

Chapter Five: Initiating negotiation sequences

5.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the initial turns of the negotiation process in English and Japanese native speaker interaction (EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1) and in interactions between competent and less competent English speakers (EL1/EL2). Salient features in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction are considered, that is, how negotiation is triggered and who indicates non- or partial understanding. Some studies in the same field (like Iwashita, 2003; Oliver, 1995a or Yamaguchi et al, 1999) examine only the triggers of nonnative speakers and how native speakers indicate them, and do not refer to how learners react to trouble sources. Furthermore, NNS responses in the form of pushed output are given more attention than NS responses (see Donato, 1994, Swain, 1995).

The present study aims to provide a fuller representation of negotiating understanding by providing references to ‘indicators’ and ‘responses’ by all participants in native speaker settings and with (or as) a learner of English as a second language. To my knowledge, only Oliver’s (1995a, b, 2002) studies are based on participants in the same age range and therefore little is known about how 11 to 12 year olds deal with trouble clarification when talking to each other. The following excerpt further exemplifies a coded simple negotiation sequence with a trigger, indicator and response:

(5.1) [EL1/EL2 (advanced), D23: 24-26]

- | | | |
|--------------|---|------------------|
| 1. M (EL2) | is the boat has somewhere to go inside/ | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. D (EL1) → | ah (.5) do you mean like with a house on it / | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. M | yes | <i>response</i> |

As mentioned earlier, each excerpt is preceded by the number of the chapter and the example (for example, 5.1), followed by the data set (in this case, EL1/EL2), the level of the EL2 (beginner, intermediate or advanced), the dyad number (for example, D23) and then line numbers from the transcript of negotiated interaction (24-26).

The research issue framing the next two chapters relates to the identification of functions and main forms of the components of simple and complex negotiation sequences in native and nonnative child discourse. Chapter Five accounts for the functions and forms of

‘indicators’ and examines whether EL1/EL2 interlocutors indicate incomplete understanding with the same speech acts that they use in their L1 negotiated interaction. That is, NS negotiation patterns are analysed and contrasted with EL1/EL2 interaction. A focus on overall functions and forms allows for the identification of salient speech acts and hence a deeper understanding of how young learners overcome partial or non-understanding. The criteria for functions and forms are the same for negotiation with native and nonnative speakers and are set out in sections 3.7 and 3.8 in the methodology chapter. Relevant data excerpts illustrate the role of negotiation in dealing with trouble and achieving understanding and that in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, the language learners continue their exposure to the target language and are often able to make progress with their interlanguage.

The present chapter examines and discusses the initial turns of a negotiated sequence: the trigger (in this section) and the indicator (sections 5.1 to 5.4). Dominant forms and functions in indicators in all three data sets are presented in figures including the number of occurrences (*n*) and respective percentages. Section 5.1 examines how negotiation is initiated by the native English speakers (EL1/EL1) and 5.2 looks at indicators in Japanese native speaker interactions (JL1/JL1). EL1/EL2 initiation of a negotiation sequence is investigated separately by examining firstly EL1 indicators in section 5.3 and then EL2 indicators in 5.4. Section 5.5 includes tables (based on numbers and percentages) comparing functions and forms in indicators in all data sets. This quantitative component of the analysis provides an illustration of the frequency of certain functions and forms so the reader can distinguish between dominant and less significant features. The final section (5.6) highlights relevant findings in regard to triggers and functions and forms of indicators in negotiation in simple and complex sequences. The response, as well as additional possible turns finalising a negotiation sequence such as a ‘reaction to the response’ and ‘resolution’ are examined and discussed in Chapter Six.

Before turning to an in-depth discussion of how and by whom incomplete understanding is indicated, the remainder of the present section briefly examines the initial utterance of a negotiation sequence: the trigger. The term ‘trigger’ has been used by Gass and Varonis (1985) and Pica et al (1991) to refer to the utterance that prompts a negotiation sequence,

although neither study analysed triggers in any detail. Levinson (1989: 321) correctly states that although the trigger is the first turn in a negotiation sequence, it is only the following turn that indicates incomplete understanding.

