Chapter Nine: Observations and conclusion

9.0 Introduction

There has been much research on learner interaction and negotiation but very little that focuses directly on the linguistic features of child negotiation. The functions and forms of all turns in native and nonnative speaker negotiation have to date received limited attention, the role of repetition in negotiated interaction has only been examined from a few aspects and the importance of pauses within the negotiation process has not been considered in a consistent manner.

The present study has, however, addressed these issues and the findings show that these are exciting areas of research in the fields of the second language acquisition and sociolinguistics and also crucially important in the applied areas of teaching and language curriculum development. This research’s direct comparisons to the patterns of L1 negotiated interactions in the NS/NNS speakers’ first languages allowed for cross-linguistic as well as intra-linguistic insights into features of negotiation which have otherwise not been fully explored. Contrasting the L1 negotiated interactions with English L1/L2 negotiation permitted a deeper understanding of norms and patterns and revealed that they can vary quite considerably.

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on some of the key findings in relation to the research issues that are listed in Chapter One, section 1.2. The present chapter firstly reflects on negotiation as a choice (in 9.1) and emphasises the potential of negotiation as a site for learning in 9.2. The role of repetition is reviewed in 9.3 and pragmatic aspects of pauses in negotiation sequences are further examined in section 9.4. Section 9.5 looks at negotiation as a site of collaboration, firstly from the learner and then from the teacher’s perspective (in sub-sections 9.5.1 and 9.5.2 respectively). The potential of negotiation as a shared accomplishment is discussed in section 9.6 and limitations and directions of future research are considered in the final section.

9.1 Negotiation as a choice

The first aim of this research was to consolidate and expand existing findings by investigating NS/NNS negotiated interaction, as well as the respective speakers NS negotiation patterns. Some of the earlier literature such as Krashen (1985) was cautious about whether or not children could negotiate and up to date only a small body of research (Hirvonen, 1985; Oliver, 1995a, b and 2002) documents the fact that negotiation
does take place in child interaction. The initial focus of the present study was hence on the amount of talk that negotiation takes up in L1 and L2 interactions in order to allow for an overview of the salience and complexity of negotiation sequences before entering a detailed analysis of features of negotiation in child interaction in Chapters Five to Eight.

The findings in Chapter Four revealed that negotiation of understanding is not an isolated phenomenon but a common practice among all speakers. Although individual variations in the amount of negotiation were exhibited by the participants in their first and second language, the data analysis clearly indicates that negotiation takes place in all children’s inter- and intra-language interactions. Each participant in the present study chose to negotiate at least once with most negotiation occurring in EL1/EL2 (beginner) dyads. The inclusion of English and Japanese L1 data gives ample insights into native speaker patterns and establishes what the participants consider as norms in their respective languages.

Considering that different languages are involved, it is remarkable that in negotiation sequences of native speakers of English and Japanese, the average length of a simple and complex negotiation sequence in EL1 and JL1 is the same (4.7 and 11.1 AS-units respectively). In addition, the present study demonstrates that English and Japanese native speakers use about the same number of negotiated turns (measured in AS-units) illustrating that in L1 communication, negotiation is used in both languages to a similar extent. Furthermore, simple sequences occurred more frequently than complex sequences in both sets of native speaker data, and all participants in L1 dyads were able to finish their task sheets within the allocated time. This allows the proposition that the participants in EL1/EL2 interaction start out with similar expectations about the occurrence and length of a negotiation sequence.

However, in EL1/EL2 negotiation these expectations are often not met, especially with EL2 beginners. The speakers in these dyads are required to be more flexible as the negotiated interaction takes up a larger slice of the discourse and also tends to consist of complex rather than of simple sequences. Once the learner’s English proficiency improves less negotiation takes place and this tendency is confirmed by other studies in the field (such as in Deen, 1997; Oliver, 1995a, b and Oliver 2002).
Moreover, the data show that EL1/EL2 dyads are not always able to finish their task sheets, implying that in these dyads the speakers take longer to get their message across. The findings generally reveal that learners with limited English experience difficulties at both the linguistic and pragmatic level. Despite these difficulties, it is remarkable that the participants' interactions were task-based at all times. There were, however, a number of instances where the native as well as the nonnative speakers chose not to negotiate which eventually led to wrong answers on their task sheets.

At times it was unnecessary to negotiate, and the findings demonstrate that in many instances, the interlocutors were able to express their thoughts clearly and their partners understood at once what was meant. Discourse features such as explicitness and accessibility greatly helped to make the meaning transparent, a finding also supported by Bremer and Simonot (1996: 180) and Ondarra (1997: 206).

The results further show that some of the children started negotiation sequences by requesting their partner to be more explicit by using directive utterances such as 'You have to ask me...', 'Speak louder' or declaratives like *imi ga wakarimasen* ('I don’t know what you mean'). In native English speaker responses in EL1/EL2 dyads, some participants went to great lengths to make their proposition accessible, especially to Japanese peers with a limited grasp of English. Data excerpts in Chapters Five, Six and Seven illustrate that the speakers often choose repetition as a means to negotiate understanding and that specific requests including a partial repetition, such as 'What does *<x>* mean?', lead to a more immediate resolution of problems than general statements of non-understanding like 'Eh?'.
to overcome problems. This led to mutual understanding at the end of a negotiation sequence and this outcome can be seen as a shared accomplishment.

The findings further demonstrate that although negotiation is generally focussed on in the SLA literature, it is a regular feature in native speaker child interactions as well. Moreover, the consistent use of negotiation as a clarification tool for solving trouble sources implies that in dyadic task-based child interaction between native speakers and language learners (especially at beginner level), this tool is often the norm rather than a personal choice. The relevance of negotiation to language learning is demonstrated in a number of excerpts and its role as a means promoting understanding is incontestable.

9.2 Negotiation as a site for learning

Trying to understand and to be understood can represent a challenge to children and through negotiation of input and output, comprehension is achieved. Initially the present study drew on the 'Interaction Hypothesis' (Long 1996: 414) as a theoretical backbone for the data analysis which claims that input and negotiation facilitate second language learning especially in regard to vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The present research supports this proposition since the findings revealed that native speaker input in the target language allowed the learner to improve their output. Long-term retention could not be documented owing to the cross-sectional nature of the data.

Swain’s ‘Output Hypothesis’ (1993: 159) rightly underlines the role of the learner in negotiation. Many of the excerpts given in the previous chapters prove correct the premise that the learner’s output generates responses leading to conscious reflection on structures and meaning. Furthermore, analysing input and output in the framework of a negotiation sequence allows further insights into the role of collaboration within the dialogue. Features of the collaborative dialogue were focussed on as early as 1978 in Hatch’s seminal work on the importance of repair and clarification in the language learning process. Rather than learning structures and then putting them into use, she suggests that in clarification sequences new syntactic structures are developed (p. 404). Her proposition that the nonnative speaker greatly benefits from participating in negotiated interaction is further confirmed by the present study.
A closer examination of negotiation sequences revealed the need to differentiate the turn that initiates the negotiation from that which indicates the non- or partial understanding, and from the turns that resolve the trouble source. Labels such as ‘trigger’, ‘indicator’, ‘response’ and ‘reaction to response’ (proposed by Gass & Varonis 1985: 150) allowed such a distinction and these terms were found to be helpful for the present study. Sometimes the children needed a fifth turn to finalise a negotiation sequence and in this case the researcher named this additional turn ‘resolution’. Pica’s et al’s (1991) framework was also useful as it further distinguishes between speaker type (native or nonnative), as well as some of the functions and forms of the negotiation turns.

A comprehensive analysis of how negotiation is structured linguistically took place in Chapter Five and Six. A focus on functions and forms of all turns within the negotiation process allowed for valuable insights into how understanding is achieved in both first and second language interactions. An initial analysis revealed that the categories established by Long (1983a) and used by a number of negotiation studies allowed only a partial representation of functions within the negotiation sequence. Hence functional categories from Long (1983a, 1996) as well as Pica (1991) were expanded and integrated into a wider framework comprising clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, commands, clarifying responses, Yes/No answers and declaratives providing clarification in indicators and in responses. Negotiation sequences were often finalised with an additional 4th and sometimes 5th turn, including for example a repetition of the proposition that caused the negotiation and/or turn-taking language. In addition, formal aspects of the largest functional categories such as clarification requests and clarifying answers were further analysed permitting a deeper understanding of the clarification process.

A unique aspect of the present study which is not elsewhere investigated is that EL1/EL2 negotiation is grounded firmly in the respective speaker’s native language interaction which allows for an understanding of the speakers’ expectations and constraints as well as their L1 norms. Previous studies in the field often examined only recasts (input) by the native speaker or output by the learner and another important innovation is hence that all turns by both speakers are given equal attention. Analyses revealed that initiation by the native speaker prevailed since two thirds of the negotiation sequences were indicated by
native speakers and only one third by the learner. The higher number of indicators by the EL1 speakers allowed the learner to focus on what was partially or not understood and this often led to improved output in the EL2 responses.

Sometimes the learners inquired about meaning and their indicators resulted in further input in the EL1 responses, as for example in excerpt 5.16 from Chapter Five repeated here:

(9.1) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate), D21: 5-11]

1. J (EL1): Does the shape have two axes in symmetry?  
2. N (EL2): (laughter) What was 'symmetry'?  
3. J: → Okay {ah} do all sides look equal?  
4. N: Is it equ- (. .)  
5. J: Equal means like the same length.  

