of trouble carrying on with her work. However, following a short gap (line 56), the supervisor starts to respond.

```
Extract 7.8 PGTH001 1855 the essay


40   CHR     I- (0.9) it was- kind of::: (0.2) difficult
41           to know: if it was going to be a good essay
42           or not.
43           (0.2)
44   SUP     mm [hmm.
45   CHR        [I think.
46   SUP     okay. (0.2) .h[hh
47   CHR                   [but most most people
```

```
48              (0.7) planned (.) thee::::: (1.0) other
49              (0.4) parts of the essay already.
50              (.)
51   CHR        so [that-
52   SUP           [.hhh
53              (0.3)
54   SUP        yeah.=
55   CHR        =think I'm °(   )°
56              (0.3)
57   SUP -->    .hh I think m::ost of thee:::
58              (1.0)
59   CHR        khm khm. ((clears the throat))
60              (1.6) ((CHR raises the cup))
61   SUP        problems that we've had.
62              (3.9)((CHR slurps and puts down the cup))
63   SUP        uh/at master's level they ten they tend to be
64              (1.8) problems of (0.4) s:tructure (0.3) rather
65              than (0.7) content?
66              (0.3)
67   SUP        so it's like that they .hhh (0.3) 's when
68              people of- provided lots and lots w' completely
69              irrelevant detail (0.2) and they don't ne[cessarily know=
70   CHR                                                 [°°no-°°
71   SUP        =what the, thee essay is about .h I think if you've
72              got a plan, .h tha:'s (0.3) a (0.2) good question
73              (0.5) that's quite a closed question (0.5) that you
74              are gonna be able to: (0.5) kindof in the end
75              ((clears throat)) have some kind of summing up
76              (0.9) of (.) evidence (0.2) for it?
77   CHR        kh- khmkhm::
78              (0.2)
79   SUP        I think that's most of the battle.
80   CHR        okay.
81              (0.9)
82   SUP        and n you don't forget that you're selecting
83              your own question so if you end up writing
84       -->    your essay it's ended up- (0.5) [it ha- happens to me=
85   CHR                                        [°°yih°°
86   SUP        =you r' writing something, .hh starts off (0.3) about one
87              thing, [ends up] with something slightly different?
88   CHR              [.mh h h] ((laughs))
89              (0.2)
90   SUP -->    you can change your question.
91              (0.5)
92   CHR        £right, yeah.£
```

In line 57, the supervisor starts the response with his perception from the perspective of the teaching staff, to be the "problems we've had" – the "structure" of the essays rather than the content of them. Although this does not exactly fit the notion of "parallel experience" here – it is the problems the teaching staff encounter while marking students' work in contrast to students' difficulties writing essays – the fact that the supervisor is sharing the staff's general opinion, i.e., implicitly shedding light on what to bear in mind and what to avoid (with the structure) facing the marker, can be seen as a way to address Christina's frustration with only being able to get feedback on the introduction (lines 40-42) and is thus almost giving advice. From lines 67 to 71, the supervisor specifies the phenomenon that students may not remain focused on the argument of the essay, providing "irrelevant detail" without knowing what the essay is about. Although this description is not advice-giving proper yet, it also tends toward advice-giving, given that after this the supervisor moves into advice-giving starting with "I think" (line 71), which we also see in Extract 7.1 line 69 to preface the advice. Line 85 is Christina displaying recipiency of the advice given due to the 0.5s pause in lines 82-84 (Zama & Robinson, 2016). Then the supervisor starts the advice-giving, interrupted by a parenthetical "it ha-happens to me" to explicitly mark that he shares the experience (Mazeland, 2007) of yielding conclusions different from what he planned for. Curiously, he does not continue using the first-person voice but switches the pronoun to "you" when he details the experience (line 86). This "you" does indicate the collectivity of the phenomenon, which accomplishes the giving of general advice in response to a common issue with essays. Another reason for the change to "you" will be revealed in line 90, where the supervisor delivers the advice proper: *you can change your question*. It becomes apparent that using the second-person pronoun in the parallel experience-sharing phase (lines 84 & 86-87) seems to give a smoothing coherence to the advice when it is directed at the recipient, Christina herself. Hence, as we see from this example, the enactment of the supervisor's own relevant or similar experiences have a close connection with the proceeding advice-giving.

7.5 'Unsupervisable' responses

Contrary to what is presented in section 7.2, that advice is offered in the SPP, some responses are not devoted to advice-giving and portray the trouble as 'unsupervisable'.

This happens when supervisors respond to the student as if the reported trouble is something recurrently occurring or inevitable. Although supervisors display their recognition of such unfortunate events, they indicate that there is nothing they can do to assist, i.e., the issue is unsupervisable (comparable to 'doctorable' in Heritage & Maynard (2006) and 'policeable' in Meehan (1980)) – trouble oriented to as not advice- relevant in supervision interaction (cf. Drew & Heritage, 1992). In extract 7.9, the student Frank reports that the team members are not too engaged with the group assignment (lines 4-7), which apparently disturbs him.

```
Extract 7.9 PGTC001 0213 Group presentation


1  SUP     oh wow is that group presentation yeah?
2          (.)
3  FRK     yeah group presentation bu, (0.2) but
4          actually (I know:) uh (0.2) s:ome of our
5          group m- (0.3) students are not focused
6          on study, (0.7) s:o:, (0.3) they are not
7          very p'y-=attention to it.
8          (0.9)
9  SUP     [oh:: wow.
10 FRK     [an:-
11         (.)
12 SUP --> wow. I mean (0.2) that's always the issue withuh:
13     --> (0.4) e::rm: (0.2) group work?
14 FRK     y:e[ah,
15 SUP        [group (right?) yeah?
16 FRK     ye:s.
17 SUP     yeah, >which< you will find when you start working
18         again you know?
19         (0.4)
20 SUP     so, (0.8) um. (0.3) ↑anyway um. (0.4) e::m, other
21         than that (.) other modules are going on alright yeah?
```

The gap in line 8 indicates trouble offering an uptake to the report, probably owing to the ambiguity of whether Frank has completed the report or not. Following the trouble report, the supervisor first registers his surprise. In overlap, there is also evidence that Frank begins to continue his turn with a conjunctive "an:-", probably in pursuing a response given the long gap in line 8. However, he abandons the attempt, so the supervisor resumes his response to the report (line 12). He redoes the response cry "wow" to

engender the outraged uptake (but not recognisably sympathetic) (Goffman, 1978) and modifies his response with "I mean" (Maynard, 2013) to display the stance of "I acknowledge what you are saying, however, . . .". Hence, he describes the lack of engagement as "always the issue withuh: (0.4) e::rm: (0.2) group work?". "Always", being in the category of extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), maximises the commonality of encountering irresponsible, uninvolved colleagues, and so on. This TCU shows that the supervisor fully understands, but does not particularly sympathise with (because of the "wow"), Frank's source of trouble, which, to the supervisor, is quite normal. From Frank's delivery of the agreement (line 14), he accepts the supervisor's comment and appreciates the supervisor's pointing out the pain with group work given the stretch on "y:eah" to stress the affective valence. In lines 15 and 16, the supervisor self-initiates a repair to check whether the assignment is done by a group to ensure his criticism of group work is rightly made, which is confirmed by Frank. After addressing the understanding (line 5), the supervisor marks the recipiency of understanding, "yeah", and continues with an incremental clause to "the issue with group work" that Frank will meet in future when he starts "working again". That is to say, the supervisor frames the trouble as something Frank has to put up with or overcome in future, which is advice-implicative. In so doing, he orients to the trouble as something unsupervisable or nothing to advise on. At the turn-final, he invites consensus with Frank "you know?", which indicates that the supervisor understands the unsupervisable response is dispreferred in that it does not actually provide guidance as to how to manage disagreeable attitudes to or involvement with group work. Therefore, the supervisor solicits an acknowledgement to "you know?" to pre-empt Frank's potential resistance. But this has not received a timely response (line 19), indeed suggesting Frank's resistance to the normalisation of the trouble. In line 20, the supervisor continues by beginning with a conclusive conjunctive "so,". He pauses for a while, which seems to offer an opportunity of other-completion that "so it is normal/unsurprising" or something similar by Frank. This (i.e., the pause in line 20) and "you know?" both try to seek agreement from Frank but fail. Therefore, the supervisor moves onto another topic starting with "↑anyway", again verifying the supervisor's no-orientation to advice-giving regarding the trouble raised in lines 3 to 7.

Extract 7.10 provides another example of a supervisor offering no advice to a trouble report. In this segment, the undergraduate student Xin answers the supervisor's check

about her recent events in a pastoral supervision meeting. Xin reports her failure in applying for a Master's programme at a university (lines 1-2).

```
Extract 7.10 UGC003 0438 MA application


1   XIN      I- I have ((should be "have been")) rejected
2            by the univers' of ((name))
3   SUP      mm hmm?
4            (0.2)
5   XIN      cause:: (0.5) +mm:: they said, (0.3) this year it's a,
    sup                    +looks at xin
6            (0.8) uh, very high compe$tition.
    sup                              $nods-->
7            (0.2)
8   XIN      °°yeah.°°$
    sup           -->$
9            (0.7)+
    sup        -->+
10  XIN      but I'm still waiting for, (1.2) another four:,
11  XIN      yeah.
12  SUP      +okay,
    sup      +gazes away and at the screen-->
13           (0.5)
14  SUP      mstk! well, I'm sorry to °hear that?,°
15           (.)
16  SUP -->  °butum.° (0.3)+ YEah *if there's a lot of competition
    sup                 -->+
    xin                        *nods-->
17      -->  unfortunately that's what happens,*
                                      -->*
18  XIN      [°°yeah.°°
19  SUP      [.hhhh (.) °good.°
20           (0.3)
21  SUP      Mstk! .hh e:m::: (0.2) o↑kay.
22           (0.6)
23  SUP      this afternoon you've got your <module marketp:la-> >OH NO<
```

The way Xin describes the trouble, the "I have been rejected by" construction starts with the "I" pronoun and strikes as more self-victimising than "the application failed" and the like (line 1). Thus, it can be seen that Xin tries to elicit a sympathetic response. However, the supervisor does not immediately respond but offers a continuer (line 3), treating the

report as unfinished and signalling the student to carry on. In lines 5-6, Xin quotes the diplomatic explanation by the university ("they") that the applications are competitive. The quotation is seen to have an effect of trouble resistance because the account of the rejection is given as an uncontrollable condition rather than personal failing. Starting from line 5, the supervisor sustains eye gaze at Xin to pay attention to her trouble reports until line 9; she also nods to the account of "high competition" in lines 6 to 8 to the account given by the university. Given the lack of uptake in lines 7 and 9, Xin tries to end her turn in lines 8 ("yeah") and 10, noting that she is waiting for replies to more applications. Line 10, like the account in lines 5-6, is also quite trouble resisting as it engenders that being rejected by one university is not the end of the world; she could still be accepted by other candidate institutions. This marks the completion of the trouble report and finally mobilises the supervisor's response. Following the news receipt (line 12), the supervisor does a very ritualised display of regret "I'm sorry to hear that" to the bad news (line 14). Meanwhile, she averts her eye gaze from Xin to the computer screen to line 16. It is known that the aversion of gaze direction is associated with dispreferred response (Kendrick & Holler, 2017), which is what we see from line 14 – an expression of regret and the unsupervisable response (lines 14-17). Specifically, after the gap in line 13, the supervisor uses "°butum°" which projects a switch in attitude. However, the supervisor self-repairs to re-initiate the TCU with "yeah" because the formulation "yeah . . . that's what happens" at least acknowledges the unpleasant quality of rejection whereas "but . . . that's what happens" does not. Like the last case, the supervisor addresses her response being dispreferred in a way that does not treat the reported trouble as supervisable or actionable. Therefore, the supervisor attempts to present her response in the most affiliative way possible by changing "°butum°" to "YEah". In addition, she uses "unfortunately" to describe what happens in competitions, which again shows the supervisor endeavouring to express sympathy. But overall, the utterance in lines 16-17 is one of acceptance, that there is nothing to be done about Xin's failure to secure a place on the course. In this way, as in the last extract, the supervisor shows no orientation to advice-giving. Meanwhile, Xin nods along with the supervisor's unsupervisable response and offers a very quiet confirmation (in line 18) to show her consensus. Hence, the supervisor indicates closure of the sequence with the third-position assessment "°good.°". As Xin does not present any sign of expanding the sequence (line 20), the supervisor officially closes the sequence and transits to the next topic with a cluster of vocal and verbal actions (a click, a word search, an in-breath, and "o↑kay") (line 21).

Then she raises another topic about Xin's upcoming activity (the "module marketplace"). By showing these lines (lines 19-23), it is proved that the unsupervisable response does not orient to advice-giving and is followed by a transition to the next sequence.