In Conversation Analytic studies, an utterance prompting non- or partial understanding is labelled a 'repairable' or 'trouble source'. In their analysis of native speaker interaction, Schegloff et al (1977) found that considering that repair may be initiated with no apparent error 'it appears that nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'' (p. 363). The present analysis also shows that it is indeed difficult to pin down specific causes of negotiation in the English and Japanese native speaker data sets (EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1), since the trigger often does not include apparent errors or features that allow identifying the 'trouble source'.

Post-session interviews with the participants about what might have triggered the negotiation sequences were not possible owing to institutional constraints. From a methodological viewpoint interviews may not be productive. Ellis (1994) and Oliver (1996b) consider that a retrospective study conducted with children would only be of limited validity since their developmental level might not allow them to comment on their language.

The EL1/EL2 data includes identifiable characteristics of triggers such as the EL1 use of ellipsis and vocabulary or structures the language learner is unfamiliar with. Sometimes the native speaker would pre-empt trouble by asking in advance: "Do you understand <x>". EL2 triggers include incomplete or poorly formed sentences, unclear articulation or barely audible speech and some are appeals for help (requesting specific vocabulary or structures). Ondarra's research (1997: 437) also identifies speech intelligibility, complex structures and lexical problems as basic causes generating non-understanding.

Oliver (1995a: 468) is one of the few researchers who examines NNS triggers by categorising them as correct, incorrect or incomplete. Incorrect initial turns are analysed in regard to the error made by nonnative speakers, in, for example, the use of articles, pronouns, tense, pronunciation, word order or word choice. Pronunciation problems

provoked the highest proportion of negotiation and recasts (74%) and tense errors the lowest (53%). However, it is not clear how multiple errors in nonnative speaker utterances were coded, or if the error is the only source of negotiation. Features of native speaker triggers of negotiation were not discussed. It is worthwhile noting that in this study learner errors are a relatively small subsection of triggers that lead to negotiation, and they are hence not examined separately here. The present data shows that EL2 errors often go uncorrected and do not become the focus in EL1 indicators or responses. It appears that children are quite resilient in regard to differences in pronunciation and grammatically inadequate sentences.

Bremer and Simonot (1996b) highlight the lack of explicitness and accessibility of an utterance as possible features of a trigger (as discussed in section 4.3.1). In addition, Bremer and Simonot (1996a) mention a 'lack of uptake' as a trouble source. In the present study, lack of uptake by the language learner is also a significant feature triggering negotiation. Rather than taking their turn, the EL2 use hesitation particles such as 'er', pauses, mumbling (usually in Japanese) or laughter. A lack of uptake is noticeable as well in EL2 indicators (after EL1 triggers) and in EL2 responses. Considering that hesitation and pausing has received little attention in the field of negotiation, the present study analyses and discusses this phenomenon in a separate chapter.

Jefferson (1972: 294) posits that the beginning of negotiated sequences only becomes clear when the interlocutor uses interrogatives or repetition, and Bremer (1996) stipulates that 'analysis of incidences of understanding problems has to rely on the traces they leave in the actual interactive steps' (p. 40). Pica et al (1991: 345) proposes that the interlocutor can question form, structure or meaning of the utterance triggering negotiation, however, their study does not include any further analysis of the trigger.

The present study agrees that it is often difficult to specify the cause of negotiation. Possible reasons could be the EL1 use of ellipsis and unfamiliar vocabulary or structures or (in EL2 triggers) sentence fragments, unclear pronunciation and long pauses. Therefore, the conversational partner's reaction is a valuable source of information. In sum, triggers cannot be discussed in isolation since they can only be identified as a trouble source in the following turn: the indicator.