As opposed to L1-only negotiation, EL1 (or EL2) responses often triggered further negotiation (as illustrated in line three above). Complex sequences such as 8.1 were common, especially with learners at the beginner level, and these sequences offered additional input and output opportunities. Negotiation is a prime site for language learning, a view supported by Swain and Lapkin (1998) noting that 'the co-construction of linguistic knowledge in dialogues is language learning in progress' (p. 321). Research by Shehadeh (2001: 433) shows that negotiated sequences provide the NNS with abundant opportunities to produce modified output and that negotiation is beneficial for all learners irrespective of their language proficiency level.

In this study, negotiation of understanding was mainly initiated with clarification requests. In contrast to Long's original framework (1983a: 137) which includes all question forms, declaratives and imperatives in the 'clarification request' category, the present study investigated the essential features of clarification requests according to their forms: question words only, Yes/No and Wh-Questions or declaratives. Imperatives were listed separately. Again, it was remarkable that although English and Japanese are non-related languages, the formal features of clarification requests were similar in the respective L1 interactions. However, in EL1/EL2 negotiation, the EL1 clarification requests contained fewer question words or Wh-Questions, and more Yes/No questions and declaratives than in EL1 interaction.
This can be interpreted in the following way. The native English speakers sense that open-ended Wh-Questions are difficult to answer and they seem to adjust by asking more Yes/No questions or by giving additional information in the form of statements. A number of instances in this study show that although the NS speakers are quite young, many already have the skill of calibrating their language to the level of the NNS speaker without using ‘foreigner talk’, a term coined by Ferguson (1975) for ungrammatical input adjustments. This applies not only to ‘clarification requests’ in the indicator but also to their answers in ‘clarifying responses’. Interestingly, Oliver’s (2002) research with children also states that despite their egocentricity children appear to have the ability to perceive the learner’s proficiency and that they are able to modify their interaction accordingly (p. 107). Her findings are substantiated in the present study which shows that the native speaker can help to create rich language learning opportunities for their NNS interlocutors by making their propositions more explicit and accessible.

Furthermore, just as there were formal EL1 differences in clarification requests in their L1 and when speaking with a learner, there were also formal variations between Japanese native interaction and the Japanese children expressing themselves in English (as an EL2). For example, the EL2 use of sub-lexical particles with a rising intonation such as ‘Eh?’ or ‘Huh?’ prevailed over Wh-Questions or Wh-Question words. Tag questions were not used by any of the speakers.

Overall, it was found that EL2 question formation was often impeded by the learners’ limited knowledge of the target language and that ‘do’ inversion, Wh-words and questions, and a final rising intonation, were regularly omitted. Valuable research on input, question formation and second language development by Mackey (1999: 575-577) shows that learners who actively participate in negotiation work are able to produce developmentally more advanced question structures in post-tests than learners who only observe. The present study was not set up for post-tests, but the findings show that within the ongoing interaction, the EL2 were able to model their questions as well as their responses on target-like structures and that some of them immediately took up EL1 syntax and morphology.
Rather than including imperatives (directives) in clarification requests, the present study preferred to list them in a separate category allowing for a comparison across data sets. Interestingly, the Japanese rarely employed commands in their native language and not at all in English as their second language whereas the EL1 participants used them repeatedly in L1 interaction as well as with learners. This reflects that negotiation styles are subject to variation not only in regard to the proficiency level of the learner but also because of the norms in the respective speakers' native language.

Confirmation checks were the second most important category indicating partial or non-understanding and they were used to the same extent in Japanese and English L1 negotiation. There were fewer checks in EL1/EL2 interaction, and the data showed that it is not always clear if the learners actually understand what they repeat. However, as can be seen in the check in Chapter Eight (8.1), line four, their attempt to reproduce new vocabulary led to additional input and language learning opportunities.

Comprehension checks were rarely used and the findings show that understanding was often achieved by other means, such as paraphrasing or further requests. Additional categories were necessary to account for all functions within the negotiation sequence and considering that the dominant speech act in indicators is seeking clarification in the form of clarification requests, it is unsurprising that the reply of the other speaker provides clarification. Long's (1983a) taxonomy provides no category for the answers to requests or checks unless they are repetitions. Hence the present study introduced the term 'clarifying responses' for all answers falling into this category. In order to further illuminate the forms of these responses, all data were checked accordingly and dominant forms as well as additional functions of responses and the final turns of a negotiation sequence were listed and discussed in Chapter Six.

Other findings include the use of EL1 mumbling in their L1 which appears to be a pattern in the speech of learners and is well documented in Snyder Ohta (2001). The language learner also tended to overcome silent periods with laughter or discourse particles such as etto meaning 'well'. This research found that an essential linguistic feature leading to understanding was repetition and that there was a necessity to further clarify its characteristics.
9.3 The role of repetition in negotiation sequences

Analyses of functions and forms of negotiation in Chapters Five and Six revealed that repetition plays a significant role. Although repetition was dealt with partially as a separate speech act in interactionist research (for example, Oliver, 1995a,b; Oliver 2002, Williams et al, 1997) it was at the same time included in functional categories such as clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks. Therefore the exact role and frequency of repetition within negotiation sequences remained obscure and there was a need to tease out the real contribution of repetition in negotiation.

The present study investigated not only functions of repetition but also its forms (partial, exact, elaborated and paraphrase) and its speakers (Same- and Other-speaker repetition). The research findings gave valuable insights into linguistic features of repetition and its close relationship to negotiated interaction. Moreover, a focus on L1 and L2 differences allowed identifying the adjustments both speakers had to make in order to reach understanding.

Again, it was interesting to note that although English and Japanese are unrelated languages, repetition in negotiated interaction occurred in similar proportions in the respective speakers' first languages and that the most usual form in both languages was partial. Moreover, 'Other-speaker' repeats prevailed in the negotiated interaction in both L1s. This was not the case in EL1/EL2 dyads where only the EL2 frequently repeated the other speaker's utterance, with the EL1 repeating more often their own speech. This shows that when speaking with a learner, different repetition patterns are to be expected.

Another important finding is that the EL1 used self-repeats about twice as often as Other-speaker repetition (or recasts) and that self-repetition often took place in elaborated form or paraphrases. Some of the EL1 participants made repetition a fine art, by skilfully using synonyms or sometimes antonyms. In the case of EL2, the opposite occurs, since more than two-third of their repetitions consisted of Other-speaker repetitions mainly in the form of partial or exact reformulations. Beginners especially relied on repetition as a tool to reach understanding and in many cases repetition presented the learners with an opportunity to develop their linguistic skills.
Input and output theories are certainly relevant to the L2 learning process, and the results of this study also show that recasts by the native speaker (input) facilitated language development and lead to further output by the learner. Recasting, for example with a focus on form has been researched in second language learning studies (such as Doughty & Williams, 1998) as well as in first language acquisition (Bohannon, 1993). Evidence of how parents systematically address in recasts the syntax or pronunciation errors of their children is also provided in a study by Bohannon and Stanowicz (1988).

However, the present study demonstrates that in negotiation sequences recasts (EL1 Other-speaker repetition) and pushed output (EL2 Same-speaker repetition) were not the most common type of repetition. Rather, EL1 Same-speaker repetitions and EL2 Other-speaker repetitions occurred more frequently and the excerpts in Chapter Seven show that these types of repetition contributed just as much to the development of the learner’s language skills. Hence it is of importance to acknowledge the significance of all forms of repetition, not only of EL1 Other-speaker and EL2 Same-speaker repetition but of EL1 Same-speaker and EL2 Other-speaker repetition as well. This implies that in interaction research equal attention should be paid to all four possible types of repetition.

The beneficial impact of repetition on language development is recognised in research by Gass and Torres (2005), Long (1996), Pica (1994), Roebuck and Wagner (2004) and Shehadeh (2001). Their findings are supported by the present study since the EL1/EL2 results clearly show that Same- and Other-speaker repetitions help learners to expand their English repertoire and that learning opportunities frequently occurred with students trying to replicate words and grammatical structures in the target language. Recasts were picked up and used by learners on at least a short-term basis. L1 Same-speaker repetition in the forms of elaboration, paraphrases (or antonyms) also proved to be valuable and overall, the speech act of repetition can be singled out as probably the most important tool not only for improving the learner’s linguistic skills but also for ensuring understanding in negotiated interaction.

Mitchell and Myles (2004) concluded their evaluation of the achievements of interactionist research by stating ‘it has been shown that non-native speaker participants in negotiation can attend to, take up and use language items made available to them by their native speaker interlocutors and that learners receiving feedback can be
significantly advantaged in follow-up tests' (p. 191). The present study was not designed for follow-up tests and can therefore not comment on the later part of the statement, however, the results of the data analysis show that the EL2 participants attend to, take up and use language items made available to them by the EL1. The findings hence support the theoretical claim that negotiation of understanding facilitates learning and contributes to the learners’ language development.