From this set of cases, supervisors' initial responses to trouble reports show no orientation to advice-giving, contrasting to the last section. In the constructions of such responses, supervisors first show sympathy and acknowledge the trouble as something that usually happens to justify their moving on to the next action as there is nothing to advise on. That the display of sympathetic stance and doing unadvisable comes in a package indicates that sympathy is used as a resource to mitigate the dispreferred no-advice response. In other words, supervisors manifest an attendance to their responses as not fulfilling students' orientation, which evidences the relevance of offering advice to students' trouble reports.

7.6 Discussion

In this chapter, I have documented the first utterances supervisors produce in response to student trouble reports: immediate advice-giving, other-initiated repair, follow-up questions, offering parallel experience, and 'unsupervisable' responses. Immediate advice-giving is straightforward: upon the student's completion of the trouble report, the supervisor responds with advice in the SPP. With other-initiated repair, supervisors treat what the student has just said as owing more specification (Schegloff et al., 1977) by either repeating the trouble source or rephrasing. In some other cases, supervisors ask more follow-up questions around the issue at hand to make the advice tailored and suitable for the student. Offering parallel experience means supervisors respond to students with comparable experiences – it may be that the same kind of event experienced by the student, the supervisor has encountered at some point as well; it could also be the same event from different perspectives (of a student vs. an examiner, see Extract 7.6). Lastly, the supervisor could also signal 'nothing to advise' by offering a token of sympathy, normalising the trouble and shifting to a new sequence. These are the descriptions of the types of utterances.

It is found that the first four types of utterances are, or, orient to advice-giving. On very few occasions indeed, do supervisors immediately offer advice in response to trouble reports as the SPP. More frequently, other-initiated repair or follow-up questions come before advice-giving to seek clarification and to diagnose. Alternatively, supervisors can offer a parallel experience to show empathy or convey an advisory stance (or even produce advice). After these moves, the advice typically arrives; otherwise, supervisors offer explanations for its absence (Extract 7.3). Thus, I consider this set of ways of attending to trouble reports as what is preliminary to advice-giving, to producing more fitting advice for acceptance. Doing this answers one of the research questions, about what it takes for supervisors to arrive at advice-giving. Another question, whether supervisors always offer advice, can be solved by looking at 'unsupervisable' responses – no, they do not always end up giving advice. In such responsive turns, supervisors mitigate the upcoming dispreference of "no-advice" via expressions of sympathy upfront. Then they frame the reported trouble as something that inevitably or commonly happens. In this way, two distinctive piles of responses regarding the contrasting orientations to advice-giving are formed. Overall, the findings lead us to the argument that advice-giving *is* treated as the default response although it is not always readily given and under certain conditions will never be given. Hence, the relevance of advice-giving to trouble reports does stand, in response to the RQ1 in the introduction. For a side note, I have not answered them in consecutive order (RQs 1, 2, 3) due to the flow of the argumentation.

An insight is that the delivery of advice does not rely on one single utterance or a set of utterances that adopt certain, instructive formulations like "So you need to be able to show that you have read enough" (Zhang & Hyland, 2021, p.40). What we see from this chapter is that there are multiple ways to subtly convey advice, using repair initiations such as "you mean to talk about sources", follow-up questions like "what's your reasoning for staying in English", and parallel experience like "uh but then you think, (0.2) ↑°ah that's actually quite supportive°", which prelude the element of the projected advice. They complement the argument of advice-giving being the default response, even if this advice is unlikely to and perhaps should not be delivered immediately. That is to say, even though we already know, from the data shown above, advice-giving in response to trouble reports is an interactional contingency, the process of advice-giving should go through the establishment of common ground in which the advice is foregrounded and hinted at. This is why we see so many options – other-initiated repair, follow-up questions,

and parallel experience offering – being chosen by supervisors before the advice-giving turns. For example, by "you mean to talk about sources", the supervisor checks whether it is what James means by "lay that out in the introduction"; simultaneously, the nomination of "sources" prepares for the suggestion that James allocates an individual section for the "sources".

Being the final analytic chapter, we get to see how supervisors systematically offer their uptake at the initial point following the completion of a trouble report. These ways of responding to trouble reports consolidate and offer empirical findings to support the impression, gained from research on various institutional settings (e.g., Heritage & Sefi; 1993; Vehviläinen, 2009b), of the relevance of advice-giving. Moreover, offering responses to trouble reports is an ongoing activity as supervisors frequently deploy other-initiated repair or follow-up questions to establish the nature of the trouble as well as the relevance of their incoming advice. Finally, our understanding of advice-giving in supervision is broadened: it is not definitely given (as shown in section 7.5); it could also be done in subtler ways via expansions of other-initiated repair or follow-up questions and offering the supervisors own experience.

Chapter 8. Discussion and Conclusion

In past research, it has been established that (1) students being able to communicate well with supervisors is vital to the completion of their studies (e.g., Valero, 2001; Haksever & Mainsali, 2000) and (2) we have a poor understanding about how student supervision actually unfolds in practice (section 1.2.1). Therefore, there is a growing body of research studying talk in-interaction of supervision and position supervision as a form of social interaction. However, this has focused on the supervisors' side of pedagogic practices (Nguyen, 2016; Vehviläinen, 2012; Zhang & Hyland, 2021; West, 2021; Skovholt et al., 2019; Björkman, 2017; 2018), leading to a lack of in-depth and systematic examination of how supervisors and students, especially, engage in supervision meetings. Under such a background, I proposed exploring a frequently observed student conduct – expressing problems or frustrations ("trouble") – to understand this social organisation is produced, recognised, and responded to accordingly in various supervisory meetings (see Chapter 2). In other words, the findings are generalised from different types of meetings collectively. To this end, the thesis is organised by the big "how" questions:

- how do students express trouble;
- how are the students responded to in the here-and-now interaction in supervision meetings?

As the reader will see in the summary of findings, these big questions have been divided into smaller issues: the approaches or strategies students adopt in relation to the directness of expressing the trouble; the relevance of sequential environments impacting how students achieve trouble reports; the co-participation (of student and supervisor) in the construction of them; the ways of attending to or treating trouble reports when they are first completed.

In the following sections, I will summarise the key findings of and across the analytic chapters. Then, more broadly, the findings will be elaborated on to tease out their more

generalised contributions and practical implications. Finally, directions for future research will follow before the final concluding remarks.

8.1 Summary of findings

8.1.1 Chapter 4: Trouble expression responding to supervision opening moves

In Chapter 4, I began examining how trouble was expressed in the opening sequences of supervision meetings. Supervision openings was uncovered to consist of initial personal state inquiry, follow-up personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions – these are the opening supervisory moves. Furthermore, these moves not only orient to the states of affairs of students but also topicalise certain subjects related to the agenda of the meeting (e.g., in an undergraduate module-choice meeting, a question like "How did last term go" focused on the student's experience in the previous term, on which the choice of modules would be drawn), and agenda-setting questions made the implementation of the agenda relevant next.

As for the expression of trouble in the openings, it was found that there were two approaches students adopted to indicate trouble. One was a direct report of trouble that articulated an unfortunate event or negative state of affairs. For example, "£first term was not great." in response to an initial personal state inquiry directly revealed the student's negative experience of the first term due to the negative assessment. The other approach was more subtle: they were a set of utterances that projected a trouble report ("trouble projection"). In the initial personal state inquiry sequence, for example (Extract 4.10), a student responded to "how are things GENerally" with "↑generally they are alright?". As Jefferson (1980) describes, these kinds of utterances are downgraded compared to the standard "fine" response and might be treated as problematic by the recipient, i.e., the supervisor. Another example of trouble projection could be found in the agenda-setting sequences. When a supervisor proposed an agenda, students might defer or decline it so they could raise their questions or trouble (Extracts 4.14 & 4.15).

8.1.2 Chapter 5: Uninvited trouble reports

This chapter posed a question about how trouble reports were achieved in sequential environments where their production was not anticipated. It started with a distinction between the sequential environments in terms of their orientation to the solicitation of trouble. In one kind of sequential environment, supervisors consulted the student's personal state or experience with certain modules to create environments that could solicit trouble reports. The other type of environment did not orient to the solicitation of trouble reports because supervisors were not making such inquiries and were performing a wider range of other actions (e.g., expressing optimism about the students' progress, giving compliments or proposing an action), or due to students self-selecting to launch a sequence to report the trouble on their initiatives. Nevertheless, trouble reports more frequently occurred in the second set of sequences.

Then, the chapter began to examine how students managed to make trouble reports in the second type of sequential environments. It was found that students employed three embodied resources recurrently – face-touching, face tilting upwards and gaze aversion during supervisors' turns or before the TCU of the trouble report. Face-touching in particular communicated frustration (the "trouble display"); gaze aversion was associated with orienting to the resource. Ultimately, the three bodily movements were to avert the eye gaze with the supervisor, which is a sign of upcoming dispreferred action. When students began their turns, they addressed the prior turn by the supervisor (typically started with "yeah") with additional prosodic or phrasal designs in projecting the expansion of the turn. When students moved on to trouble report proper – the base TCU(s) – two characteristics were recurrently found: overtness (explicitly expressing something problematic such as the expressions of negative emotions, difficulties and lack of knowledge in orienting to the 'supervisable side' of the trouble) and trouble resistance (using constructions like "it's just X", "I can do X but Y" and "At first X but Y" to denote limited impact or improvement). These features could be found in all sequential environments, regardless of whether the reports were solicited or not. This indicated the universality of formulating trouble reports once the sequential environment was created.

8.1.3 Chapter 6: Co-constructed trouble reports on delicate matters

This chapter introduced a unique way of constructing trouble reports on delicate subjects that took two participants and which involved students delaying producing the report in full so supervisors' collaborative completion was occasioned (Lerner, 2013) or were overlapped by the supervisor who then carried on completing the report themselves.

This chapter first showed that when students report trouble relating to the department or the supervisor, they treat it as a dispreferred action and thus work to avoid sounding critical. On the other hand, when supervisors pointed out issues about the course, they took an insider position and designed the turn recognisably as a criticism. Given this difference, criticisms related to the institution made by students constituted a dispreferred action but not by supervisors. Hence, in the collaborative completion cases, when students were making trouble reports related to the course or any other institution-related subject, they held up the turn in progress, which facilitated supervisors' collaborative completions. In effect, the trouble reports were also co-produced by the supervisors. In another set of cases, supervisors took the floor in interjacent overlaps (Jefferson, 1986) during which the student was in-progress of the report unproblematically. Supervisors adopted the overlapping co-construction so they did not have to provide grammatical properties that fitted in the trouble reports initiated by the student. What supervisors did was to restart the trouble reports in overlap so they could modify them in a way that upgraded the critical quality. In their upgraded versions of the trouble reports, they formulated them orienting to the overall or holistic quality of the criticism. In this way, supervisors created the effect of speaking on behalf of the student and mitigated the delicacy of the institution-related trouble reports.

8.1.4 Chapter 7: Responding to trouble reports

In the last analytic chapter, I paid attention to how supervisors responded to students' troubles. Having examined supervisors' earliest utterances following students' completion of trouble reports, I documented that immediate advice-giving, other-initiated repair and follow-up question(s) prior to the response proper (i.e., advice-giving), offering parallel experience, and "unsupervisable" responses are the ways of responding to

trouble reports. Despite the diversity, the first three types of responses were generally oriented toward advice-giving. Advice-giving coming neatly in the second-pair part did occur but was not common. More frequently, advice was delayed by expansions of other-initiated repair (specifically the "pre-second" type in Schegloff (2007)) or follow-up questions. These moves were employed as a resource to deal with the understanding of the nature of the trouble and to fill the supervisor in with more information to assist with the succeeding advice. Other-initiated repair and follow-up questions were found to convey an advisory stance in a way that modified students' articulation of the problem, guided them to probe around the trouble, and tailored the advice depending on the responses students gave to those questions. In this way, the epistemic asymmetry was eliminated mutually: supervisors got to understand what the trouble was in more detail; students saw where the advice being offered had come from due to the advisory stance that had been established in these expansions.

Offering parallel experiences in response to trouble reports meant that supervisors shared something similar that had happened to them or that they had heard of. In so doing, they validated their understanding of the student's trouble. Also, advice was embedded in the telling of the parallel experience. Alternatively, supervisors might not provide any advice. In such responses, they first expressed their sympathy or regret and portrayed the trouble as something that usually and inevitably happened and, therefore, not something to be advised or advice-relevant. Although in these cases advice-giving was absent, the way supervisors constructed them to some degree showed the orientation to advice-giving still. The expression of sympathy was evidence of the supervisors' affiliative stance. The later normalisation of the trouble worked as an account to address the absence of advice.