5.1 Indicating incomplete understanding in native English speaker dyads

In regard to learning one's mother tongue (first language), Ochs' (1988) seminal study on first language acquisition by very young children in Samoa differentiates between clarification of surface expression (for example, something that was unintelligible) and the clarification of underlying meaning. Accordingly, she states (1988: 186) that clarification seeking can consist of a 'minimal-grasp' or 'expressed guess' strategies. The first strategy consists of the use of Wh-interrogatives or a request for repetition and the second one of a reformulation of the unclear utterance by the other speaker, which is then confirmed or disconfirmed by the child. Both strategies take place in the 'indicator' and can be compared to clarification requests and confirmation checks in the present study. The first language data in EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1 interaction in this study cannot be compared to first language learning by young children. Its purpose is to investigate features and norms of native English and Japanese speaker negotiation and to serve as baseline data for the EL1/EL2 data set.

Second language acquisition studies relevant to the present research are often based on the taxonomies of Long (1983a,b; 1996), Oliver (1995a,b), Pica et al (1991) and Gass and Varonis (1985). As discussed in the methodology section, Long (1983a: 136-137) allows for three categories in the indicator consisting of clarification requests, confirmation and comprehension checks, as well as for repetition. Since repetition can be included in requests and checks, its role in negotiation remains ambiguous. Pica et al (1991: 373-375) propose that the second turn of negotiation sequence can consist of a question, statement, phrase or word that does repeat the trigger without linguistic modification, or modify all or part of it. Alternatively, the indicator does not incorporate the trigger. Further details on question forms or functions are not given.

Learner (or EL2) indicators are often overlooked in NS/NNS input studies which focus mainly on indicators by native speakers and responses by the NNS (like Iwashita, 2003; Long, 1983a, b; Oliver, 1995b; Yamaguchi et al, 1999). The present study not only investigates indicators by all speakers, but also allows contrasting the EL1/EL2 data to the respective native speaker interaction in the EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1 data sets.

Oliver (1995a: 468) employs two categories in native speakers' indicators: 'negotiation strategies' such as clarification requests and confirmation checks and 'recasts' (reformulations of NNS errors). The present study goes beyond the above categories by further differentiating question forms, such as Wh-Questions or questions words only, as well as all forms of repetitions. Furthermore, other functions and features such as commands, feedback and discourse particles, mumbling and laughter are also examined.

The following sections of this chapter investigate in detail the various functions and forms of the utterance indicating incomplete understanding indicator or second obligatory turn in negotiation of understanding. The present section examines functions and forms of indicators in native English negotiation sequences (EL1/EL1), followed by sections examining how incomplete understanding is initiated in JL1/JL1 and EL1/EL2 interaction. In each section, firstly a graph (figure) with the overall functions of indicators is shown. This is followed by a graph and percentages illustrating the forms of the dominant function of indicators which is requesting clarification. Next, other functions of indicators are discussed. Relevant excerpts from the data are given to reach a better insight into all functions and forms.

The initial Figure (5.1) shows functions and forms of trouble indicators in negotiation sequences taking place in dyadic interactions by the twelve native English speakers (EL1/EL1). The categories appearing as labels on the following graphs were further elaborated on in the methodology chapter (3.8) and are supported by additional examples in this section. The number (*n*) refers to the total number of occurrences the percentages are based on.

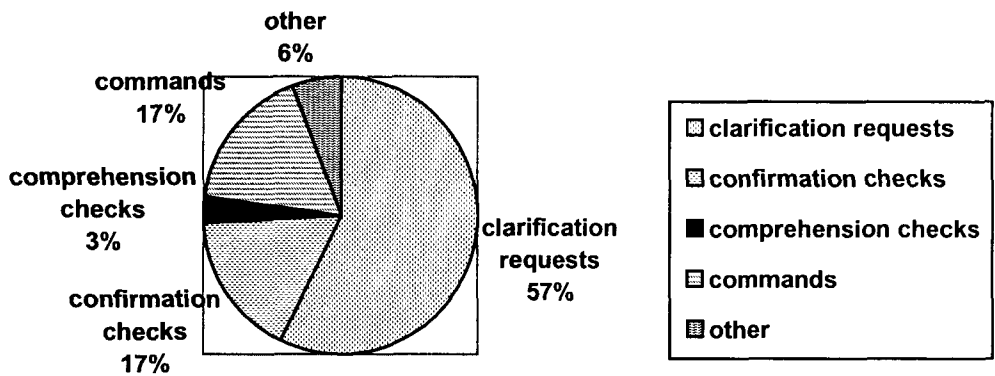


Figure 5.1. Functions of indicators in EL1/EL1 negotiated interaction (n: 105)