Since this study is not only interested in linguistic features and speech acts, but all characteristics of negotiation, pragmatic aspects are also analysed. The most salient non-linguistic feature was silence and a closer examination showed that negotiation was often triggered by silent or voiced pauses. This present study hence considered it to be important to further investigate this phenomenon which had received little attention in negotiation studies to date.

9.4 Use of pauses in negotiation sequences
A preliminary analysis of the research data found that pauses play a crucial role as a discourse management strategy and a closer examination showed the relevance of pauses especially in the initial turns of negotiated interaction. Although silence has been examined in cognitive research and studies on planning time, recent research suggests that the role of pauses in negotiation sequences is a neglected area (Nakahama, Tyler & Lier, 2001). Contrasting pauses in the English baseline data and the source language of the learner (Japanese) as well as EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction proved to be highly productive since a number of inter- and intra-language similarities and divergences were revealed.

Firstly, the findings showed that in JL1/JL1, the Japanese participants tended to use voiced pauses far more often than EL1 speakers and that these habitually occur at the beginning as well as throughout their turn construction units (TCUs). Moreover, besides the popular etto ‘well, let me see’, discourse particles such as ee ‘er’ and a: or jaa ‘well (then)’ were regularly employed. Ano ‘well, say’ was employed to a lesser extent. This could be traced back to the relatively young age of the participants and to the context since recent research by Cohen (2004) stipulates that ano is preferred by adults in more formal situations.
It was also noticeable that Japanese voiced pauses followed each other such as: *etto (pause) mm* or *ee(0.5) ano*. Overall, the amount of voiced pauses by the Japanese participants (as JL1 or EL2) was almost five times higher than those of their EL1 counterparts. Since they are often at loss how to voice pauses in English, the Japanese participants have a tendency to use their L1 for voiced pauses. These findings illustrate a phenomenon which has been little researched although its impact can be felt whenever Japanese speakers communicate in a second language.

The young native English speakers participating in this study employed considerably fewer voiced pauses in their L1 negotiation sequences and the data shows that they relied on a more limited repertoire since only ‘um’, ‘a:’ and ‘er’ were used. Moreover, these particles usually occurred at the beginning of a TCU and never occurred in sequence in the EL1 data.

Interestingly, in EL1/EL2 dyads, each speaker used about the same amount of voiced pauses as in their respective L1 negotiated interaction (shown in Table 8.6). This means that the frequency of voiced pauses in the data is similar irrespective of whether speakers express themselves in their native language or talk with or as a learner. Their L1 behaviour therefore appears to be directly transferred.

Although the number of voiced pauses by Japanese participants was about the same in JL1/JL1 and when speaking as an EL2 (in EL1/EL2 dyads), they seemed to adjust the discourse particles. For example, while the Japanese EL2 often used *etto* in their L1, they refrained from the L1 use of other particles such as *jaa* or *ano*. It was also noticed that in EL1/EL2 negotiation, the EL2 employed *ee* and *u:n* more often than in JL1/JL1 dyads and this might be due to their desire to make their voiced pauses sound closer to the English ‘er’ and ‘um’.

This type of adjustment in voiced pauses has to the best of my knowledge not been described previously and it implies that although the Japanese EL2 did not control the number of voiced pauses they used, they did make changes in regard to the particles. Japanese students of a relatively similar age in an earlier study by Ibaraki (1996) showed awareness of their own regular use of voiced pauses and were keen to know how native English speakers voice their pauses or overcome silent periods.
Another noticeable feature was pause length. Although this study was not set up to measure the exact length of all silent pauses, an analysis showed that some of the silent pauses in EL1/EL2 (especially with beginners) were much longer than in L1 only dyads. In addition, they occurred three to four times more often than in their respective native tongue, implying that both speakers have to make major adjustments. This allows for valuable insights into pausal behaviour, since with regard to voiced pauses the EL1/EL2 speakers conform to the norms established in their L1 interactions, however, with regard to silent pauses the findings demonstrate that there are variations in pause length and number of occurrences (as discussed in Chapter Eight).

Listenership becomes a fine art and the EL1’s patience in regard to pause length can be severely tested with EL2 speakers. In many cases, the EL1 was prepared to wait until the EL2 started their TCU, although sometimes after a voiced pause or false start by the EL2, the EL1 took over. Perhaps the age of the participants meant that the EL1 were able to tolerate rather long pauses since, in turns with adult speakers, the child is often taught to patiently wait for their turn.

The findings reveal that pause ‘ownership’ is a contentious issue and knowing when to wait and when to take a turn often depends on the individual speakers and the context. Within the same negotiation sequence, some EL1s initially tolerated silent pauses of ten seconds or longer and this gave the EL2 an opportunity to form a proposition, but in the next turn there were examples of the EL1 overlapping after a short pause. In L1/L1, there are instances of overlaps by either speaker, usually in the form of an expansion of the TCU. In EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, overlaps were generated by the EL1 in order to complete the EL2 TCU. There were no EL2 overlaps in the data, indicating that the learner appears to take a more passive role in regard to pause management.

Ideally, the EL1 tolerates more frequent and longer pauses in the interaction with an EL2 interlocutor, who often has difficulties understanding and articulating their propositions in English. Gass and Torres (2005) as well as Bremer and Simonot (1996: 163) also underline the need to allow for longer pauses in NNS communication since learners need both time and opportunity for self-initiated or self-completed repair of their proposition. This view is supported in part by the findings of the present study which show that
permitting for longer pauses does sometimes help to elicit a phrase or sentence from the learner. However, some of the NNS participants, especially after voiced pauses functioning as a hesitation, expect the NS to come to their rescue and NS interventions are needed to keep the dialogue flowing. The decision when to speak and when not to speak remains often with the native speaker.

Last but not least, it was noted that the Japanese particles such as *etto* or *ano* were translated in the dictionary (Sanseido) with the English expressions ‘Well’ or ‘Let me see’. However, these expressions were never used by any of the participants, including the native speaker of English. All EL1 voiced pauses also consisted of particles such as ‘um’ and ‘er’. The use of particles in English rather than of expressions such as ‘Well’ or ‘Let me see’ could be traced back to the relatively young age of the participants and the informal setting. Overall, the use of pauses as a discourse management strategy has proven to be a fertile area of research deserving further attention. The next section will further explore the role of collaboration in dialogues.

9.5 Negotiation as a site of collaboration

In SLA studies, dyadic interaction with a child often takes place with a teacher or researcher. Hence a focus on recasts and pushed output over other functions or forms could be traced back to the interest in learning taking place through input given by the teacher/researcher. In teacher/learner interactions in English, the teacher usually understands the learner’s sentence and modifies it if the grammar is incorrect:

(9.2)

1. José: I think that the worm will go under the soil.
2. Teacher: *I think* that the worm will go under the soil?
3. José: (no response)
4. Teacher: *I thought* that the worm would go under the soil.
5. José: I thought that the worm would go under the soil.

from Doughty and Varela (1998: 124)

Teacher/learner interactions often differ considerably from peer group interaction since they typically consist of the learner’s utterance triggering the negotiation, with the teacher delivering feedback (in the form of recasts) followed by the student’s response (‘pushed output’). In contrast to 9.2, the next example illustrates the classic three-part
exchange structure which is initiation by the teacher, response by the student and feedback by the teacher:

(9.3)
1. Teacher: What’s the capital of the United States?
2. Student: Washington, D.C.
3. Teacher: Good

from Long, (2002: 8)

Neither type of dialogue is representative for the dyadic peer interactions in the present study and when learners speak with their native speaker peers, rather than their teacher, the focus is often on clarifying the meaning of a proposition rather than on its correctness. Learner errors were mostly left uncorrected and some of the EL2 questions were accepted as such although they did not include a question word, inversion or a rising pitch. However, when the learners struggled with their expression or when it was unclear what they meant to say, their English-speaking peers often took on the role of a teacher by suggesting vocabulary or syntax structures.

The high number of initiations of NS negotiation indicated that the EL1s in this study were keen to understand the EL2’s proposition, and actively participated in resolving the problem. Rather than the EL1 being egocentric and focussing on their own message, they had a genuine interest in solving trouble sources triggered by their interlocutor. EL2 initiations occurred less often although findings showed that in JL1/JL1 interactions the Japanese negotiated understanding to the same extent as the EL1/EL1 participants. This implies that the more limited requests for clarification are not due to their LI habitual way of communicating, but rather to their limited language and pragmatic skills.

9.5.1 Supporting the learner
It is important for a teacher to support the learners’ adjustment to a new linguistic environment by making them conscious of the fact that interactions in a second language often greatly vary from L1 talk. The present study found that certain types of tasks help to increase collaboration between speakers and assist the learners’ efforts to practice listening and speaking in the target language. As suggested by Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1993), jigsaw/information gap tasks are an especially useful point of reference for NS and NNS interaction. In communicative language teaching (CLT), jigsaw and other tasks
related activities have become an integral part of classroom activities and they prepare the learner for the ‘real world’ interaction in a non-threatening environment conducive to learning. When talking to their peers, the learners may practice more language skills than in a teacher-led activity since all learners are involved in the activity, whereas, when interacting with the teacher, only one learner can speak at a time.