8.1.5 Trouble reports are contingent on the interaction

Before this study, we might imagine bringing up trouble in supervision meetings is a pedagogic task to fulfil via supervisors' inquiries and students' responses. From what we learn in the chapters, it is more of a product of interaction that emerges from the ongoing talk, unplanned, than a task to tick off from the list; it is more organic and responsive than constrained.

To start by looking at how trouble reporting sequences begin, they can be in response to personal state inquiries and could employ the whole range of other supervisory moves (agenda-question settings, commenting on the performance, advice-giving ...), or, on very few occasions, approached by students following the closure of the last topic. While personal state inquiries do make a negative assessment relevant, students do not often respond to them with trouble reports and instead, exhibit resistance to making trouble reports. For example, in Extract 4.10, the student at first only provides a downgraded response and does not opt for a direct trouble report. In the only case of direct trouble report in response to PSI, the student also marks the improvement following the trouble report to make light of it (Extract 4.11). That is to say, there is no definite relevance between the effort to solicit problems students encounter and trouble reports. Getting to talk about troubles in the interaction does not occur at a particular moment, given a specific order; it is essentially about fitting the expression into the sequences relevantly, i.e., the result of negotiating with the current sequential environment.

How supervisors respond also provides evidence for the argument that trouble report sequences are the product of the ongoing interaction. Even though Chapter 7 does verify the underlying orderliness of offering advice in response as indicated in previous studies (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Vehviläinen, 2012; Vehviläinen, 2009b), advice does not typically follow immediately. Supervisors moderate the sequences' development depending on their understanding of the trouble and the management of potential resistance. Moreover, supervisors do not necessarily provide advice on every occasion. Hence, advice-giving is a dynamic process informed by the local interaction, not a cause-and-effect driven conduct. In sum, the achievement of trouble reports is highly locally managed.

8.1.6 Trouble reports are systematically 'dispreferred'

Across Chapters 4 to 6, the analysis reveals a variety of ways in which trouble reports may be said to be 'dispreferred'. In Chapter 4, to begin with, trouble reports are achieved via many dispreferred responses to personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions compared to other alternatives (a "good" answer to PSIs and go-ahead to agenda-setting questions). Specifically, students produce dispreferred responses to supervisors' agenda-setting questions by declining, delaying or deferring the course of

action proposed by the supervisor (e.g., Extract 4.15). By blocking the proposed course of action, students can redirect the sequence to the path where they can raise the trouble. This also reflects students' treating certain troubles like lack of knowledge about a topic and unsatisfactory performance as concrete hurdles interactionally that uphold the progressivity of the interaction until the trouble is solved or no longer exists.

Chapter 5, which is precisely about the linguistic construction of trouble reports, demonstrates that they recurrently *adopt* dispreferred formats. This is drawn from the pervasive delayed responses, sound stretches and discourse markers in trouble reports:

- *m::m:: (1.0) semantics is more: difficult this year.*

- *u::m::: (0.2) not that it's particularly (0.2) relevant tuh, (0.2) the degree but I r- realise:: um, thuh thee accommodation on ↑campus next year ws pretty much ↑full.*

- *it's ↑just (.) maybe thee::::: project, thee:: research project.*

As we already know, while preferred responses are typically in-time, straightforward and brief such as "I certainly will" to an invitation (Davidson, 1984, p.116), dispreferred responses are delayed and more complex with prefaces, accounts and/or mitigations (Clayman, 2002; Pomerantz, 1984) just like the trouble reports we see above: the "m::m::" and "u::m:::" followed by gaps, the prefacing clause "not that it's particularly (0.2) relevant tuh, (0.2) the degree" and the mitigation "it's ↑just". Some of these features may even co-occur in one utterance. Overall, such features show orientation to trouble reports being dispreferred at the same time mitigated or lightened in some way. That said, this chapter does not entail the discussion of student trouble reports being a dispreferred action compared to others since the analyses does not include the examination of how else trouble reports can be produced (initiated by supervisors, for instance).

Chapter 6, on the other hand, does show that in certain sequential environments, student trouble reports can be treated as dispreferred actions. In particular, the chapter demonstrates how participants resolve the problem of producing such dispreferred actions: to switch the producer/speaker of trouble reports from students to the supervisors because producing a criticism about self or the workplace does not pose challenges for supervisors, but this is not the case for students.

In short, the findings across the analytic chapters point to trouble expressions being dispreferred in different sense – on the dimensions of social action (e.g., via the declination of a proposed agenda) and design.

8.2 Contributions

In addition to finding out how the expression of trouble is organised and responded to in supervision interaction, this thesis has contributed to our understanding of the organisation of supervision interaction (regarding the opening of encountersand action formation and ascription), advice-giving as a social activity, and Jefferson's work on troubles-telling. The following sections will discuss them in relation to the existing body of literature at more length.

8.2.1 To the interaction of supervision

The first insight of the present study is about the opening sequences of supervision interaction. In addition to our understanding that openings are practically vital for participants, being an "anchor position" (Schegloff, 1986) or means for the identification and recognition (Schegloff, 1979), Chapter 4 offers another institutional characteristic of openings in supervision. Across all types of supervision (pastoral and research), supervision openings are composed of supervisor-led initial and follow-up personal state inquiries and agenda-setting questions before the main business. It turned out that they could be places where trouble got projected or foreshadowed (or reported in very few cases) and thus a location for the unpacking of trouble at the earliest point of the encounter. Although it is not news that openings can be a sequential position of uncovering trouble in doctor-and-patient interaction (Heritage & Robinson, 2006; van der Laaken & Bannink, 2020), the opening questions are different from the ones asked in supervision interaction. The difference is that the former are consciously assigned to solicit problem presentation from patients, while the latter are not. (Although initial and follow-up personal state inquiries do make negative assessment potentially relevant, they do not expect in the same way that trouble as problem presentation soliciting questions do.) Given the finding that supervisory openings are places where trouble expressions quite extensively occur, it is argued that supervision openings are not only the site for self-presentation (Haugh & Carbaugh, 2015) or the building of social relations (Pillet-Shore, 2021) but can also be problem-oriented in that the prospective reporter of trouble

directs the interaction toward the revelation of trouble, even if supervision openings have proved to be supervisor-led.

The second contribution of this thesis is on the practices that make trouble recognisable and advice relevant to supervisors, which adds to the existing research on action formation and ascription (Levinson, 2013). To start with, trouble reports in everyday interaction directly announce the source of trouble externally "(and) they're comin'↑o:ff," (Fox & Heinemann, 2021, p.35); "He got- ma:d and went off" (Jefferson, 1988/2015, p.39) and describe what others do or what happened *to* them. Ones in supervision interaction orient more to the student-self and the supervisability, using formulations of the emotions, difficulties, and (in)abilities (see section 5.4.1). These formulations broaden the documentation of trouble report formats and practices. More importantly, student- centrality is the characteristic to be recognised by the supervisor as trouble reports for them to address. Systematic trouble resistance is another feature of student trouble reports. This is not only illuminated by the practices shown in section 5.4.2 but also the seldom use, in the current study, of extreme case formulation when speakers anticipate push-back against their claims of adversity or trouble (Pomerantz, 1986), which is common in other settings (Drew & Holt, 1988; Edwards, 2000). In this way, trouble- resistance constitutes one dimension of how trouble reports are constructed in supervision interaction. The embodied resource is also part of the action formation. The role of embodied behaviour in the expression of trouble in existing research is more to demonstrate the trouble itself, the struggling with a course of action, e.g., head tilting to indicate trouble with visibility (Kendrick & Drew, 2016) or looking around in the room to denote one's inability to find an object (Drew & Kendrick, 2018). Alternatively, bodily conduct can be used to index the source of trouble, e.g., presenting the broken shoe on the counter at the repair shop (Fox & Heinemann, 2021; 2018). What Chapter 5 especially shows is that students use the touching and rubbing of their faces to perform an emotive state of frustration before they speak. In this case, the embodiment does not articulate what the trouble is; it pre-signals trouble with their affective state of affairs. In this regard, trouble reports are multimodal to display emotive states.

On the organisation of performing a specific kind of dispreferred action, i.e. talking about a delicate subject, Chapter 6 proposes the co-construction of trouble reports, an alternative to Schegloff's bad news delivery (1988) and Maynard's forecasting strategies (1996). This particular collaborative way of addressing delicacy, i.e., switching the

speaker of a critique about the institution or an institutional role, sheds light on the identity construction in supervision interaction. That is, supervisors take the position of an insider of the institution, and students in this respect are 'outsiders'. Even so, considering supervisors' collaborative completion and voluntary upgraded trouble reports, they strongly affiliate with the student and mediate between the students and the institution-related issue, so the confrontational element between the 'insider' and 'outsider' is minimised.

8.2.2 To the activity of advice-giving

Even though supervisory advice-giving (Vehviläinen, 2009a, 2009b; 2012; Nguyen, 2016; Henricson & Nelson, 2017) and its management of resistance (West, 2021) are well-investigated issues, most studies approach them as initiating supervisory actions or responding turns to solicitation or requests of advice as part of fulfilling the supervisory role. Chapter 7 examines advice-giving as responsive behaviour. Hence, not only does it underpin the relevance of it to trouble reports, but also it provides in-depth analysis of how advice is tailored to the trouble being reported. First, the numerical result indicates that advice-giving is more commonly given following the initiation of repair or follow-up questions. This manifests the accepted order in which advice should be given, that is, only when the giver has gained a fair understanding about the trouble.

The other value of the results about advice-giving is to add to the pile of strategies supervisors adopt to give advice: storytelling (Ta, 20222; 2021), question-prefaced advice (Vehviläinen, 2012), and direct requests (Hyland and Zhang, 2021). What Chapter 7 shows is that supervisors can demonstrate a strong orientation to advice- giving and indicate what the advice will be without explicitly instructing students what to do, using other-initiated repair, follow-up questions and the parallel experience strategically. By reformulating what the student has just reported in a more academic language, asking questions, or by taking a more prospective viewpoint that will benefit the student in the long run (consider Extract 7.4), supervisors can create an advisory stance with these expansions. Our understanding of advice-giving is broadened in that it is not restricted to a set of instructive utterances. Instead, it is or should be viewed as an ongoing activity in which participants try to achieve epistemic symmetry – not just for supervisors to acquire what students are troubled by (as raised in the previous paragraph), but also for students to understand where the advice has come from and will end up being. Moreover,

this hinting at advice also avoids issues regarding the generic face-threatening element in many other telling-people-what-to-do actions (e.g., requests (Fox & Heinemann, 2016) and directives (Kent, 2012)). Specifically, as was emphasised, advice-giving in supervisions is tricky when students claim a great sense of ownership of their study (Vehviläinen, 2009a). Now, we find that advice can be delivered without facing this issue when a more tacit way is adopted via questions and the telling of one's own experience and what the advising party has done in a similar situation.

8.2.3 To troubles-telling

It is natural to associate student trouble reports with Jefferson's series of work on troubles-telling (Jefferson, 1988; Jefferson & Lee, 1981) in ordinary interaction. Indeed, there is a range of commonalities, and this thesis has drawn upon plenty of Jefferson's findings about the approach to the notion of "trouble" and the sequential organisation. One example is that both research projects deal with the exchange of an untoward state of affairs between two parties (i.e., the teller of trouble and the recipient, the student and the supervisor(s)) in talk-in-interaction. The other similarity is the general shape of the sequential package, from how the sequence about a trouble can be approached (with a personal state inquiry), the foreshadowing of an untoward state of affair, the announcement/the report of the trouble, the diagnostic and advice-giving stage, to a closure (even though this has not been studied in this thesis). Thirdly, there is a similarity between Jefferson's "trouble-premonitory" responses (Jefferson, 1980) and trouble projection in this thesis. Both practices avoid articulating the trouble but are of negative import that invites further diagnostic work. In this respect, this study in many ways consolidates the findings and merits of Jeffersonian troubles-telling research.

However, there are at least three differences to be outlined here between "trouble premonitory" responses and trouble projection. First, "trouble premonitory" responses occur in opening encounters, and trouble projection can be produced across the whole supervisory interaction. "Trouble premonitory" responses are more specifically downgraded conventional responses to personal state inquiries like "pretty good", while trouble projection refers to a wider range of methods (including downgraded conventional responses and the deferring or rejection of the proposed agenda) that provide the potential to lead up to reports of trouble in various sequential environments. Thirdly, with

respect to the interactional import, trouble premonitors defer and at the same time adumbrate the report on trouble in the interest of keeping the conversation flowing in opening sequences, while trouble projection delays for various reasons. Still, this difference leads us to see the divergent interactional imports of the troubles-telling and student trouble reports as a whole. As Jefferson contends (1980/2015, p.74), participants engaged in troubles-telling are constantly managing the "dual relevance of attending to a trouble and attending to business as usual" in the ordinary conversational traffic. This reflects the social norm of distributing equal attendance to both conversants (Jefferson, 1988). On the other hand, there is no such concern as showing equivalent attentiveness to both the student and the supervisor. So, the participants are not accountable for giving "trouble premonitory" responses as a result of the orientation of getting away from the troubles-telling.