The findings show that clarification requests comprise more than half of all indicators (57%). Clarification requests represent the largest category of indicators in all data sets, and it is hence important to further understand and clarify their forms (see Figure 5.1.a). The discussion of all other functions (such as confirmation and comprehension checks) follows after the examination of forms of clarification requests.

As discussed in section 3.8, clarification requests in the present study include interrogatives as well as declaratives asking for additional information. Interrogatives can consist of Yes/No or Wh-Questions and since many of the Wh-Questions consisted of question words only (or particles like ‘Eh?’), they are listed in a separate category.

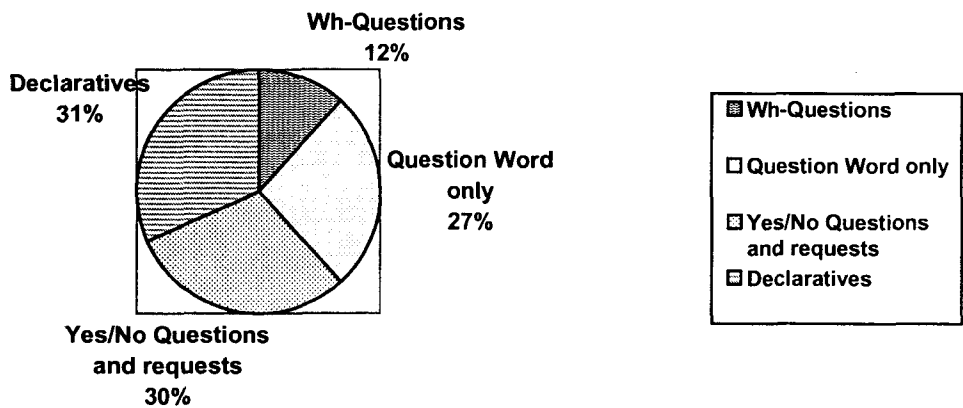


Figure 5.1.a. Forms of clarification requests in the indicator in EL1/EL1 negotiated interaction (n: 60)

Figure 5.1.a shows that over two thirds of the clarification requests are interrogatives and the remainder declaratives. Each form is discussed below and illustrated with a data

excerpt. Declaratives (31%) mainly consist of comments requesting further clarification such as in 5.2 (lines two and three) where T asks S to refine his question:

(5.2) [EL1/EL1, D4: 111-112]

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| 1. S | the one that has a dot on it :: is it the two men :: who are hooking arms/ | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. T → | {um} there are two | |
| 3. | one are holding hands :: and the others are hooking hands | <i>indicator</i> |

The negotiation here continues over a few more turns which are, however, not relevant here. Declaratives can also include statements like ‘I don’t know what you mean’. Expressions such as ‘I don’t understand’ were not used in native English speaker negotiated interaction.

Yes/No Questions and requests for repetition (30%) include ‘do’ or inversed word order, as well as declaratives with an interrogative intonation. Yes/No Questions in clarification requests differ from confirmation checks in that they usually do not include a repetition. For example, in 5.3, line two, S wants K to give her more information about the picture she is talking about and does so with a clarification request in the form of a Yes/No Question:

(5.3) [EL1/EL1, D1: 22-23]

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| 1. K | {um} (3) {is} {does} does she have her hair tied up/ | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. S → | you mean in a bun/ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. K | no | <i>response</i> |

In some instances, one speaker starts a question followed by a pause or hesitation causing the other speaker to continue. This type of overlap in negotiation (such as in 5.4, line two) is incorporated in the Yes/No Question category as well:

(5.4) [EL1/EL1, D3: 42-43]

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| 1. J | ah {does it} {like} look like the one Indian guys like (0.5) | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. → V | like the banana canoe/ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. J | yeah | <i>response</i> |

Also included in this category are indicators of non-understanding in the form of ‘requests for repetition’ like ‘Excuse me?’ or ‘Sorry?’. Interestingly, tag questions are not used by any of the participants.