The view that information gap tasks work effectively as a teaching and learning activity because they provide the learner with ample opportunities to receive input and to practise their output is also supported by Pica (2005: 348). Current trends in CLT investigated by Richards (2005: 24-25) further emphasise that second language learning is facilitated when learners are engaged in speaking tasks and that negotiation provides the learner with opportunities to expand their language skills and to understand how language is used. Richards also underlines the importance of learning through collaboration and the use of effective strategies. He suggests that ‘CLT will continue to be the major general language teaching methodology for some years to come’ (p. 51) and concludes that few would argue about its role in regard to teaching and learning.

Jacobs and Farrell (2003) consider that this shift from teacher to learner-centred instruction allows for a focus on the learning process rather than just on language production. Their research views the exploration of meaning as central to the language learning activities and underlines the importance of the learners’ awareness and the use of strategies in the negotiation process. The importance of a more active role of the language learner in a Japanese classroom setting is also underlined in a study by Marshall (2002). Since the learners in the present study only initiated negotiation sequences half as often as their native speaker counterparts, it may be helpful for teachers to encourage the learner to participate more actively in classroom activities and to inform them about the objectives and benefits of learning a language through communicative tasks.

Students are often not aware of the positive aspects of peer interaction; the probability of partial- or non-understanding; and the linguistic tools available to them to solve problems. For example, rather than responding to trouble sources with minimal questions such as ‘Eh?’ or long pauses during which they risk losing their turn, students could be encouraged to attempt responses including repetitions or to request clarification in more specific terms. Often the continued use of checks or requests is unrealistic, yet rather than
walking away from a situation without being sure what was meant by the other speaker, it might be preferable to at least attempt clarification.

Another reason for the learners’ lack of initiation might be that they are under the impression that they are the only one experiencing problems. Most text book dialogues show unrealistically and unnaturally smooth examples of conversation, giving the learner the impression communication is always unproblematic. However, if teachers can inform students that in reality, negotiation of understanding forms not only a normal part of a conversation but can be viewed as a vehicle for learning, the student might then be able to make a more conscious choice in regard to when and how to negotiate. Increased knowledge about the negotiation process will empower learners and make them feel more confident in their quest for proficiency.

A recent study by Slimani-Rolls (2005) underlines the importance of including learners in the processes taking place in the classroom by allowing them insights into the aims of task-based material. A learner’s heightened awareness of the mechanism for the negotiation process would help them to better understand how to repair and overcome trouble. In turn, this will strengthen their position in situations where partial or non-understanding takes place especially outside the sheltered atmosphere of a classroom where supportive teachers are not readily available and students have to rely on the repertoire available to them.

After more than twenty years of research in the field of interaction, Gass and Torres (2005) suggest that negotiation may be more of ‘an initial step in learning and serve as a priming device, thereby setting the stage for learning rather than being a forum for actual learning’ (p. 3). Gass and Torres’ suggestion is that the teacher follows up specific shortcomings in the student’s discourse allowing the language information to be internalised. Hence task-based activities become not only a challenge for the students but also for their teachers.

9.5.2 Negotiation from a teacher’s perspective
As a teacher, it is certainly interesting to examine how task-based peer interaction leads to understanding and how a comprehensive analysis of negotiation sequences allows finding out about caveats in the students’ listening and speaking skills. For example, in
the present study, one of the major shortcomings in the learners' utterances was question formation. Since it is crucial for learners to ask questions in order to receive new input, a teacher's needs analysis would most probably prioritise question structure and intonation as an area requiring immediate attention. Since all learners were of Japanese origin, one way of addressing their problem with question formation would be to point out that word order and intonation in English varies greatly from their native language and that transferring rules from Japanese to English is not useful.

Teachers can also facilitate learner interaction in tasks by encouraging them to check new words and structures with their interlocutor or simply to ask for help. These strategies worked well for a number of participants in this study. Other successful NNS tactics used included a willingness to repeat the other speaker's proposition or attempts to verbalise their thoughts even though they were not able to complete their proposition.

The findings further show that many of the learners needed more time to formulate their proposition and that some of them found it difficult to hold their turn during that time. When holding their turns, EL2 utterances contained a relatively high percentage of 'other' verbalisations which included voiced pauses, mumbling, L1 expressions or laughter. One major step for them would be to overcome their trouble by attempting to use the language they have acquired so far. Moreover, those who tried to speak in English often used minimal questions and answers and their utterances revealed that there is still much ground to cover on the road to more target-like expression. Teachers might therefore suggest to their students to take their turn, to use English and to attempt to speak in longer sentences, even if they are unsure of their correctness. Since one learns to speak through language use, students should be encouraged to make the most of the opportunities given to them in negotiation sequences.

An important indicator of what the EL2 might want to aim for can be found in the EL1 data. Contrasting EL1 and EL2 data in the previous chapters gave ample insights into areas in need of development. For example, certain expressions which are used regularly by the EL1 such as 'Sorry', 'Excuse me' or 'Okay' were rarely used by the EL2 participants. There may, however, be limits to the EL2s' ability to sound native-like. For example, imperatives were hardly used in the JL1/JL1 data and the Japanese participants might hence find it difficult to employ them in English.
A teacher can also point out that negotiation as a way of reaching understanding is a process they are familiar with in an L1 environment and that they already possess the necessary strategies to resolve problems. It might also be helpful to inform the learners that especially at the L2 beginner level there are more utterances leading to negotiated interaction and that negotiation sequences are longer and require an effort from both speakers. Participants with a higher proficiency level are often much closer to native speaker norms, showing that learners are able to achieve in their second language what they normally accomplish in their first language: to solve trouble sources quickly and efficiently.

9.6 Negotiation as a shared accomplishment

The findings demonstrate the fact that negotiation occurs not only in language learning situations but in an L1 context. However, what is taken for granted in inter-lingual rapport, such as carrying out a given task, takes on a different dimension in intra-lingual communication. In order to accomplish the same steps and to overcome stumbling blocks, the role of collaboration becomes even more important. When speaking with or as a learner, patterns and norms often differ from L1 communication in English and in Japanese. The findings show that in EL1/EL2 communication it is not always easy for the native speakers to get their message across and that the learners’ efforts to express themselves are often the trigger of negotiation sequences.

Although there are considerable obstacles in intercultural discourse, Bremer and Simonot (1996b) surmise that it is always possible to further extend one’s language skills through interaction. Their findings illustrate that even speakers with a very limited L2 background are able to resolve trouble sources by ‘joint efforts’ (p. 206). The present study supports their proposition since the findings demonstrate that the young participants are able to accomplish their tasks by surmounting quite formidable difficulties at times. This is particularly true in EL1/EL2 interactions with beginners where adjusting to changed negotiation patterns becomes a necessity in order to maintain the dialogue.

Variations occurred at a number of linguistic levels, and it is interesting to see that, despite their relatively young age, the native speakers of English successfully adjust to a
new linguistic environment with strategies differing from their L1 behaviour. For example, the findings show that the EL1 in EL1/EL2 dyads is able to calibrate vocabulary and syntax to the level of their interlocutor thus making their proposition more accessible. Other adjustments, such as providing lexical items and readily answering the EL2's request for help, demonstrate that rapport between speakers is firmly established. A joint effort was made by all dyads to resolve trouble sources and well-formed sentences by the learner were not necessarily a priority for the young participants since limited direct error correction took place.

The most outstanding qualities of the EL1 interlocutor in dialogues with learners were perhaps their patience and flexibility. For instance, they were often able to tolerate long pauses, talk and mumbling in Japanese, incomplete sentences and numerous occurrences of partial or non-understanding leading to complex negotiation sequences. The EL1 showed flexibility by repeating more often their own speech, by trying to make it more accessible through elaboration, use of synonyms or paraphrases, speaking at a slower rate of delivery and by assisting the EL2 when needed. Ideally, EL1 propositions directed towards the learner were sufficiently explicit and accessible to be understood without any negotiation taking place.

The EL2 speakers demonstrated tenacity by attempting to understand and be understood. At times the beginners' responses were only minimal, and though sometimes their chances to finish all their tasks were remote, they stayed focussed and did not give up. The findings show that the English level of the learner plays a crucial role since the increased knowledge of vocabulary, basic forms and structures of more advanced learners resulted in less need for complex negotiation.

Taken as a whole, the data allowed for insights into how through the participants' willingness to collaborate they accomplished what seemed impossible at times; that is to understand each other. The excerpts also showed that even though negotiated interaction often allows the learners to review their language skills, learning may not be their primary intent and that functions and forms of the negotiation process do not capture the dynamic aspect of the interaction.
Negotiation can be viewed as a social activity as well and the focus of the children often appears to be on how to overcome communication problems with learning co-occurring as a fortunate ‘by-product’. Language use and language learning are deeply intertwined and Swain (2005) correctly points out that they are concurrent and cannot be really separated from each other. Swain proposes that language use is mediating language learning and that negotiation is a social as well as a cognitive activity.

The fact that language is not only a cognitive but also a social phenomenon and that it is acquired and used interactively is also underlined by Firth and Wagner (1997: 296). Their paper led to a productive debate between the pedagogical and socio-linguistic field which exposed key concepts of both approaches. Responses to Firth and Wagner’s propositions on the social aspects of negotiation were given, for example, by Long (1997: 318) who consents that SLA takes place in an interactional and socio-linguistic context but underlines that a simultaneous focus on both fields is difficult to achieve.