The other distinction of this study is the divergent treatment of advice-giving. In Jefferson and her colleague's work on the rejection of advice (Jefferson & Lee, 1981), it is found that advice is routinely resisted or rejected unless the teller has fully completed their exposition of the trouble. This is because the advice delivery prematurely violates the role of the trouble-teller looking for emotional support and converts them into a recipient of advice. Students in this study, on the contrary, are prepared to be a recipient of advice, similar to any advice seeker in service encounters (Jefferson & Lee, 1981) and other institutional interactions.

Specifically, on the exposition of trouble, Jefferson's work indicates that the teller of troubles takes full ownership of the description and delivery of trouble (Jefferson, 1980/2015, pp.39-42). In supervision interaction, however, this is co-achieved by both parties. With the supervisor's other-initiated repair and follow-up questions (see the last section), students complete, enrich and give accounts of the troubling situation. This explains why it appears that one trouble is often followed by another (e.g., from "a blip" to household issue, falling behind the progress and then to being a "slow reader") as the result of supervisory follow-up questions that facilitates a series of trouble reports. These differences in relation to the premonitory and exposition of trouble and the reception of advice illuminate our understanding of how troubles-telling is systematically organised differently in different social settings.

8.2.4 To settings where the ability to report a trouble is essential

The social activity of reporting a trouble and getting the response (e.g., advice or emotional support) offers substantial intellectual richness and scholarly interests in relation to the management of power, identity, knowledge, and social relations. The very establishment of CA owed to Sacks's work on data of suicide prevention calls, where the callers seek help. It was through the calls that he found the orderliness of talk as an object to observe in its own right (Sacks, 1967). More importantly, he pays attention to *who* callers with suicidal tendencies are entitled to turn to in difficult times, i.e., family members, friends, and people they are close to, which he calls "relationship proper" in contrast to 'strangers' – the "relationship improper" (Sacks, 1967, p.205). However, as Schegloff (2002) adds, in some cases, due to the nature of the trouble, a "relationship proper" would be the last person to turn to for the troubled person. For example, if the trouble relates to adultery, "[it] could be grounds for the spouse to remove themselves from the category (of relationship proper)" (Schegloff, 2002, p.22). In this regard, callers seek help from 'strangers' but are categorised as people with professional knowledge – a counselling role. Apart from *who* to tell trouble to, the question of *how* to allow people to be able to report trouble in-time and effectively is concerned by research on counselling, healthcare (Kitzinger & Kitzinger, 2007; Kitzinger, 2011), and public security (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990) settings. Specifically, Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2007, p.260) find a range of opening questions that prompt women who suffer from postnatal post-traumatic stress disorder and call helpline to talk about their unhappy experiences: "Okay, tell me what the problem is", "What happened?", "Why are you crying?" and so on.

What this work can particularly shed light on is trouble reports in interactions between parties with asymmetric power, knowledge or/and deontic right like supervisor-and-student. Although not being the focus of the thesis, the hierarchy of power in supervisory relations is a relevant perspective from which we can look at the trouble reports, and a central feature. On postgraduate supervision, in the introductory chapter of the volume Bartlett and Mercer edit (2001, p.8), they claim that ". . .the intransigently hierarchical relations in which candidates and supervisors are embedded still impinge. Smouldering beneath a number of essays (the articles in the volume) is the feeling of being unable to speak for fear of recrimination". It seems that participants recognise the difficulty of expressing trouble in relation to the framework of power difference. This study, then, offers insights on trouble reports to be made in similar relations such as parents-and-child (Wu, 1996; Zhang, 2007) and teacher-and-student (Wang, 2011). Although not being the focus of the thesis, it would be vital for the parties with less of all these powers

to be able to express trouble, some of which would be much more delicate or extreme than the cases we see in this study. For example, Chen et al.(2007) reveal that, parents present lack of knowledge and confidence in regard to the communication with children about the prevention of sexual abuse. Given what the possibility of trouble reports being treated as dispreferred by students (in Chapter 6), it would not be hard to imagine how children would struggle to seek support from parents or teachers when they were threatened or harmed. Similarly, there are studies showing that telling teaching staff about bullying incidents is key to teacher-led prevention of bullying (e.g., Novick & Isaacs, 2010). The question is, how would young-aged students report such threats or how they are offered the opportunity to do in real-time interaction. Foreshadowing a trouble by starting from dispreferred responses in the sequences that deal with other institutional tasks (e.g., offering a negative-implicative assessment and deferring a proposed agenda) and utterances accompanied by delays, discontinuations, gaze-aversion and face-touching, as found by this study, could help to increase the awareness of educators and parents as to how to be a supportive listener and source of help.

8.3 Practical implications

This section is about the practical implications of the findings and reflections above. For students, the implication that can be drawn from the findings is that the expression of trouble is highly interactionally contingent. Although we might have presupposed that expressing a problem is achieved via solicitation of problems-and-response or complaint-and-affiliation, now it is clear that the expression is more of a product of interaction that emerges from the ongoing talk. Furthermore, Chapters 4 and 5 present students as fully autonomous to initiate the sequence of trouble reports, even when the supervisors' prior turns are not designed to do this, if they indicate the possibility of an upcoming trouble report via the rejection or delay of the proposed agenda, or through downgraded conventional responses. What this means is that students should fully engage themselves in the interaction and not "wait" for a so-called opportunity to raise trouble. For example, students should make use of initial and follow-up personal state inquiries in a different way: instead of treating them as simply ritual questions to be responded to with an "everything is fine", they should treat them as 'authentic' questions and use them as slots proper to raise issues and discuss solutions.

When supervisors are not expecting the student to come up with a difficulty studying a

course or finding accommodation, students are fully capable of creating an environment and starting a new sequence for a trouble report with the moves found in Chapter 5. Because trouble reports are the product of interaction and can be locally managed, this is especially the case when the trouble pertains to the supervisor or the institution. As Chapter 6 reveals, such delicacy can be resolved via collaborative completion or modification by the supervisor. Hence, students can consciously use practices such as sound-stretches and incomplete TCUs to delay the completion of the utterance in order to elicit collaborative completion when they are reporting trouble.

On the reception of advice-giving, as far as section 7.5 is concerned, it seems to be 'unsupervisable' if the trouble is oriented to as something that commonly happens, such as a rejected application or uncooperative classmates. While much of their troubles are of this nature, students should focus on more specific issues to be responded to with specific advice. Notably, while they can talk freely about flaws of a course, supervisors are socially constrained when it comes to handling complaints about other students, (section 6.2). Hence, trouble reports should be formulated toward 'supervisability' such as the improvement of a profile for university application.

As for the implications for supervisors, one is opening up a wealth of possibilities for assessing how students are doing without explicitly asking "how are you" or "how do you find this module", and establishing whether they have trouble to report before they actually broach it. An upcoming trouble report can often be "sensed", hinted at, or signalled by embodied behaviours like face touching, looking up, and gaze aversion from the supervisor to the document. It can also be divined from how students construct their turns with hesitation and delay. In some specific sequences, particular utterance types like downgraded responses to "How are you" question, blocking of proposed agenda, prefacing what they heard from someone, etc. are also indications of trouble. These observations may help supervisors' to become more immediately conscious of student troubles and make the choices necessary to allow students to reach the actual trouble report (Antaki, 2011). Another implication for practice touched upon is in relation to advice-giving. It is routine to delay the delivery of advice. With the space in between, supervisors can hint at the advice with other-initiated repairs that re-construct the trouble or follow-up questions that direct to the advice-to-be-given. This may make advice-giving easier considering the possible resistance and the face-threatening concern.

The final indication for supervisors and universities is with respect to how much we can

rely on guidelines for communication with students. The guidelines on supervisory communication should be more advanced and detailed than ideas such as "Build an atmosphere that promotes the exchange of ideas" and "Empathetic listening" (Umpqua Community College, 2009, pp.10-11). First, they do not specify how these are achieved in real-time interaction with authentic cases. Secondly, they do not consider the contingency of ongoing conversations. We see evidence of how empathetic listening could impede the progressivity of talk for the student (see Extract 7.7), causing the student to abandon the turn several times, when she could have carried on exposing the problem more consistently. This example is offered to show that the guidelines, or simply a positive belief about how to interact with students, can be quite stereotypical and misleading. True, we should be active listeners and show our stance toward the trouble; but it does not always help with the progress of telling. In other words, the question might be how supervisors can show their listenership, considering there is not really nuanced training designed for this kind of technique. To this end, this study challenges the methodology of developing communication skills by taking inspiration from the patterns in reality.

8.4 Direction for future research: the sequence closure, the supervisability, preference organisation, and cross-cultural comparison

The thesis has set only one foot on the ground of university supervision from a conversation analytic perspective. One thing yet to be done is an investigation of how the participants move away from the trouble being handled, asking questions like "How does the supervisor or the student close the topic following the reception of the advice?" At least two inquiries can be addressed with this question. One is in regard to the time management or maximum use of time in a given short period of time, a key concern in medical research (Putnam, 1995; Heritage et al., 2007) (e.g., one hour on average for research supervision and much shorter for pastoral supervision, see Table 3.1). Looking into the practices of marking the closure of a sequence and moving onto the next topic will indicate how effectively they attend to the limited time frame. The other potential benefit would be to draw implications on students' satisfaction or acceptance of advice from the ways in which they acknowledge the advice and end the sequence (minimal acknowledge vs. strong agreement with promise of action), to provide insights for

supervisory advice-giving in practice.

This thesis shines a light on many opportunities for future research with a larger dataset size. One possibility is to get into more detail regarding the systematic design features of trouble reports resulting in advice-giving and "unsupervisable responses". In Chapter 7, these differing consequences are only acknowledged and analysed in relation to the local sequential environment and the interactional import but nothing more systematic. A more in-depth examination of trouble reports leading to advice-giving and the opposite with a larger set of data would reveal what participants understand around 'supervisability' in the interaction and student supervision as pedagogic practice.

The third possibility for future research is to go further in regard to the dispreference of student trouble reports. So far it is clear that they are systematically constructed in a dispreferred fashion with delays, mitigations and accounts by students. Considering the definition of dispreference – actions that indicate students treat making trouble reports as non-normative and misaligning or socially discordant (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1987; Schegloff, 2007, pp.58–73) – it is curious how students treat reports of trouble as such while supervision is generally assigned for problem-solving (Vehviläinen, 2009b). This question, although not unpacked in this thesis, would facilitate the debate between the pedagogical design of supervision (that encourages and embraces problem-solving) and the opposite we witness (students treating the expression of trouble as dispreferred) in the data.

Another direction for further research is to investigate non-native speakers of English reporting trouble in English-mediated supervision interaction and then to compare them with native speakers of English. In the dataset of the current study, there are participants coming from countries where English is not the first language, as indicated by some speaker labels like "XIN" and "QIU" and mispronunciation of words at places in the data extracts. The data contributed by the students has not been explored further in its own right. But I suppose it would be a promising possibility for three reasons. One is that international students are empirically found to experience a great number of difficulties and problems in relation to language/communication with local people, accommodation, food, customs and the adaptation to the overall culture (Wisker, 1998; Ali et al., 2022; Hmaid & Elshawish, 2022). Studying how international students communicate these troubles would provide substantial resources for a better understanding of the organisation of student trouble reports.

As for the second motivation, cultural difference is considered an important contributor to communication and satisfaction for international students (Harwood, 2016; Hellstén, 2002). As Wisker (2012, p.288) points out, for international students, communication is exceptionally challenging because they have no access to how to express different opinions and to debate in a conventionally acceptable way. Hence, they often opt not to. Relating to a previous point that, as found in Chapter 5, students demonstrate the competence to create environments for a trouble report when they are not asked to. Indeed there are already a few examples with international students (e.g., Extract 1.1) in which the student responds to a supervisory question (that does not solicit trouble) with a report of unsatisfactory performance. However, it is left empirically unknown whether international students experience interactional difficulty in creating the slot for the expression of trouble in such environments. All in all, it would be productive to systematically study how students with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds express trouble and how well supervisors understand them. This inquiry would also reveal concrete communicative issues between supervisors and international students in authentic interaction. Ultimately, the results could offer insights into the improvement of the experience for international students (Ammigan, 2019) and enhance institutional competitiveness in the globalised market of higher education (Baranova et al., 2011; Shah & Richardson, 2016).