The findings show that clarification requests can also consist just of a question word or particles (27%). It is interesting to note that rather than 'What?' or 'Where?' the children mostly use sub-lexical particles with a rising intonation such as 'Huh?', 'Ha?', 'Eh?', 'He?' or 'Mmh?'. Out of these five particles replacing a Wh-Question word, 'Eh?' is used most. Only 12% of clarification requests in the indicator are Wh-questions and they can include a repetition (not answerable by 'Yes' or 'No') or a phrase such as 'Which one is it?', 'Which person?', 'Like what?'.

After examining the formal features of EL1 clarification requests, the discussion now returns to the other functions of indicators in EL1/EL1. Figure 5.1 above showed that additional important categories indicating problems with understanding are commands and confirmation checks (17% respectively). Commands (such as 'try again') were originally included in Long's (1983a) clarification requests, but since they are imperative in form and do not always function as clarifiers, this study prefers to put them in a separate category. They consist of utterances such as 'Ask that!', 'Ask another question!', 'Speak louder!' or 'Go!', 'Ask me!', 'Quickly, ask me!'. The last three are usually preceded by a pause that has acted as a trigger for the negotiated interaction. Some speakers also include modals: 'You can't ask this/that!' or comments (directives), as in 'You've got to tell me the picture with the dot, you idiot!'. In most cases the other speakers complied in their responses, but if not, a new negotiation cycle ensued.

Indicators can also consist of confirmation checks. Confirmation checks include a repetition, are answerable by 'Yes' or 'No', and require no new information from the other speaker (as was also found by Long, 1983a: 137). They chiefly consist of a partial repetition of the preceding utterance of the other speaker, and most confirmation checks in the data have a rising intonation - a form also called 'echo question' by Leech and Svartvik (1992: 115). Some confirmation checks consist of repetitions in a declarative form and they are further discussed in Chapter Seven which focuses on forms and functions of repetitions.

Comprehension checks, which make sure that one's own prior utterance has been understood correctly, occur rarely in the indicator. It is important to note that in contrast to

confirmation checks in the indicator, which repeat the other speaker’s utterance (trigger), comprehension checks refer to something the same speaker has said in the interaction preceding the trigger. They usually consist of a partial repetition of the noun phrase, as in:

(5.5) [EL1/EL1, D6: 73-76]

- | | | | |
|----|-----|--|------------------|
| 1. | E | um does the vase um are the flowers in a bowl/ | |
| 2. | K | yes | <i>trigger</i> |
| 3. | E → | in a bowl (1) | <i>indicator</i> |
| | | okay | |

After the second turn, the dialogue could have continued without negotiation of understanding but since E chooses to repeat the prepositional phrase to check that she got it right, the ‘yes’ in line two becomes a trigger. The one second pause after the partial repetition in line three opens a slot for K to make a comment but since she does not take a turn, E finishes off by saying ‘okay’. As K does not answer E’s comprehension check, this is also an example of one of the few instances of a negotiation sequence without a response. Repetition of one’s own preceding turn is examined in more detail under ‘Same-speaker repetition’ in Chapter Seven.

The label ‘other’ in Figure 5.1 is given to indicators that do not belong to any of the above-mentioned categories. For example, non- or partial understanding is sometimes indicated by laughter or particles (‘voiced pauses’) like ‘um’, ‘er’ or ‘a:’. Silent and voiced pauses as an indicator are not considered separately in this graph but their role in negotiation sequences is discussed in-depth in Chapter Eight. In the next section, the same criteria for functions and forms are applied to the JL1/JL1 data set.