Long’s views were supported by Kasper (1997) and Gass (1997), both agreeing that an analysis of data from different perspectives is important and not necessarily incompatible. However, they surmise that studies on language use might not allow for sufficient insights into language learning processes and that it is hence important to continue to investigate data from both perspectives. The debate led to the exploration of common ground by Kramtsch (2002). She compares this challenge to the impressions conveyed in a painting of dancers by Leger. The painting requires the observer to see the dancers through the dance and the trick is to grasp how to represent them, and how to understand the complexities of the choreography.

For the purpose of this thesis, I have mainly focused on linguistic and pragmatic issues but the participants’ dialogues also show that social aspects such as the collaboration between speakers and dynamic inter-personal relationships are an important part of the negotiation process. It is undeniable that achieving understanding remains a shared accomplishment which requires resourcefulness and a skilful application of social background knowledge going beyond the linguistic and pragmatic skills of the participants analysed here and that these are challenging areas of future research.
9.7 Observations, limitations and directions

Rather than just exploring 'input' or 'output', the present study investigated all turns by all speakers and the examination of the negotiated interaction as a whole allowed for a deeper understanding of what takes place in the negotiation process. The analysis of observed spoken interactions during task completion gave numerous insights into the mechanism of negotiation and revealed similarities and variations depending on the speaker's first language and the learner's background.

The present research showed that negotiation is also commonly used in native speaker settings and that in EL1/EL2 interaction it can facilitate the development of the learner’s interlanguage. In a microcosm, it reflects what can also happen in daily encounters between native English speakers and those speaking English as a second language. Since negotiation is a pathway to mutual understanding, an understanding of its features and patterns is important, especially in pluralistic countries like Australia which offer frequent opportunities for interaction between people with different first languages.

The main achievement of this study is that it addresses neglected areas of negotiation research and that it analyses the negotiation process as a whole. The investigation advanced the understanding of the less researched areas such as types of functions and essential forms of negotiated interaction as well as the role of repetition and pauses. The findings recognised that what takes place in LI negotiation can vary quite considerably in L1/L2 interactions and by extrapolating what is happening in native speaker negotiation and in interactions with or as a learner, the present study raises issues relevant to learners, teachers, curriculum writers and linguists.

Analysing data using categories by other researchers makes one realise their limitations. The fact that the typology proposed by Long (1983a, 1996) applies mainly to indicators by native speakers and that the role of repetition in negotiated interaction is often not clarified, led to additional functional categories in this study and an analysis of turns by all speakers, allowing for a more accurate overview of the negotiation process. Formal categories were included to present an insight into the main functions such clarification requests and responses.
Considerations for future research could include further application of the functional and formal categories established in Chapters Five and Six, especially with learners from an L1 background other than Japanese. Since L1 data in Japanese-only interactions is available, it would also be of interest to compare negotiated interaction in a JL1/JL2 setting where a Japanese child would communicate in Japanese with a native speaker of English learning Japanese as a second language.

In regard to repetition, it might prove productive to further investigate all forms of Same- and Other-speaker repetition in the negotiation process and their impact on language development. Additional exploration of formal variations in Japanese repetition including distinctions between repeated sentence elements could also constitute an interesting area of research in the future. Another study may wish to examine overlapping talk. Although EL2 overlaps by the Japanese participants did not take place in EL1/EL2 negotiation sequences in the present study, it would be worthwhile to further pursue this phenomenon in the learner’s first language in order to better understand its habitual use in a native speaker context.

Moreover, the findings in relation to silent and voiced pauses could be taken as a starting point to further explore the relevance of pauses in the negotiation process. Especially voiced pauses by Japanese in their first and second language are a fascinating area deserving additional research.

The present study adopted a mainly qualitative approach, however, statistical analysis measuring specific correlations between variables could be used to emphasise the significance of some of the findings, although the rigid conditions needed for their validity might not be suitable for children of this age group. Moreover, owing to the cross-sectional format of this study, retrieval of newly acquired vocabulary or structures for subsequent use could only be confirmed on a limited scale and the trends presented in the findings would have to be further confirmed by longitudinal studies.

Although gender is not considered to influence the amount of negotiation in child dyads (Oliver 2002: 104), another study might want to look at gender as a variable. Future
research could also include the influence of personality differences. A separate investigation might also want to consider the use of secondary data in form of post-session interviews in order to further explore the use of negotiation tactics.

At times, participants in the present research used non-linguistic means such as drawing or mime in order to accomplish the task. Non-linguistic contributions to the negotiation process are not within the scope of this study, however, it would be worthwhile to videotape the participants body language and facial expressions and further examine their impact on the negotiation process.

Another study might seek to compare the amount and complexity of negotiation using different communications task types. Finally, in order to validate the findings of this study, future research might want to consider a sample population in the same age range in alternative settings and in languages other than English and Japanese.

In sum, negotiation is a very complex area of research and owing to the limited scope of this study only certain aspects of negotiation have been investigated. The researcher acknowledges that other approaches to data analyses are just as valid and that the exploration of how understanding is negotiated will continue to be a challenging and fertile area for future investigations.

To end, I would like to apply the metaphor of dancers to the dyadic interaction in a negotiation process and briefly reflect on their steps. Given that one learns a language by speaking it, teachers can only keep encouraging the learners to practise, but the actual steps have to be performed by them. In this study, the steps were laid out by the tasks and then carried out at a different beat and rhythm. All participants stayed on the floor, although they performed the dance with more or less competent steps.

In native speaker negotiation, the interaction could often be compared to a pair of professional dancers, doing their steps with both of them having the necessary skills to complete what they have set out to achieve. When a faux pas occurred, they quickly fall back into step and they hardly pause or revise while they dance.
However, when a professional dancer dances with a learner, their steps vary quite considerably. It becomes a challenge to stay in harmony, and especially with a novice, progress is slow and not always perfect. They might only be able to go through part of the routine and need more pauses and repetitions. Different contributions are required from each dancer: patience; a willingness to try even if it is not perfect; and faith that somehow things will fall into place so that they can move on. One can only hope that the dancers make the most of the moment.
Glossary of all terms used relevant to the data analysis

AS-units
An AS-unit consists of an independent clause and all subordinate clauses and non-clausal structures attached to or embedded in it. Furthermore, an AS-unit can consist of an independent sub-clausal unit, such as one or more phrases which can be elaborated to full phrases by recovering ellipted elements. Utterances such as 'Yes' or 'Okay' are also counted as separate AS-units (Foster, Tonkyn and Wigglesworth 2000: 365-366).

Clarification request
Clarification requests are made by the interlocutor (listener) and elicit clarification 'requiring the interlocutor to furnish new information or recode information previously given'. Clarification requests consist of Wh- or Yes/No Questions, as well as uninverted (intonation) and tag questions or statements such as 'I don't understand' (Long 1983a: 137). Clarification requests can also consist of other types of declaratives asking the speaker to be more specific, as well as of general requests for repetition such as '(I) beg your pardon?', 'Excuse me?' or 'Sorry?'.

Comprehension checks establish whether the speaker's own utterance has been correctly understood by the listener. They can consist of questions such as 'Do you understand what I mean?' or 'Right?', 'Okay?' (Long 1983a: 136).

Confirmation check
In confirmation checks, the listener establishes that the preceding utterance has been heard or understood correctly. Confirmation checks are formed by rising intonation questions, with or without a tag. They always involve repetition of all or part of the other speaker's preceding utterance and are answerable by a simple confirmation (Yes, Mmhmm). They require no new information from the interlocutor' (Long 1983a: 137). Leech & Svartvik (1992: 115) use the term 'echo questions' for questions where the speaker is asked to confirm or repeat some information we failed to hear or to understand. Echo questions simply 'echo' part or all of what has been said, using a rising question intonation and they are usually followed by an expression of agreement.

Expressing agreement / disagreement
Responses to requests, checks or 'second attempts' within negotiated interaction are often expressions of agreement / disagreement or acknowledgment. Such Yes/No answers can also include a form of repetition.

EL1 / NS (native speakers) of English
First language English speakers (EL1) speaking in English. Terms used interchangeably. Instead of NS only, the term EL1 is necessary in order to differentiate between native speakers of English and Japanese.

EL2 / NNS / learner
Second language English speakers (EL2) or nonnative speakers of English (NNS). Both terms are used to refer to the Japanese participants speaking in English in this study. Since they learn English as a second language, the term 'learner' is also used in this context.
Feedback signals
Interlocutors are sometimes signalling their attention with words such as 'Mm' or 'Mhm'. In Japanese this phenomenon is called *aizuchi*.

Indicator
An 'indicator' is the utterance displaying (or indicating) that the content of the prior turn ('trigger') was not fully understood. The indicator initiates a negotiation sequence.

JL1

L1
The participant's first language. In the present study, the L1 can be English or Japanese.

L2
The participant's second language. In this study, the second language is English learnt by Japanese and not Japanese learnt by English speakers (not included in this study).

Meta-comment
Turn-taking is sometimes verbalised (especially in native speaker interaction of Japanese) in 'meta-comments' such as 'my go' or 'your turn'. These comments can form the beginning or end of a negotiation sequence.