The third benefit of continuing to study supervision interaction with a focus on international student participants would be to generate further opportunities for cross-linguistic and cultural comparisons (Kasper & Wagner, 2014). Conversation analytic research is of comparative nature essentially (Schegloff, 2009; Wu, 2016). While it is acknowledged that the sense of cross-linguistic and cultural comparisons (which argue that the variation in social order is due to socio-economic and cultural context) differs from the comparativeness in CA, Zimmerman (1999) advocates bringing in the "horizontal comparison". This means studying how participants use linguistic resources differently to solve interactional problems. Therefore, comparing how trouble could be expressed similarly or differently by international and native students could be a potential direction to go in.

8.5 Concluding comments

Coming back to the title of the thesis, I adopted the term "expressing trouble" and have consciously avoided terms like "discussing", "telling" or "informing" throughout. The motivation behind this is that the latter set of terms refer to clearcut actions of information exchange, whereas "expressing" is not just about this. It is an ongoing attempt to use the resources of embodiment, facial expression, prosodic features and so on, as well as the emotions they engender, to allow the recipient/supervisor to respond accordingly.

Higher education is a systematic training process that facilitates learning, through which we gain new knowledge from trouble and overcome it (Shulman, 1991; Tan, 2021). There is always an intertwined relationship between trouble and learning. In this sense, trouble expression is probably an important form of student expression and will be ubiquitous.

As this thesis shows, while reporting problems and concerns can be a positive start to problem-solving (Vehviläinen, 2009b), paradoxically, students also face several interactional challenges when attempting to do so, as each analytic chapter reveals: bringing trouble projection to realisation, launching a (new) sequence that deals with trouble, reporting trouble and not being offensive, and ensuring the reception of advice-giving. These challenges are distinctive from what we may assume to be the contributors to communicative issues: personalities, language ability, and the interpersonal relationship. The answer, partly and significantly, lies in the interaction itself.

However, the other side of the coin is achievement interactionally. The thesis has put forward the significance of face-to-face talk in an educational setting, for the interactants as well as researchers. As the co-founder of conversation analysis Schegloff (1996b) points out that the majority of social activities are achieved collaboratively, and more specifically, achieved by talk-in-interaction where people speak to each other, distribute the workload, play our own parts, and get things done. Making trouble reports in supervision interaction, being an interactional accomplishment, certainly is part of this regularity. As for an outlook for participants of student supervision, some changes need to be made to our perceptions about student-to-supervisor trouble reports and to the positioning of supervision meetings (from a gatekeeping system to a platform of social interaction) to encourage this form of student expression. More importantly, further research will be needed to understand this core phenomenon.

Finally, the thesis wants to raise the importance of talk in-situ for supervision. It is not only the content but also the social actions performed in the talk that are educationally

valuable. Even the simplest how-are-you question is not just an opening question; it provides an opportunity to reflect on the study and to articulate the trouble from an internal experience to the external. Same with advice-giving. The advice might not always be new knowledge to the student. But when the role of the supervisor gives it, it sets up the relevance and maybe even the obligation of executing the advised action, which is favourable for the student's progression. The other contribution of naturally-occurring ongoing talk is that we constantly negotiate, construct and reconstruct our identities and knowledge in supervision interaction. Hence, conversation eliminates asymmetries in power, knowledge, and class (Xiang, 2022). When students and supervisors converse in such a way that is free from the constraints of their institutional roles, they can find or create new meanings in their identities and genuinely have a 'dialogue' as equals. As the primordial site for social activities, the conversation itself is where education takes place.

Appendix I. Samples of information sheet and consent form

Research project title:
Student-supervisor interaction in British higher education

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. Before you decide, it is important you understand how the research is being done and how your confidentiality will be protected. Please take time to read the following information carefully and raise any concerns you may have. I deeply appreciate your time.

1. What is the project's purpose?

Research shows that communication between students and supervisors is key for the completion of the study. The aim of the research is to look at how students interact with their supervisors face-to-face meetings in UK university. The study aims to answer two questions:

    1) how students raise an issue to discuss to imply trouble in their studies during the supervision meetings;

    2) how do supervisors respond to them;

Understanding how the raising of trouble offers an important basis for improving the quality of communication and study experience.

2. What types of information will be sought from me?

The information to be sought is video-recorded of the meeting(s) between you and your supervisor. The interaction is entirely naturally occurring: you hold your meeting as you normally would; you are not expected to talk about anything pre-planned due to this research. Video recording is essential for the research as it will enable the researcher to see what is happening between the speakers apart from what is said, including eye contact, gestures, facial expressions, and other nonverbal behaviours. These can make a big difference to our understanding of interaction (e.g. nods or shakes of the head can be used to agree or disagree).

3. What are the potential disadvantages or risks of taking part?

There is a minor risk that you might feel uncomfortable about having your appointment or any specific topic recorded. At any time, you are free to stop the recording as you wish.

To mitigate the risk to your privacy, your data will be kept confidential, i.e. no one except the research team can access them (including the researcher herself and her supervisors); the transcripts and quotations made from your recording will be anonymised; you can decide whether or not clips of the video recordings may be shown at academic conferences.

4. Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

Yes, your personal information and data will be kept confidential.

On the publications and transcripts, names and any other personal information from your data will be replaced with fake names.

- If you consented that the clips of your data may be played at academic presentations about the study, the personal information will be censored from the audio.

- The recording of yours will be stored securely on the university server within the project and onwards if you give permission for future use.

5. What will happen to the results of the research project?

Results of the research will be presented in the PhD thesis and may be published in journal articles. If you wish to be given a copy of any reports resulting from the research, please ask the researcher to put you on the circulation list.

6. Who is organising and funding the research?

The self-funded project is conducted by Zhiying Jian, a PhD student in the Language and Communication programme, co-supervised by the Department of Language and Linguistic Science and the Department of Sociology, at the University of York.

7. Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Departmental Ethics Committee of the Department of Language and Linguistic Science at the University of York. If you have any questions regarding this, you can contact the L&LS Ethics Committee (linguistics-ethics@york.ac.uk).

Project Title: Student-supervisor interaction in British higher education

CONSENT FORM (for staff)

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form below:

	Please indicate yes or no by '√' or 'X'
1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.	✓
2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw any time.	✓
3. I understand that the meeting with my supervisee will be video-recorded, and I can turn off the camera at any time.	✓
4. I understand that the video recording may only be viewed by the researcher, and her supervisors and the examiners for the purpose of examination.	✓
5. I understand that the researcher may use anonymised quotes from the recording in publications.	✓
6. I agree that clips of the video recording may be shown at academic meetings.	✓

Future use of the data

7. I agree that my video recordings can be preserved for future research after this project.	✓

I agree to take part in the above project:

_____   Signature

_____   Printed name

Appendix II. Jeffersonian transcription conventions

The conventions are in line with Jefferson (2004) and Bolden & Hepburn (2018).

Symbols	Meanings	Examples
[ ]	Overlapping speech	/
(0.4)	Timed pause or gap	/
(.)	Minor pause or gap, 0.1 seconds	/
=	Latching between two turns or lexical items	QIU it's-= SUP =OH you are not (hap°py°°)

Prosodic feature

Symbols	Meanings	Examples
> <	Speed-up speech	>which is hard.<
< >	Slowed-down speech	<heat through.>
Underline	Stress	th<u>en</u>
:	Sound stretch	wrong:::g
°	Quiet delivery	I'm sorry to °hear that?,°
CAPITALS	Loud delivery	OKAY.
#	Creaky voice	#wonderful.#
£	Smiley voice	£right, yeah.£

Turn-final features

Symbols	Meanings	Examples
?	Rising intonation	yeah?
,	Flat intonation	last term alright,
.	Falling intonation	yeah.
-	Cut-off speech	uh-

Aspirational features

Symbols	Meanings	Examples
.hhh	In-breath	/
hhh.	Out-breath	/
Heh heh/ha ha/huh huh	Voiced laughter	/
(h)	Breathy/laughter-blocked speech	s(h)o h(h)ow a(h)re you,

Transcriber's actions

Symbols	Meanings	Examples
(( ))	Additional comments from the transcriber, e.g. about	((SUP turns the pages))

		features of context or delivery.	
( )		Uncertain hearing of an item	(you)
→		Focal turn of the analysis	/

Appendix III. Multimodal transcription conventions (Mondada, 2014)

Symbols that delimit actions

+ +	Supervisor's embodied actions
* *	Student's embodied actions
@ @	
& &	Other embodiment like facial expressions and nodding
$ $	
Fig	Line drawing or photo still of the exact moment

Descriptions of trajectory of actions

……..	Preparation phase of an action
------->	The duration of the action
,,,,,,,,	Retraction phase of an action
-->>	The action has already begun before the extract
>>	The action continues beyond the extract

References

Acker, S., Hill, T., & Black, E. (1994) Thesis supervision in the social sciences: Managed or negotiated? *Higher Education* 28: 483–498.

Alam, F., Alam, Q., & Rasul, M. G. (2013). A pilot study on postgraduate supervision. *Procedia Engineering*, *56*, 875-881.

Albert, S., Heath, C., Skach, S., Harris, M. T., Miller, M., & Healey, P. G. (2019). Drawing as transcription: how do graphical techniques inform interaction analysis? *Social Interaction Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality*, 2(1). https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v2i1.113145

Ali, M., Arifin, W. L., & Muttaqin, Z. (2022). Having the First-Year as Overseas Students: Intercultural Communication as Identity Negotiation of Indonesian Ph. D. Muslim Women Students in the United States. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, *9*(2), 66-80.

Ammigan, R. (2019). Institutional satisfaction and recommendation: What really matters to international students. *Journal of International Students*, *9*(1), 262-281.

Anderson, H., & Swim, S. (1995). Supervision as collaborative conversation: Connecting the voices of supervisor and supervisee. Journal of systemic therapies, 14(2), 1-13.

Antaki, C. (2011). Six kinds of applied conversation analysis. In Antaki, Charles (Eds.), *Applied conversation analysis* (pp. 1-14). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Auer, P. (2005). Projection in interaction and projection in grammar. *Text-Interdisciplinary journal for the study of discourse*, *25*(1), 7-36.

Baranova, P., Morrison, S., & Mutton, J. (2011). Enhancing the student experience through service design: The University of Derby approach. volume 15.

Bartlett, A., & Mercer, G. (2001). Reconceptualising discourses of power in postgraduate pedagogies. *Teaching in Higher education*, 5(2), 195-204.

Benjamin, T., & Walker, T. (2013). Managing problems of acceptability through high rise-fall repetitions. *Discourse Processes, 50*(2), 107-138.

Bergmann, J. R. (1998). Introduction: Morality in Discourse, *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 31:3-4, 279-294, DOI: 10.1080/08351813.1998.9683594

Bhat, C. S. (2005). Enhancing counseling gatekeeping with performance appraisal protocols. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counseling*, 27(3), 399–411. doi:10.1007/s10447-005-8202-z

Bitchener, J., Basturkmen, H., & East, M. (2010). The focus of supervisor written feedback to thesis/dissertation students. *International Journal of English Studies*, *10*(2), 79-97.

Bitzer, E. M., & Albertyn, R. M. (2011). Alternative approaches to postgraduate supervision: A planning tool to facilitate supervisory processes. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 25(5), 875-888.

Blanton, S., Morris, D. M., Prettyman, M. G., McCulloch, K., Redmond, S., Light, K. E., & Wolf, S. L. (2006). Lessons learned in participant recruitment and retention: the EXCITE trial. *Physical therapy*, *86*(11), 1520-1533.

Bolden, G. B., & Hepburn, A. (2018). Transcription for conversation analysis. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.131

Bolden, G. B. (2006). Little words that matter: Discourse markers "so" and "oh" and the doing of other-attentiveness in social interaction. *Journal of Communication,* 56(4), 661-688.

Bowker, D. (2012). Okay? Yeah? Right?: Negotiating understanding and agreement in master's supervision meetings with international students. [Doctoral thesis, University of Stirling]

Boyd, E. A. (1998). Bureaucratic authority in the "company of equals": The interactional management of medical peer review. *American Sociological Review*, 63(2), 200-224.

Cahill, J., Bowyer, J. & Murray, S. (2014). An exploration of undergraduate students' views on the effectiveness of academic and pastoral support, *Educational Research*, 56:4, 398-411, DOI: 10.1080/00131881.2014.965568

Cardiff University. (2021). Policy on Research Student Responsibilities. Available at: https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/?a=1551458 [access on 22nd July 2022]

Chapman, V. L., & Sork, T. J. (2001). Confessing regulation or telling secrets? Opening up the conversation on graduate supervision. Adult Education Quarterly, 51(2), 94-107.

Chen, J., Dunne, M. P., & Han, P. (2007). Prevention of child sexual abuse in China: Knowledge, attitudes, and communication practices of parents of elementary school children. *Child abuse & neglect*, *31*(7), 747-755.