Negotiation of understanding
(alternative terms: ‘negotiation’, ‘meaning negotiation’, ‘negotiated interaction’ or ‘negotiation process’). Refers to all turns (AS-units) in the data of this study related to the clarification of something which is not or only partially understood by one or both of the interlocutors.

Negotiation sequence
All turns forming part of the clarification of understanding by either of the interlocutors, including the turn which started out the negotiation ('trigger') followed by the 'indicator', 'response' and the turns finalising the sequence ('reaction to response'/'resolution'). A negotiation sequence can be either 'simple' or 'complex'.

Participant
Term used for all English and Japanese speaking children participating in this study. Since these children are all students at the same school, the term 'participant' is sometimes used interchangeably with 'student' or 'children'.

Pauses
This study employs the term 'voiced' pause in order to differentiate between a pause filled with a voiced sub-lexical particle and a 'silent' pause. In the present study, the term 'filler' is avoided since it reflects an assumption that only lexicalised verbalisations have meaning.
Recasts
Mackey et al's (2002) define meaning negotiation / recasts as follows: 'Negotiation for meaning takes place in response to breakdowns in communication, and recasts are more targetlike alternatives which follow a learner's non-targetlike utterance' (p. 464). Recasts make target structures salient and focus the attention of the learner on the utterance provoking the negotiation. The learner might then take up the suggested target structure in the following turn. Other terms for 'recast' used in related studies are: other-repetition, explicit feedback, corrective or negative feedback and interactional feedback. Recasts represent only one form of the speech act of repetition (other-repetition in an elaborated or paraphrased form).

Repetition
Repetitions are divided into Same-Speaker or Other-Speaker repetition. Repetitions can be partial, exact or elaborated and might include reformulation (paraphrasing).

Response
The 'response' follows the 'indicator' and is the third turn of a negotiation sequence. The response is given by the speaker who originally triggered the sequence. The response might be followed by 'reaction to the response' / 'resolution'.

Sequences (simple)
Simple sequences in this study includes the 'trigger', 'indicator' and a 'response' (Gass and Varonis, 1985). This is sometimes followed by a 'reaction to the response' / 'resolution'.

Sequences (complex)
In complex sequences, the 'response' in a single sequence does not lead to a clarification of what the speaker wants to convey and negotiation continues. In this case, the 'response' becomes the 'trigger' for further negotiation. A complex sequence can include two or more simple sequences.

TCU (turn construction unit) / TRP (transition-relevance place)
'Turn construction units (or TCU) for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. The speaker is initially entitled, in having a turn, to one such unit. The first possible completion of a first such unit constitutes an initial transition-relevance place (or TRP) which any unit-type instance will reach.' (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, pp. 702-703).

Trigger
A 'trigger' is the utterance prompting a negotiation sequence. A 'trigger' can also consist of a hesitation sound or a pause. In conversation analysis an utterance prompting incomplete understanding by the interlocutor is labelled 'trouble source' (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977: 363). The terms 'trigger' and 'trouble source' will be used interchangeably in this study when speaking of the initial turn in a negotiation sequence.
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276


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'Picture Game'

1. You and your partner each have fourteen sets of four pictures.
2. Half of your picture sets are marked with a dot (●), the other half of the picture sets are marked with a dot on your partner's sheet.
3. Your task is to ask questions (in English) in order to find out which pictures on your partner's sheet are marked with a dot. The four pictures on your partner's sheet are not necessarily in the same order. Try not to let your partner see your sheet!
4. Mark 'X' the picture you think is indicated (●) on your partner's sheet. Then listen to your partner and answer his/her questions.
5. After you finished everything compare your sheet with your partner.

1. Listen and answer.

2. Ask and mark.

3. Listen and answer.

4. Ask and mark.

5. Listen and answer.

6. Ask and mark.

7. Listen and answer.
‘Picture Game’

8. Ask and mark.

9. Listen and answer.

- SMALL  LARGE  SMALL  LARGE

10. Ask and mark.

11. Listen and answer.

12. Ask and mark.

13. Listen and answer.


Please write your name here:

Thank you very much
'Picture Game'

1. You and your partner each have fourteen sets of four pictures.
2. Half of your picture sets are marked with a dot (•), the other half of the picture sets are marked with a dot on your partner's sheet.
3. Your task is to ask questions (in English) in order to find out which pictures on your partner's sheet are marked with a dot. The four pictures on your partner's sheet are not necessarily in the same order. Try not to let your partner see your sheet!
4. Mark 'X' the picture you think is indicated (●) on your partner's sheet. Then listen to your partner and answer his/her questions.
5. After you finished everything compare your sheet with your partner.

1. Ask and mark.

2. Listen and answer.

3. Ask and mark.

4. Listen and answer.

5. Ask and mark.


7. Ask and mark.
"Picture Game"

8. Listen and answer.

9. Ask and mark.

LARGE  LARGE  SMALL  SMALL

10. Listen and answer.

11. Ask and mark.

12. Listen and answer.

13. Ask and mark.

14. Listen and answer.

Please write your name here:

________________________________________

Thank you very much
Appendix A
(task translation sheet for the Japanese participants)

Picture Game

1. あなたのもう一人のパートナーは4コマの絵が14セットあります。

2. 半分の7セットにはあなたの絵に点（・）が示されており、もう7つの点はパートナーの紙にしるしてあります。

3. あなたの課題はパートナーに英語で質問しながら、どの絵に点がついているか当てていくことです。又、質問された時は英語で答えてください。

4. パートナーの絵点（・）があるものがどれか印をつけてください。

5. すべてが終了した後、パートナーと答えを比べてみてください。
Symbols for data transcription:

a) adopted from Foster, Tonkyn and Wigglesworth (2000: 365-371)

| Analysis of Speech Unit (AS-unit) boundary line
:: Clause boundary within an AS-unit
{} False starts, functionless repetitions and self-corrections

b) adopted from DuBois (1991: 104-105)

Speakers: [ ] Speech overlap
= Lengthening

Terminal pitch: / Rise
\ Fall
- Level

Pauses: micro-pauses (0.3 seconds and less)
Half seconds: (0.5)
Full seconds: (1) etc

Vocal noises: ( ) Type of vocal noise
@ Laughter

Others: ( ) Researcher’s comment or translation
< > Uncertain hearing
X Indecipherable syllable
<L2> Code-switching
<L1> NNS uses Japanese (his/her native tongue)
### Abbreviations for interlinear gloss

(adapted from Hinds, Maynard & Iwasaki 1987: 307)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTRI</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>Humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>Quotative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>Subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>Tentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

Sample data set transcription of one EL1/EL1 interaction:

D3, V and J (2 girls); 146 AS-units (including 54 negotiated AS-units)

1. V | eh eh (1) does yours have | (1)
2. | <I don't know> how to say it | ((teacher suggests that J starts with
the second row of pictures))
3. J | does your man has his finger in his mouth | (1) at his mouth |
4. V | um (1) no |
5. J | okay | (1)
6. | does yours have {um} both <of the> people pointing at each other/ |
7. V | no |
8. J | okay (0.5) um (1) is your person <the> man pointing at the woman |
9. V | yes |
10. J | okay |
11. V | okay (1) um (1) {does} (2) does yours have um (1) a persons hand turning the knob |
((V wants to do the first activity, teacher tells her to continue with activity three))
12. | ah (1) is yours a triangle/ |
13. J | no |
14. V | is yours a= square |
15. J | yeah |
16. | um (2) does the= man have (1) a moustache/ | (2)
17. V | um (1) yes |
18. | <moustache is there> |
19. J | yeah (2) um (1) does he have a beard/ a long beard |
20. V | yeah |
21. J | um (3) is the (0.5) beard :: like coming here <to that height> |
22. V | here/ | ((gesture))
23. J | yeah |
24. V | yeah |
25. J | okay | (1)
26. V | okay |
27. | {does yours have lots of um X | (3)
28. | no | |
29. | ah actually I think (0.5) is yours um like a door kind of thing with arches on them/ |
30. J | <not an> arch |
31. V | okay (1) (mumbles) |
32. J | oh (1) no |
33. V | does yours have lots of windows with two dots on them/ | (2)
34. J | windows with two dots/ |
35. V | {um} in the middle of the window | ((her 'dots' are actually door knobs!))
36. J | two dots in the middle | (1)
37. V | yes |
38. J | there's none with two dots in the middle |
39. V | there isn't/ |
40. | there's on mine/ |
41. J | okay {<well>} |
42. | {lots of} lots of windows |
43. V | yeah |
44. J | okay um {okay} |
45. | {does yours} um does that clock have um the numbers in um X arabic X |
46. V | no |
47. J | um (1) does it have um like twelve three nine ah six nine |
48. V | no |
49. J | okay |
50. | um does it have no numbers on it/ |
51. V | no | @ (laughter)
52. J | does it have numbers all over it |
53. V | yeah \ (1) |
54. J | yeah/ |
55. V | okay (1) |
56. | {is} is yours like a carry bag :: which you carry on the shoulder :: which is rectangle/ (7) ((correct but too much information at once for J))
57. J | what/ |
58. V | @ is your bag a rectangle one - | ((J still doesn't get it))
59. J | <just ask> another question (mumbles) |
60. V | okay |
61. | is yours a circle |
62. J | no |
63. V | is it like a small purse | (1)
64. J | no |
65. V | {like the long one |
66. J | {no} it's not a long one |
67. V | is yours the one :: which is really short |
68. | like {an} it's a triangle shape |
69. | and on top it's got a handle |
70. J | no |
71. V | is yours the one with the rectangle one |
72. J  | you can't ask those kind of questions |
73. V  | why @ not |
74. J  | you already know |
75.  | {you asked} you already asked three of them |
76.  | and I said no no no | (fast)
77. V  | ah okay | ((ticks correct picture))
78. J  | do I have to ask now | (normal pitch)
79. V  | yeah |
80. J  | does um this girl have a bun in her hair at the top of her head |
81. V  | <no> |
82. J  | okay ah |
83.  | {is} does she have short hair up to her checks |
84. V  | no |
85. J  | um (1) {does} is her hair in pony tails |
86. V  | yeah | (0.5)
87. J  | yeah/ | (2)
88. V  | {is you=r} (1) {is the} {is yours} um is your large that word large like big/ |
89. J  | no |
90. V  | is it small |
91. J  | no |
92. V  | is the small word big |
93. J  | yes |
94. V  | okay @@ |
95. J  | um 's the man got the box on his back |
96. V  | yes |
97. J  | @@ X <this one> |
98. V  | um {is yours the one where} (1) it's like four down this side and four down the other side like a pyramid or something/ |
99. J  | yes |
100.  | okay um |
101.  | does your boat have a sail |
102. V  | no |
103.J  | does it look like a house |
104. V  | no |
105.J  | ah <does> it {like} look like the one Indian guys like | (the |
106.V  | [like the <bananee> canoe | ((scaffolding)) |
107.J  | yeah |
108.V  | yeah/ |
109.J  | okay |
110. V | is yours the one with the leaf in it |
111. J | no |
112. V | <then> {with um} with the two flowers in a bowl |
113. J | yes |
114. | um {does} does your man like holding hands |
115. V | no |
116. J | um do they have their arms like that :: and {then hold} {no um} do they holding their hands like that {like that} |
117. V | no |
118. J | ah {are they like} got one hand on the shoulder | (fast)
119. V | yeah |
120. J | okay | (J appears to tick wrong picture)
121. V | oh no no no no no | (high pitch)
122. | it's the one where <they're> going this and then holding their hands (1) both hands | (3)
123. | like that {like that} and then like that | (gesture)
124. J | and then write your name down |
125. V | can I just ask you the first one quickly | (1)
126. | please the first one | ((she is keen to complete the task - tried to do activity one twice previously, but was told off by the teacher))
127. V | number one okay |
128. | um is yours the one with the person's finger in the key with the door knob on it |
129. | it has a door knob |
130. J | aha |
131. V | and his finger is on the key |
132. J | um |
133. V | is that that one |
134. J | yes <this one> |
135. V | <this one> |
136. J | I can tell you the answer |
137. V | [the fingers] | (overlapping)
138. J | [ I can tell you the answer |
139. V | yeah |
140. | but you've got to answer with the finger on it |
141. J | yeah okay |
142. V | he's got <his> finger |
143. J | yeah |
144. | whatever you said |
145. V | okay | (1)
146. | we finished |
Sample data set transcription of one JL1/JL1 interaction:
D10, T and R (2 boys); 123 AS-units (including 35 negotiated AS-units)

1. T おれたち大丈夫
   | oretachi daijoubu |
   'we’re ok’

2. R 大丈夫
   | daijoubu |
   ‘I’m ok’

3. T ノブ上にある
   | nobu (I) ue ni aru |
   ‘is the knob at the top’

4. R えつ
   | eet’ |
   ‘what’

5. T 鍵の上にノブがある
   | kagi no ue ni nobu ga aru |
   ‘is there a knob on top of the key’

6. R ノブある
   | <nobu> aru |
   ‘is there a knob’

7. T ある
   | aru |
   ‘yes’

8. R 次俺でいい
   | tsugi ore de ii |
   ‘is it ok if I go next’

9. T いいよ
   | ii yo |
   ‘that’s ok’

10. R えっと、女が左にいる
    | etto (3) onna ga hidari ni iru’ |
    ‘well (3) is there a woman on the left’
11. いいえ
| iie |
'no'

12. ジャ、男左にいる
| ja (1) otoko hidari ni iru/ | (1) |
'well (1) is there a man on the left'

13. 男は女に指を指している。
| otoko wa onna ni yubi o sashite iru/ |
'is the man pointing the finger to the woman'

14. えつ、いいよ書いて
| ee (1) ii yo <kaite> | (1) |
'yes (1) its ok to write'

15. ジャ、まる
| ja maru/ |
'well is it a circle'

16. 違う
| chigau |
'no'

17. 違う、えっと
| chigau (1) etto | (0.5) |
'it’s not (1) well'

18. 四角ですか
| shikaku desu ka |
'is it a square'

19. そう
| sou |
'yes'

20. えつ、長い方ですか
| eh nagai hou desu ka/ |
'um is it the long one'

21. 違う
| chigau |
'no'
22. T 違う
| chigau |
‘no’

23. R いくよ
| iku yo |
‘I’m starting now’

24. T うん
| u:n |
‘um’

25. R えっと、ヒゲは短いですか
| etto hige wa mijikai desu ka |
‘um is the beard short?’

26. T じゃ、Xか
| ja (0.5) X ka |
‘well (0.5) its X’

27. R ここに毛はありませんか
| koko ni ke wa arimasu ka | ((pointing))
‘is there hair here?’

28. T ええ、はい
| ee (0.5) hai |
‘um (0.5) yes’

29. R 鼻の下に毛はありませんか
| hana no shita ni ke wa arimasu ka |
‘is there hair under the nose’

30. T はい
| hai |
‘yes’

31. R えっと、どうしよう
| etto (3) dou shiyou | (low voice)
‘well (3) what should I do’

32. ここは横に広げていますか
| koko wa yoko ni hirogete imasu ka |
‘is it wide on the side’
33. T はい
| hai |
‘yes’

34. R 下、毛、広げてますか
| shita <ke> hirogete imasu ka |
‘does the hair at the bottom part’

35. T ええ
| ee |
‘well’

36. R はい、いいよ
| hai ii yo (1) |
‘yes that’s okay’

37. この感じ
| kono kanji <de ii> |
‘like this’

38. T そう
| sou |
‘yes’

39. T えっと、網目のドアですか
| etto (3) ami<me> no doa desu ka (1) |
‘well (3) is it a screen door’

40. こういうやつ
| kou yuu yatsu |
‘like this thing’

41. R そうですね
| sou desu |
‘yes’

42. T X
| x (mumbling) |
X

43. R じゃ、行くよ
| ja iku yo (3) |
‘well I start now’
数字がありますか

'are there numbers'

はい

'yes'

時計

'on the clock'

はい

'yes'

あのそれはえつと、十二時からあの

'well (2) does it start (3) well from 12 o'clock well'

十二まで、十二時まで全部ありますか

'is it from 12 to 12 o'clock'

はい

'yes'

四時ですか

'is it 4 o'clock?'

はい

'yes'

オッケー

'okay'

全部四時

'it's always 4 o'clock'
55. R うーん
  | u:n |
  ‘um’

56. T まあ、えっと、バッグは手さげバッグですか
  | maa (0.5) etto (1) baggu wa tesage baggu desu ka |
  ‘eh (05) well (1) is the bag a hand bag’

57. R 違います
  | chigai masu | (3)
  ‘no’

58. T 肩掛け方ですか
  | katakake gata desu ka |
  ‘is it the shoulder bag type’

59. R 肩掛け
  | kata kake |
  ‘shoulder kake’

60. T こういう感じです
  | kou iu kanji desu |
  ‘like that’

61. R うん
  | u:n |
  ‘yes’

62. T それでは丸かったですか
  | sore dewa maru katta desu ka |
  ‘is it round’

63. 四角ですか
  | shikaku desu ka |
  ‘is it square’

64. R 四角
  | shikaku |
  ‘square’

65. R いくよ
  | iku yo |
  ‘I’ll start now’
66. T うーん
| う:ん |
‘um’

67. R にょっと、女の子横に髪が広がっていますか
| etto onna no yoko ni kami ga hirogatte imasu ka |
‘well is the girl’s hair tied to the side’

68. T はい
| hai |
‘yes’

69. R にょっと、リボンみたいにつけていますか
| ee ribon mitai no tsukete imasu ka |
‘is she putting on something which looks like a ribbon’

70. T はい
| hai |
‘yes’

71. R オッケー
| ok |
‘okay’

72. いっていいよ
| itte ii yo |
‘your turn’

73. T 字はスモールですか
| ji wa sumo-ru desu ka |
‘is the word small’

74. R はい
| hai |
‘yes’

75. T 大きい方ですか
| ookii hou desu ka |
‘is it the bigger one’

76. R はい
| hai |
‘yes’
77. R 男の人はボールを背中に乗せていますか

| otoko no hito wa bo-ru o senaki ni nokkete ((noseru in Kanto ben)) imasu ka | (05)
| `is the man putting the ball on his back'

78. ボールと言ってダンボール

| <bo-ru to itte> danbo-ru |
| `you mean cardboard box`

79. T はい

| hai |
| `yes`

80. R そう

| sou |
| `yes`

81. T えっと缶はピラミッドみたい並んでいますか

| etto can wa piramiddo mitai narande imasu ka |
| `well are the cans lined up like a pyramid`