Christie, A. (1957). *4.50 from Paddington* (p. 224). London: Collins.

Clark, I. (2001). "Perspectives on the Directive/Nondirective Continuum in the Writing Center". Writing Center Journal 21 (3): 33–57.

Clayman, S. E. (2002). Sequence and solidarity. *Group cohesion, trust and solidarity*, *19*, 229-253.

Clayman, S. E., & Gill, V. T. (2004). *Conversation analysis*. Na.

Clift, R. (2016a). Don't make me laugh: Responsive laughter in (dis) affiliation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 100, 73-88.

Clift, R. (2016b). Conversation analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clift, R., Drew, P., & Hutchby, I. (2009). Conversation analysis. *The pragmatics of interaction*, 4, 40-55.

Conrad, L. (1999). 'Contextualising postgraduate supervision to improve quality', in G. Wisker and N. Sutcliffe (eds), *Effectiveness in Postgraduate Supervision* (Birmingham: Staff and Educational Development Association), pp.13-24.

Coulehan, J. L., Platt, F. W., Egener, B., Frankel, R., Lin, C. T., Lown, B., & Salazar, W. H. (2001). "Let me see if I have this right…": words that help build empathy. *American College of Physicians–American Society of Internal Medicine. 135,* 221-227.

Coupland, J., Coupland, N., & Robinson, J. D. (1992). " How are you?": Negotiating phatic communion. *Language in society*, 207-230.

Curl, T. S. (2006). Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *38*(8), 1257-1280.

Davidson, J. (1984) 'Subsequent Versions of Invitations, Offers, Requests and Proposals Dealing with Potential or Actual Rejection', pp. 102–28 in J.M.

Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds) Structures of Social Action: Studies in
Conversation Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delamont, S., Atkinson, P., & Parry, O. (2000). The doctoral experience: success and
failure in graduate school (London, & New York, Falmer Press).

Diacopoulos, M. M., & Butler, B. M. (2020). What do we supervise for? A self-study of
learning teacher candidate supervision. *Studying Teacher Education*, 16(1), 66-
83.

Dingemanse, M., Roberts, S. G., Baranova, J., Blythe, J., Drew, P., Floyd, S.,
Gisladottir, R. S., Kendrick, K. H., Levinson, S. C., Manrique, E., Rossi, G., &
Enfield, N. J. (2015). *Universal Principles in the Repair of Communication
Problems.* PLOS ONE, 10(9). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0136100

Douglas, J. A., Douglas, A., McClelland, R. J., & Davies, J. (2015). Understanding
student satisfaction and dissatisfaction: an interpretive study in the UK higher
education context. *Studies in Higher Education*, *40*(2), 329-349.

Duncan, S., Brunner, L. J., and Fiske, D. W. (1979). Strategy signals in face-to-face
interaction. *J. Pers. Soc. Psychol.* 37, 301–313.doi:10.1037/0022-
3514.37.2.301

Drew, P. (1997). 'Open' class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of
troubles in conversation. *Journal of pragmatics*, *28*(1), 69-101.

Drew, P. (1998). Complaints about transgressions and misconduct. *Research on
Language & Social Interaction*, 31(3-4), 295-325.

Drew, P.(2006). When documents 'speak': Documents, language and interaction. *Talk
and interaction in social research methods*, *63*, p.80.

Drew, P. (2009). Quit talking while I'm interrupting: a comparison between positions of
overlap onset in conversation. *Talk in interaction: Comparative dimensions*, 70-
93.

Drew, P. (2013). 7 Turn Design. *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 131.

Drew, P. (2018). Epistemics in social interaction. *Discourse Studies*, *20*(1), 163-187.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (1992). *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings*.
Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P., & Holt, E. (1998). Figures of speech: Figurative expressions and the

management of topic transition in conversation. *Language in Society,* 27(4), 495-522.

Drew, P., & Kendrick, K. H. (2018). Searching for trouble: Recruiting assistance through embodied action. *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality*. ISSN 2446-3620

Drew, P., Walker, T., & Ogden, R. (2013). Self-repair and action construction. *Conversational repair and human understanding*, (30), 71-94.

Dysthe, O. (2002). Professors as mediators of academic text cultures: An interview study with advisors and master's degree students in three disciplines in a Norwegian university. *Written communication*, 19(4), 493-544.

Edwards, D. (2000). Extreme case formulations: Softeners, investment, and doing nonliteral. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33(4), 347-373.

Edwards, D. (2005). Moaning, whinging and laughing: The subjective side of complaints. *Discourse studies*, *7*(1), 5-29.

Egan, R., Stockley, D., Brouwer, B., Tripp, D., & Stechyson, N. (2009). Relationships between area of academic concentration, supervisory style, student needs and best practices. *Studies in Higher Education*, 34(3), 337-345. Doi:10.1080/03075070802597143

Ford, C. E., & Fox, B. A. (2010). Multiple practices for constructing laughables. *Prosody in interaction*, *23*, 339.

Fox, B., & Heinemann, T. (2016). Rethinking format: An examination of requests. *Language in Society*, *45*(4), 499-531.

Fox, B., & Heinemann, T. (2019). Telescoping responses to requests: Unpacking progressivity. *Discourse Studies*, *21*(1), 38-66.

Fox, B. A., & Heinemann, T. (2021). Are they requests? An exploration of declaratives of trouble in service encounters. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *54*(1), 20-38.

Fox, B. A., & Thompson, S. A. (2010). Responses to wh-questions in English conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(2), 133-156.

Franklin, J. (2001). *The science of conjecture: Evidence and probability before Pascal*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gardner, R. J. (1995). *On some uses of the conversational token mm* [Doctoral

dissertation, University of Melbourne].

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-
Hall.

Gaston, A., & Duschinsky, R. (2020). Students' experiences of the Cambridge
supervision system: performance, pedagogy and power. *British Journal of
Sociology of Education,* 41(8), 1218-1234.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* New York, NY: Double
Day.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior.* New York, NY:
Pantheon

Goffman, E. (1978): "Response Cries" Language, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 787-815

Goode, J. (2010). Perhaps I should be more proactive in changing my own
supervisions'? Student agency in 'doing supervision. In *The Routledge Doctoral
Supervisor's Companion* (pp. 56-68). Routledge.

Goodwin, C. (1980). Restarts, pauses, and the achievement of a state of mutual gaze
at turn-beginning. *Sociological Inquiry.* 50, 272–302.doi:10.1111/j.1475-
682X.1980.tb00023.x

Goodwin, C. (1996). Transparent vision. *Interaction and grammar*, 370-404.

Grant, B., & Graham, A. (1999). Naming the game: Reconstructing graduate
supervision. *Teaching in Higher education*, 4(1), 77-89.

Green, B. (2005) Unfinished business: Subjectivity and supervision. *Higher Education
Research & Development* 24: 151–163.

Guerin, C., Kerr, H., & Green, I. (2015). Supervision pedagogies: Narratives from the
field. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 20(1), 107-118.

Haakana, M. (2001). Laughter as a patient's resource: Dealing with delicate aspects of
medical interaction. *Text & Talk*, *21*(1-2), 187-219.

Halse, C. (2011). 'Becoming a supervisor': the impact of doctoral supervision on
supervisors' learning. *Studies in higher education*, 36(5), 557-570.

Hamilton, M. L. (2005). Researcher as teacher: Lessons modeled by a well-
remembered scholar. *Studying Teacher Education*, 1, 85–102.
doi:10.1080/17425960500040122.

Harwood, A. E., Smith, G. E., Cayton, T., Broadbent, E., & Chetter, I. C. (2016). A
systematic review of the uptake and adherence rates to supervised exercise

programs in patients with intermittent claudication. *Annals of vascular surgery*, 34, 280-289.

Harwood, N., & Petrić, B. (2016). *Experiencing Master's Supervision: Perspectives of international students and their supervisors.* Routledge.

Haugh, M. (2016). "Just kidding": Teasing and claims to non-serious intent. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *95*, 120-136.

Haugh, M., & Carbaugh, D. (2015). Self-disclosure in initial interactions amongst speakers of American and Australian English. *Multilingua*, 34(4), 461–493. doi:10.1515/multi-2014-010.

Hayashi, M. (2013). Turn allocation and turn sharing. *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 167-190. T. Stivers (Eds.)*, The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 57–76). Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Hazel, S., & Mortensen, K. (2014). Embodying the institution—Object manipulation in developing interaction in study counselling meetings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 65, 10-29.

Heath, C. (1988). Embarrassment and interactional organization. *Erving Goffman: Exploring the interaction order*, *136*, 160.

Hellstén, M. (2002). Internationalizing the Curriculum. Internationalizing Education in the Asia Pacific Region: Critical Reflections, Critical Times*. 30th Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society.* Armidale, Australia.

Henricson, S., & Nelson, M. (2017). Giving and receiving advice in higher education. Comparing Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish supervision meetings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *109*, 105-120.

Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. *The* handbook of conversation analysis, 57, 76.

Heritage, J. (1984a). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology.* Cambridge: Polity

Heritage, J. (1984b). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 299-345.

Heritage, J. (1998). Oh-prefaced responses to inquiry. *Language in society*, *27*(3), 291-334.

Heritage, J. (2005). Conversation analysis and institutional talk. *Handbook of language and social interaction*, 103, 47.

Heritage, J. (2010). Questioning in medicine. In A. F. Freed & S. Ehrlich (Eds.), *'Why do you ask?': The function of questions in institutional discourse* (pp. 42-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heritage, J., & Lindstrom, A. (1998). Motherhood, medicine, and morality: Scenes from a medical encounter. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, *31*(3-4), 397-438.

Heritage, J., & Maynard, D. W. (Eds.). (2006). *Communication in medical care: Interaction between primary care physicians and patients* (Vol. 20). Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social psychology quarterly*, *68*(1), 15-38.

Heritage, J., & Robinson, J. D. (2006). Accounting for the visit: Giving reasons for seeking medical care. *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*, *20*, 48.

Heritage, J., Robinson, J. D., Elliott, M. N., Beckett, M., & Wilkes, M. (2007). Reducing patients' unmet concerns in primary care: the difference one word can make. Journal of general internal medicine, 22(10), 1429-1433.

Heritage, J., Robinson, J.D., Elliott M.N., Beckett M., & Wilkes M. (2007). Reducing patients' unmet concerns in primary care: the difference one word can make, *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, 22 (10) 1429–1433.

Heritage, J., & Sefi, S. (1992). Dilemmas of advice: Aspects of the delivery and reception of advice in interactions between health visitors and first-time mothers. *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings*, *359*, 417.

Hockey, J. (1995). Getting too close: A problem and possible solution in social science PhD supervision. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, *23*(2), 199-210.

Hodgson, P., So, K. Y., & Hung, P. (2008). The orientation of university freshmen through a blended approach. In *EdMedia+ Innovate Learning* (pp. 2925-2930). Association for the Advancement of Computing in Education (AACE).

Hoey, E. M., & Kendrick, K. H. (2017). Conversation analysis. *Research methods in psycholinguistics: A p*ractical guide, 151-173.

Holt, L. (2012). Using laugh responses to defuse complaints. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(4), 430-448.

Hmaid, Y. A., & Elshawish, M. F. (2022). International Students' Consciousness of Postgraduate Programmes of Learning in the UK. *Journal of Academic Research (Applied Sciences)*, *21*, 1.

Hu, Y., van Veen, K., & Corda, A. (2016). Pushing too little, praising too much? Intercultural misunderstandings between a Chinese doctoral student and a Dutch supervisor. *Studying Teacher Education*, 12(1), 70–87.

Hutchby, I. (1995). Aspects of recipient design in expert advice-giving on call-in radio. *Discourse processes*, *19*(2), 219-238.

Jefferson, G. (1980). On "trouble-premonitory" response to inquiry. *Sociological inquiry*, 50(3-4), 153-185.

Jefferson, G. (1984a) 'On the Organization of Laughter in Talk about Troubles', in J.M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds), *Structures of Social Action*, p. 351 (see also pp. 358–67). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jefferson, G. (1984b). Notes on a systematic deployment of the acknowledgment tokens 'yeah' and 'mm hm.' *Papers in Linguistics*, 17, 197-216.

Jefferson, G. (1988). On the sequential organization of troubles-talk in ordinary conversation. *Social problems*, 35(4), 418-441.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols. *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*, 24-31.

Jefferson, G., & Lee, J. (1980). End-of-grant report on conversations in which "troubles" or "anxieties" are expressed (HR 4805/2). Social Science Research Council.

Jefferson, G., & Lee, J. R. (1981). The rejection of advice: Managing the problematic convergence of a 'troubles-telling' and a 'service encounter'. *Journal of pragmatics*, 5(5), 399-422.

Jordan, B. & Henderson, A. (1995). Interaction analysis: foundations and practice. *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 4(1): 39–103.

Jung, C. G. (1989). Memories, dreams, reflections. *C. Winston & R. Winston*.

Kelly, B. F. (2001). The development of gesture, speech, and action as communicative strategies. In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 371-380).

Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta psychologica*, *26*, 22-63.

Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge University Press.

Kendrick, K. H. (2015). The intersection of turn-taking and repair: the timing of other-initiations of repair in conversation. *Frontiers in psychology*, *6*(250), 10-3389.

Kendrick, K. H., Brown, P., Dingemanse, M., Floyd, S., Gipper, S., Hayano, K., Hoey, E., Hoymann, G., Manrique, E., Rossi, G., & Levinson, S. C. (2020). Sequence organization: A universal infrastructure for social action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 168, 119–138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.06.009

Kendrick, K. H., & Drew, P. (2016). Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 49(1), 1-19.

Kendrick, K. H., & Holler, J. (2017). Gaze direction signals response preference in conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *50*(1), 12-32.

Kendrick, K. H., & Torreira, F. (2015). The timing and construction of preference: A quantitative study. Discourse Processes, 52(4), 255-289.

Kitzinger, C., & Kitzinger, S. (2007). Birth trauma: Talking with women and the value of conversation analysis. *British Journal of Midwifery*, *15*(5), 256-264.

Kitzinger, C. (2011). Working with childbirth helplines: The contributions and limitations of conversation analysis. In *Applied conversation analysis* (pp. 98-118). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Lerner, G. (2004). Collaborative turn sequences. In: Lerner G (ed.) *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation.* Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 225–256.

Lerner, G. H. (2004). Collaborative turn sequences. *Pragmatics and beyond new series*, *125*, 225-256.

Lerner, G. H. (2013). On the place of hesitating in delicate formulations: A turn-constructional infrastructure for collaborative indiscretion. In J. Sidnell, M. Hayashi, & G. Raymond (Eds.*), Conversational repair and human understanding.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3002_1

Lerner, G. H., & Kitzinger, C. (2007). Extraction and aggregation in the repair of individual and collective self-reference. *Discourse Studies*, *9*(4), 526-557.

Levinson, S. C. (2013). Action formation and ascription. In *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 103-130). Wiley-Blackwell.

Levinson, S. C., & Torreira, F. (2015). Timing in turn-taking and its implications for processing models of language. *Language Sciences*, 731. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00731

Li, F. (2019). A PhD is more than the sum of its publications. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *3*(10), 1021-1021.

Li, S., & Seale, C. (2007). Managing criticism in Ph. D. supervision: A qualitative case study. *Studies in Higher Education*, 32(4), 511-526..

Löfström, E., & Pyhältö, K. (2012). The Supervisory Relationship as an Arena for Ethical Problem Solving. *Education Research International*, *2012*, 961505. https://doi.org/10.1155/2012/961505

Loughran, J. (2007). Researching teacher education practices: Responding to the challenges, demands, and expectations of self-study. Journal of Teacher Education, 58, 12–20. doi:10.1177/0022487106296217

Mac Keogh, K. (2006). Supervising undergraduate research using online and peer supervision. In: Proceedings of the 7th international virtual university conference Bratislava (ed M Hubapp), Bratislava, 14–15 December, pp. 19–24. Bratislava: Technical University Bratislava.

Mandelbaum, J. (2013). 24 Storytelling in Conversation. *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 492.

Maor, D., Ensor, J. D., & Fraser, B. J. (2016). Doctoral supervision in virtual spaces: A review of research of web-based tools to develop collaborative supervision. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *35*(1), 172-188.

Markie, P. J. (1990). Professors, students, and friendships. In S. M. Cahn (Ed.), Morality, responsibility, and the university: *Studies in academic ethics* (pp. 134-149). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Maxwell, T. W., & Smyth, R. (2011). Higher degree research supervision: From practice toward theory. Higher Education Research & Development, 30(2), 219-231.

Maynard, D. W. (1996). On "realization" in everyday life: the forecasting of bad news as a social relation. *American sociological review,* 109-131.

Maynard, D. W. (2003). *Bad news, good news: Conversational order in everyday talk and clinical settings.* University of Chicago Press.

Maynard, D. W. (2013). Defensive mechanisms: I-mean-prefaced utterances in complaint and other conversational sequences. *Conversational repair and human understanding*, *30*, 198-233

Maynard, D. W., & Clayman, S. E. (2003). Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. In L. T. Reynolds & N. J. Herman-Kinney (Eds.), *Handbook of symbolic interactionism* (pp. 173-202). Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Meehan, A. J. (1989). Assessing the police-worthiness of Citizen's complaints to the Police: Accountability and the Negotiation of "Facts". *The Interactional Order: New Directions in the Study of Social Order.* D.Helm, W.T.Anderson, A.J.Meehan and A.Rawls. New York, Irvington: 116-140.

Mewburn, I. (2011). Troubling talk: Assembling the PhD candidate. *Studies in Continuing Education*, *33*(3), 321-332.

Millis, K. K., & Just, M. A. (1994). The influence of connectives on sentence comprehension. *Journal of memory and language*, *33*(1), 128-147.

Mondada, L. (2014). Conventions for multimodal transcription. Basel: Romanisches Seminar Der Universität. Retrieved from: https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/edaction/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf

Mondada, L. (2018). Multiple Temporalities of Language and Body in Interaction: Challenges for Transcribing Multimodality. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, Vol. 51 No. 1, pp. 85–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878

Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, 9(2), 194-225.

Moses, I. (1985). Supervising postgraduates. HERDSA Green Guide (reprinted 1991) (Kensington, NSW, Higher Education Research and Development Society of Australasia).

Mortensen, K. (2009). Establishing recipiency in pre-beginning position in the second language classroom. *Discourse Processes,* 46 (5), 491--515.

Mrazović, M., Dubovicki, S., & Jukić, R. (2015). Students' Satisfaction with Communication in University Teaching. *The New Educational Review*, *42*(4), 91-101.

Nguyen, T. B. N. (2016). *Pedagogical practices in PhD supervision meetings from a conversation analytic perspective* [Doctoral Thesis, Monash University].

Nguyen, N. T. B., & Mushin, I. (2022). Understanding equivocal feedback in PhD supervision meetings: a conversation analysis approach. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 1-17.

Nishizaka, A. (2010). Self-initiated problem presentation in prenatal checkups: Its placement and construction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(3), 283-313.

Ogden, R. (2013). Clicks and percussives in English conversation. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, *43*(3), 299-320.

O'Leary, Z. (2001). Conversations from the Kitchen. *Postgraduate Research Supervision: Transforming (R) Elations. Eruptions: New Feminism across the Disciplines, Volume 11*. Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. pp.195-198.

Olmos-López, P., & Sunderland, J. (2017). Doctoral supervisors' and supervisees' responses to co-supervision. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 41(6), 727-740.

Patel, M. X., Doku, V., & Tennakoon, L. (2003). Challenges in recruitment of research participants. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, *9*(3), 229-238.

Park, I. (2014). Stepwise advice negotiation in writing center peer tutoring*. Language and Education,* 28(4), 362-382.

Peräkylä, A. (1995). *AIDS counselling: Institutional interaction and clinical practice. Cambridge,* Cambridge University Press.

Peräkylä, A. (2019). Conversation analysis and psychotherapy: identifying transformative sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*,

52(3), 257-280.

Peräkylä, A., & Vehviläinen, S. (2003). Conversation analysis and the professional
stocks of interactional knowledge. *Discourse & Society*, *14*(6), 727-750.

Phillips, E. M. & Pugh, D. S. (1987). *How to get a PhD: A handbook for students and
their supervisors*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Pika, S., Wilkinson, R., Kendrick, K. H., & Vernes, S. C. (2018). Taking turns: Bridging
the gap between human and animal communication. Proc. R. Soc. B,
285(1880), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2018.0598

Pillet-Shore, D. M. (2008). Coming together: Creating and maintaining social
relationships through the openings of face-to-face interactions. University of
California, Los Angeles.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2012). Greeting: Displaying stance through prosodic recipient
design. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, *45*(4), 375-398.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2016). Criticizing another's child: How teachers evaluate students
during parent-teacher conferences. *Language in Society, 45(1),* 33-
58.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2018a). Arriving: Expanding the personal state sequence. *Research
on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(3), 232-247.

Pillet-Shore, D. (2018b). How to begin. *Research on Language and Social
Interaction*, *51*(3), 213-231.

Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple
constraints. In *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 79-
112). Academic Press.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of
preferred dispreferred turn shapes. In J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage
(eds.), Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis, 57–101.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pomerantz, A. (1986). Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims. *Human
studies*, *9*(2), 219-229.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical
background. *British Psychological Society.*

Putnam, S. M. (1995). *The medical interview: clinical care, education, and research*
(Vol. 22, p. 643). M. Lipkin, A. Lazare, J. G. Carroll, & R. M. Frankel (Eds.).
New York: Springer-Verlag.

Pudlinksi, C. (2002). Accepting and rejecting advice as competent peers: Caller
dilemmas on a warm line. *Discourse Studies*, 4, 481–500.
doi:10.1177/14614456020040040501

Pudlinski, C. (2005). Doing empathy and sympathy: Caring responses to troubles tellings on a peer support line. *Discourse studies*, *7*(3), 267-288.

Priestley, M., Priestley, M. R., Biesta, G., & Robinson, S. (2015). *Teacher agency: An ecological approach*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Richards, K. A. R., & Fletcher, T. (2018). Learning to work together: Conceptualizing doctoral supervision as a critical friendship. Sport, Education and Society.

Richards, K. A. R., & Shiver, V. N. (2020). Managing the Critical Friendship: Using Self-Study in the Doctoral Supervision Process. Studying Teacher Education, 16(2), 240-257.

Roberts, L. D., & Seaman, K. (2018). Good undergraduate dissertation supervision: Perspectives of supervisors and dissertation coordinators. *International Journal for Academic Development*, *23*(1), 28-40.

Robinson, J. D. (2003). An interactional structure of medical activities during acute visits and its implications for patients' participation. *Health Communication,* 15, 27-59.

Robinson, J. D. (2007). The Role of Numbers and Statistics within Conversation Analysis. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 1(1), 65–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/19312450709336663

Robinson J. D. (2006) Soliciting patients' presenting concerns. In: Heritage J and Maynard DW (eds). Communication in Medical Care. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 22–47.

Robinson, J. D. (2013). Of repair: the case of partial questioning repeats. *Conversational repair and human understanding*, *30*, 261.

Robinson, J. D. (2020). Revisiting Preference Organization in Context: A Qualitative and Quantitative Examination of Responses to Information Seeking. Research on Language and Social Interaction, 53(2), 197-222.

Robinson, J. D., & Heritage, J. (2005). The structure of patients' concerns: The completion relevance of current symptoms. Social Science & Medicine, 61, 481–493. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.12.004

Robinson, J. D., Tate, A., & Heritage, J. (2016). Agenda-setting revisited: When and how do primary-care physicians solicit patients' additional concerns?. *Patient Education and Counseling*, 99(5), 718-723.2

Rossano, F., Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (2009). Gaze, questioning and culture. *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives*, *27*, 187-249.

Raymond, G. (2000). *The structure of responding: Type-conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no-type interrogatives*. University of California, Los Angeles.

Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American sociological review*, 939-967.

Rife, S. C., Cate, K. L., Kosinski, M., & Stillwell, D. (2016). Participant recruitment and data collection through Facebook: The role of personality factors. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 19(1), 69-83.

Rossi, G. (2018). Composite social actions: The case of factual declaratives in everyday interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *51*(4), 379-397.

Ryan, J. (2012). Internationalisation of doctoral education: possibilities for new knowledge and understandings. *Australian Universities' Review*, 54(1), 55-63. Retrieved from: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ968523

Sacks, H. (1967). 10. The Search for Help:. *Essays in Self-destruction*, 203.

Sacks, H. (1975). Everyone has to lie. In M. Sanches, B. Blount (Eds.), *Sociocultural dimensions of language use,* (pp. 57-79). New York: Academic Press.

Sacks H. (1984). On doing 'being ordinary'. In: Atkinson JM and Heritage J (eds) Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 413–429.

Sacks, H. (1987). On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. *Talk and Social Organisation*, 54-69.

Sacks, H. (1989). Lecture five: suicide as a device for discovering if anybody cares. *Human Studies*, 261-270.

Sacks, H., & Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology*, 15-21.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation. In *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 7-55). Academic Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Identification and Recognition in Telephone Conversation Openings. *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, New York, Irvington, 23-78.