82. R そうですね

| sou desu |
| `yes`

83. T はい

| hai | (1)
| `yes`

84. ではちゃんと一列ずつの並べていますか

| dewa chanto ikko datsu no <dan> natte imasu ka |
| `is it like one step at a time`

85. R はい

| hai |
| `yes`

86. R 次にえっと

| tsugi ni etto | (0.5)
| `next well`

87. ノアの箱舟みたいになってますか

| noa no hakobune mitai ni natte imasu ka |
| `is it like Noah’s ark?`
88. T ノアの箱舟って知ってる
| noa no hakobune te shitteru |
‘do you know Noah’s ark’

89. R 船に家みたいのがあるよ
| fune ni ie mitai no ga aru yo |
‘it’s the one which has like a house on the boat’

90. T いいえ
| iie |
‘no’

91. R えつ、上に碇、上碇じゃない、ヨットの羽みたいにありますか
| ee {ue ni ikari} ue ikari (0.5) ja nai yotto no hane mitai ni arimasu ka |
‘um an anchor at the top, no not anchor, like a wing on the yacht’

92. T いいや
| iiya |
‘no~’

93. R 横に、長いカヌーですか
| <yoko ni> nagai canu- desu ka |
‘is it a wide canoe’

94. T はい
| hai |
‘yes’

95. R いいよ
| ii yo |
‘go ahead’

96. T えつ、花が入っていますか
| ee {hay} (0.5) hana ga haiite imasu ka |
‘um is there a flower in it’

97. R はい
| hai |
‘yes’

98. T 花瓶の形は縦長ですか
| kabin no katachi wa tatenaga desu ka |
‘is the vase oblong’
99. R はい

| hai | (3)

‘yes’

100. T じゃバランスが悪い方ですか

| ja balansu ga warui yat<su> no hou desu ka |

‘is it the one which isn’t very well balanced?’

101. R 意味は分かりません

| imi wa wakarimasen |

‘I don’t understand’

102. T えっ、Xバランスが悪い方

| ee X balansu ga warui hou |

‘um, the one which has a bad balance X’

103. R はい

| hai |

‘yes’

104. R じゃ最後、えっと

| ja saigo etto | (1)

‘well the last question well’

105. 手を組み合わせていますか

| te o kumiawasete imasu ka |

‘are they holding hands’

106. T 何を

| <nani> o |

‘what’

107. R こういうふうに

| kou iu fuu ni | ((shows))

‘like this’

108. T はい

| hai |

‘yes’

109. R じゃ、終わり

| ja owari |

‘we’re finished’
じゃ、まだだこれとほら、これとほら
| ja mada da kore to hora kore to hora |
‘well not yet look at this one and this’

違うの
| chigau no |
‘we’re not’

だってまだ二つある
| datte mada futatsu aru |
‘see we still have two’

片手を広げて、片手をこういうふうにやっていますか
| katate o hirogete :: katate o kou iu fuu ni yatte imasu ka |
‘one hand is spread out, and the hand is doing something like this’

えっ
| eh/ |
‘what’

片手を広げて、片手をこういうふうにやっていますか
| katate o hirogete :: katate o kou iu fuu ni yatte imasu ka |
‘one hand is spread out, and the hand is doing something like this’

うん、広げて
| u:n (0.5) hirogete | (1)
‘um (0.5) spread out’

いいえ
| iie |
‘no’

じゃ、片手相手の肩に乗せて、片手をついていませんか
| ja (0.5) katate aite no kata ni nosete :: katate o tsunaide imasu ka |
‘well (0.5) one hand is on the other person’s shoulder and the other hand is holding that person’s hand’

いいえ
| iie |
‘no’
120.R だって
| datte |
‘well’

121. じゃ、これ
| ja kore/|
‘well this’

122.T うん、そう
| u:n sou |
‘yes’

123.R 終わりました
| owarimashita |
‘finished’
Appendix F

Sample data set transcription of one EL1/EL2 (intermediate) interaction:

D21, N and J (2 boys); 171 AS-units (including 70 negotiated AS-units)

1. J  | is the hand on a door knob |
2. N  | um (1) yes (1) |
3.    | ah no |
4. J  | is there a door knob |
5. N  | um yes |
6. N  | okay does the woman point at the man {man's} like this |
7. J  | I beg your pardon |
8. N  | okay does the woman point at the man/ |
9. J  | no |
10. N | {does} (1) both of them do like this like (1) |
11. J | no |
12. N | {i} is the man pointing at the woman/ |
13. J | yes |
14. N | <do you know> what I do |
15. J | you put a cross on the answer that you think is right |
16. N | mm |
17. J | this <is my cross> |
18. | now I'll ask you (3) |
19. J | {does it} does the shape have two axes in symmetry/ (1) |
20. N | @ <x> what was symmetry/ |
21. J | okay {ah} |
22. | do all sides look equal (1) |
23. N | is it equ- (. ) |
24. J | equal means like the same length |
25. N | oh yeah yes |
26. | okay (1) does the man |
27. J | no no I'm still going |
28. N | XXX yes |
29. J | what |
30. N | {is it a four side} it's a four sides equal |
31. J | yeah |
32. N | it's all right |
33. J | {so} so it's that one |
34. N | yeah |
35. J | oh (3) okay |
okay | does he have (1) lot of mastache (1) like that | is like a <whole bunch hair> {whole bunch <there>} | (3) does he have lot of mastache | lot of hair | yeah @ | that's the answer | okay | (7) do you know what an arch is? | (4) ah no | (1) this is an arch | ch/ | that's an arch | okay | does the door have an arch? | no | okay | (3) does the door have | (2) do you know what rectangles are? | yeah | does the door have rectangle windows? | no | does the door have a | (1) I don't know what shape this is | (1) okay (2) does the door have windows like this | (1) ah no\ | does the door have (2) squares? | (4) ah no\ | <well> that's every door | oh yeah | squares yes yes {window squares} | yeah yeah yeah | that's right | they are rectangle I think <who cares> | (2) okay now (1) {okay} | does clock have number that goes one two (1) twelve | yees | yeah | all right
75. | your turn | (2)
76. J | (is the handbag) (2) has the hand bag got a long handle or a short one |
77. N | a: | (0.5)
78. J | does the hand bag have a long handle |
79. N | a: (0.5) no |
80. | you are right |
81. J | okay | (1)
82. | (is it) (1) is it a circle hand bag/ |
83. N | um no |
84. J | okay | (3)
85. | your turn | (3)
86. N | does the girl has <a> hair X like X |
87. J | no |
88. N | does <s> girl (1) has like a (1) hair on X |
89. | no/ |
90. J | no/ |
91. N | does girl (1) has a short hair |
92. J | no |
93. N | does girl {tie up} tie it like <that one> |
94. J | yeah | (3)
95. J | is the writing big or small/ |
96. N | um big |
97. J | okay | (4)
98. | large |
99. N | ah no | (2)
100. J | small |
101. N | it’s easy @ |
102. J | small\ |
103. N | yeap |
104. J | your turn |
105. N | okay |
106. | does the guy carry (1) box with his back |
107. J | yes |
108. N | oh @ yeah |
109. | does the guy carry box like this |
110. J | no |
111. N | or does the guy carry box like this |
112. J | no |
113. N | okay does the guy carry like this |
no | 114.

eh how about this | 115.

yes (3) | 116.

okay (6) | 117.

(is the) (2) is there four rows of cans' | 118.

um (1) yes (1) | 119.

okay (3) | 120.

does it have one can on the top | 121.

yes you're right (right) (3) | 122.

okay | 123.

your turn (4) | 124.

X wait wait wait wait (2) wait | 125.

okay | 126.

(there's two) (3) there's like a two cans you know (1) you know :: like two type of cans <that has> one can's on the top | 127.

(I'm sorry) | 128.

so we <can choose> like this four and four and two and one or um seven then five then three and one | 129.

which one did you choose | 130.

four four two and one | 131.

that's the only one with one on top | 132.

(yeah (2) yeah but that's got one too <you know> this one) | 133.

(no I asked does it have four rows | 134.

and you said yes | 135.

@ I thought like one two three four ((width and heights)) | 136.

yeah I just saw that | 137.

okay (2) | 138.

<okay> does the boat have a | 139.

can I have your rubber (1) | 140.

does the boat (4) {does the boat} has sail on it | 141.

no | 142.

does the boat have like house on it | 143.

no | 144.

does the boat has XXX | 145.

yeah | 146.

it's your turn | 147.

{does thee} (4) does the vase | 148.

eh | 149.

does the vase look like a hat | 150.
ah no |

is the vase tall |

no\ (1)

has the vase got a leaf hanging out of it/ |

um no |

so it's the vase shaped as a bowl |

yeap (2)

your turn |

okay (1) <is> that guy go like this |

like you know hold the hand (1) like (1)

<like two> (1)

ah just leave it (1)

does the guy (2) hold the hand |

no |

does the guy go like this (1)

no |

the guy goes like this |

no (1)

yeah |

yeah {yeah} |

is this thing on? ((they realise only now that there is a tape-recorder on their table))