Schegloff, E. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of 'uh huh' and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing discourse: Text and talk* (pp. 71-93). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Schegloff, E.A. (1984). On some gestures relation to talk, In: J. M. ATKINSON and J. HERITAGE (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 266 – 296.

Schegloff, E. A. (1986). The routine as achievement. *Human Studies*, 9, 111–151. doi:10.1007/BF00148124

Schegloff, E. A. (1988). On an Actual Virtual Servo-Mechanism for Guessing Bad News: A Single Case Conjecture. Social Problems, 35(4), 442–457.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996a). Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. *Studies in interactional sociolinguistics, 13*, 52-133.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996b). "Confirming Allusions: Toward an Empirical Account of Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 102: 161–216. DOI: 10.1086/230911

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Practices and actions: Boundary cases of other-initiated repair. *Discourse processes*, 23(3), 499-545.

Schegloff, E. A. (1998). Body torque. *Social Research*, 535-596.

Schegloff, E. A. (2002). Tutorial on membership categorization. Unpublished manuscript.

Schegloff, E. (2003). The surfacing of the suppressed. In P. Glenn, C. LeBaron & J. Mandelbaum, eds*., Studies in Language and Social Interaction: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert Hopper*, pp. 241–262. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Schegloff, E. A. (2006). Interaction: The infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is situated. In N. J. Enfield & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of Human Sociality: Culture, Cognition and Interaction* (pp. 70–96). Berg.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in Interaction: A primer in conversation analysis* (Vol. 1). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (2009). "One Perspective on Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives." In *Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives,* ed. by Jack Sidnell, 357–406. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511635670.013

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica,* 8(4), 289-327.

Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language, 53*(2), 361-382.

Searle, J.R. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selting, M. (1998). *Fragments of TCUs as deviant cases of TCU production in conversational talk.*

Shaw, R., & Kitzinger, C. (2007). V. Problem presentation and advice-giving on a Home Birth Helpline: A feminist conversation analytic study. *Feminism & Psychology,* 17(2), 203-213.

Shah, M. & Richardson, J. T. E. (2016). Is the enhancement of student experience a strategic priority in Australian universities? *Higher Education Research and Development,* 35(2), 352–364.

Shulman, L.S. (1991). Pedagogical ways of knowing. Keynote address delivered at the International Council on Education for Teaching (ICET) 1990 *World Assembly, Singapore*. Singapore: Institute of Education.

Sidnell, J. (2012). Basic conversation analytic methods. In Sidnell, J., & Stivers, T. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis.* (pp. 77–99). Wiley Blackwell.

Silverman, D. (1997). *Discourses of counselling: HIV counselling as social interaction.* Sage.

Sinclair, M. (2004). *The pedagogy of 'good' PhD supervision: A national cross-disciplinary investigation of PhD supervision.* Canberra: Department of Education, Science and Training.

Skovholt, K., Nordenström, E., & Stokoe, E. (2019). Evaluative conduct in teacher–student supervision: When students assess their own performance. *Linguistics and Education*, *50*, 46-55.

Smith, A. E., & Hatmaker, D. M. (2014). Knowing, doing, and becoming: Professional identity construction among public affairs doctoral students. *Journal of Public Affairs Education,* 20(4), 545–564.

Steensig, J. & Asmuß, B. (2005). "Notes on disaligning 'yes but' initiated utterances in Danish and German conversations: two construction types for dispreferred responses", In *Syntax and Lexis in Conversation: Studies on the Use of Linguistic Resources in Talk-in-Interaction* (Auli Hakulinen, Margret Selting, eds.), Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 349–373

Stivers, A. (2004). "No no no" and other types of multiple sayings in social interaction. *Human Communication Research*, *30*(2), 260-293.

Stivers, T. (2005). Parent resistance to physicians' treatment recommendations: one resource for initiating a negotiation of the treatment decision. *Health communication*, *18*(1), 41-74.

Stivers, T. (2015). Coding social interaction: A heretical approach in conversation analysis? *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 48, 1–19.

Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., Hoymann, G., et al. (2009). Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 106, 10587.

Stivers, T., & Hayashi, M. (2010). Transformative answers: One way to resist a question's constraints. *Language in Society*, 1-25.

Stivers, T., & Heritage, J. (2001). Breaking the sequential mould: Answering "more than the question" during comprehensive history taking. *Text,* 21, 151–185.

doi:10.1515/text.1.21.1-2.151

Stokoe, E. (2010). "Have you been married, or…?": Eliciting and accounting for relationship histories in speed-dating interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *43*(3), 260-282.

Stokoe, E., Humă, B., Sikveland, R. O., & Kevoe-Feldman, H. (2020). When delayed responses are productive: Being persuaded following resistance in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *155*, 70-82.

Speer, S. A. (2012). The Interactional Organization of Self-Praise Epistemics, Preference Organization, and Implications for Identity Research. *Social Psychology Quarterly,* 75(1), 52–79. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272511432939

Svinhufvud, K. (2016). Nodding and note-taking: Multimodal analysis of writing and nodding in student counseling interaction. *Language and Dialogue*, 6(1), 81-109.

Svinhufvud, K., & Vehviläinen, S. (2013). Papers, documents, and the opening of an academic supervision encounter. *Text & Talk,* 33(1), 139-166.

Svinhufvud, K., Voutilainen, L., & Weiste, E. (2017). Normalizing in student counseling: Counselors' responses to students' problem descriptions. *Discourse Studies,* 19(2), 196-215.

Ta, B. T., & Filipi, A. (2020). Storytelling as a resource for pursuing understanding and agreement in doctoral research supervision meetings. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 165, 4-17.

Ta, T. B. (2021). A conversation analytical study of story-openings in advice-giving episodes in doctoral research supervision meetings. *Discourse Studies*, *23*(2), 213-230.

Ta, B. T. (2022). Giving advice through telling hypothetical stories in doctoral supervision meetings. In *Storytelling Practices in Home and Educational Contexts* (pp. 311-334). Springer, Singapore.

Tan, O. S. (2021). *Problem-based learning innovation: Using problems to power learning in the 21st century*. Gale Cengage Learning.

Ten Have, P. (2007). *Doing conversation analysis*. Sage.

Ten Have, P. (1989). *The consultation as a genre. Text and talk as social practice*, 115-135.

Thomas, L. (2012). *What Works? Student Retention and Success*. London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Thompson, S. A., Fox, B. A., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2015). *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions* (No. 31). Cambridge University Press.

Todd, M. J., Smith, K., & Bannister, P. (2006). Supervising a social science undergraduate dissertation: staff experiences and perceptions. *Teaching in higher education,* 11(2), 161-173.

Turk, M. J. (2004). Using and in conversational interaction*. Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 37(2), 219-250.

Umpqua Community College. (2009). *UCC Handbook*. [online] Available at: https://www.umpqua.edu/images/resources-services/academic/sss-top/downloads/ucc-handbook-2009-10.pdf [Accessed 7 June 2022].

UCL. (n.d.). Research supervision. Research supervision. Available at: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/teaching-learning/professional-development/research-supervision [access on 14th June 2022].

University of Manchester. (2022). Supervision Policy for Postgraduate Research Degrees. Available at: https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=615 [access on 14th June 2022]

University of Sheffield. (n.d.). Personal and pastoral support for PGR students. Available at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/research-services/code/supervision/support [accessed on 20th July 2022]

University of York. (2017). Principles of supervision. Graduate research school. Available at: https://www.york.ac.uk/media/research/grs/documents/Principles%20of%20Supervision.pdf. [access on 14th June 2022].

University of York. (n.d.). Supervisor guide to getting the most out of undergraduate and masters supervision. Available at: https://www.york.ac.uk/media/staffhome/learningandteaching/supervisorstoolkit/24675_supervisor%20poster%20v4%20FINAL.pdf [access on 14th June 2022]

University of Newcastle. (n.d.). Postgraduate Research Supervisor resources. Available at: https://www.ncl.ac.uk/doctoral-college/current-research-students/pgr-supervisor-resources [access on: 14th June 2022]

Vehvilainen, S. (2001). Evaluative advice in educational counseling: The use of disagreement in the" stepwise entry" to advice. *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 34(3), 371-398.

Vehviläinen, S. (2009a). Problems in the research problem: Critical feedback and resistance in academic supervision. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 53(2), 185-201.

Vehviläinen, S. (2009b). Student-initiated advice in academic supervision. *Research on language and social interaction,* 42(2), 163-190.

Vehviläinen, S. (2012). Question-prefaced advice in feedback sequences of Finnish academic supervisions. *Advice in discourse*, 221, 31.

van Tienoven, T. P., Glorieux, A., Minnen, J., Te Braak, P., & Spruyt, B. (2022). Graduate students locked down? PhD students' satisfaction with supervision during the first and second COVID-19 lockdown in Belgium. *Plos one*, *17*(5), e0268923.

van der Laaken, M., & Bannink, A. (2020). Openings in follow-up cancer consultations: The 'How are you?' question revisited. *Discourse Studies*, 22(2), 205-220.

Wang, L. (2011). Foreign English teachers in the Chinese classroom: Focus on teacher-student interaction. *Journal of Asia TEFL,* 8(2).

Wang, L., & Byram, M. (2019). International doctoral students' experience of supervision: A case study in a Chinese university. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 49(3), 255-274. DOI: 10.1080/0305764X.2018.1518405.

Waring, H. Z. (2014). Mentor invitations for reflection in post-observation conferences: Some preliminary considerations. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 5(1),99–123.

Weaks, D. (2002). Unlocking the secrets of 'good supervision': A phenomenological exploration of experienced counsellors' perceptions of good supervision. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 2(1), 33-39.

Weidman, J.C., Twale, D.J., & Stein, E.L. (2001). Socialization of graduate and professional students in higher education: A perilous passage? ASHE-ERIC *Higher Education Report,* 28(3), 5-110.

West, M. (2021). 'I'm Not Going to Tell You Cos You Need to Think About This': a Conversation Analysis Study of Managing Advice Resistance and Supporting Autonomy in Undergraduate Supervision. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 3(1), 198-222.

Whalen, M., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1990). Describing trouble: Practical epistemology in citizen calls to the police. Language in Society, 19, 465–492.

Wilkinson, Sue & Celia. Kitzinger. 2006. Surprise as an interactional achievement: Reaction tokens in conversation. Social Psychology Quarterly 69(2). 150-182.

Williams, J. (2005). "Writing Center Interaction: Institutional Discourse and the Role of Peer Tutors." In *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Exploring Institutional Talk*, edited by K. Bardovi-Harlig and B.S. Hartford, 37–65. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wisker, G. (1998). Supervising Overseas Postgraduate Students. *SEDA PAPER*, 95-114.

Wisker, G. (2012). *The good supervisor: Supervising postgraduate and undergraduate research for doctoral theses and dissertations*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Wooffitt, R. (1992). *Telling Tales of the Unexpected: The Organization of Factual*

Discourse. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wright, M. (2011). On clicks in English talk-in-interaction. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, *41*(2), 207-229.

Wu, D. Y. (1996). Chinese childhood socialization. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese Psychology* (pp. 143-154). New York: Oxford University Press.

Wu, R. J. R. (2011a). A conversation analysis of self-praising in everyday Mandarin interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(13), 3152-3176.

Wu, R. J. R. (2011b). A conversation analysis of self-praising in everyday Mandarin interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(13), 3152-3176.

Wu, R. J. R. (2016). Doing conversation analysis in Mandarin Chinese: Basic methods. *Chinese Language and Discourse*, *7*(2), 179-209.

Xiang, B. (2022). *对话的精神* (The spirit of dialogue). Available at: https://www.bilibili.com/video/BV1eC4y1t7FA?spm_id_from=333.337.search-card.all.click [19th September 2022]

Zama, A., & Robinson, J. D. (2016). A relevance rule organizing responsive behavior during one type of institutional extended telling. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *49*(3), 220-237.

Zhang, Q. (2007). Family Communication Patterns and Conflict Styles in Chinese Parent-Child Relationships, *Communication Quarterly*, 55:1, 113-128, DOI:10.1080/01463370600998681

Zhang, Y. O., & Hyland, K. (2021). Advice-giving, power and roles in theses supervisions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *172*, 35-45.

Zia, M. Q., Bashir, M. A., Mangi, R. A., & Shamsi, A. F. (2021). A person-situation perspective of informal learning: the role of supervisor feedback environment. *European Journal of Training and Developm*ent, 46(1/2), 120-138. https://doi.org/10.1108/EJTD-09-2020-0142

Zimmerman, D. H. (1999). Horizontal and vertical comparative research in language and social interaction. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, *32*(1-2), 195-203.

Zimpher, N. L., deVoss, G. G., & Nott, D. L. (1980). A closer look at university student teacher supervision. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 31(4), 11-15.

Žižek, S. (2014). *Event: Philosophy in transit.* Penguin UK.