5.2 Functions and forms of indicators in Japanese native speaker negotiation

This section presents the results from the JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction, showing how comprehension problems are indicated in Japanese. All functions of indicators given by the twelve JL1 participants are presented in Figure 5.2. The JL1 number of indicators (*n*: 110) is somewhat higher than in the EL1/EL1 set (*n*: 105). This is to be expected since the data analysis in Chapter Four revealed that there are slightly more negotiated turns in dialogues

with Japanese. Further comparisons across data sets take place in the discussion in subsection 5.5.

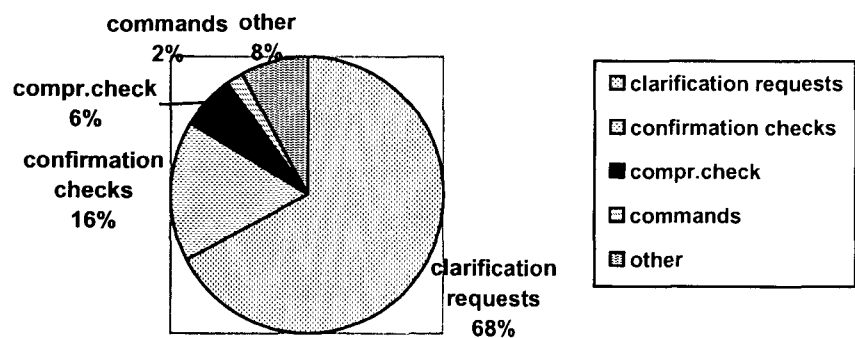


Figure 5.2. Functions of indicators in JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction (n: 110)

In the Japanese native speaker data, negotiation of understanding is mainly achieved with clarification requests as it was in the English data and just as Figure 5.1.a illustrates forms of EL1/EL1 clarification requests, Figure 5.2.a below examines in more detail the formal aspects of these requests in JL1/JL1 interaction. The other functions mentioned in 5.2 are referred to after the examination of forms of clarification requests.

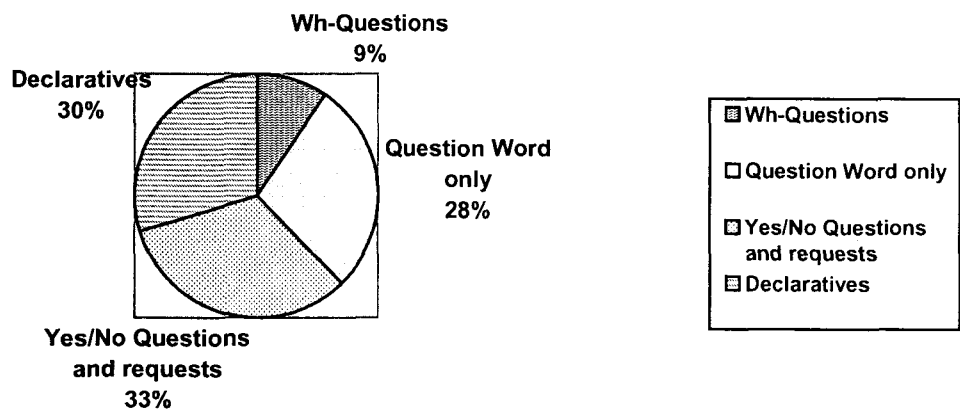


Figure 5.2.a. Forms of clarification requests in the indicator in JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction (n: 74)

Again, clarification requests are subdivided into interrogative or declarative forms, and as in English, over two thirds of all clarification requests are questions. Most questions are Yes/No Questions which include only a few requests for repetition such as *sumimasen* ‘sorry’. Overlapping Yes/No Questions such as illustrated in excerpt 5.4 also occurred in Japanese although less than in EL1/EL1 interaction.

The ‘Question Word only’ category (28%) comprises *nani* ‘what’, *doko* ‘where’, *nan de* ‘why’, but the Japanese children also have the tendency to use sub-lexical particles like *eh* and *he* meaning ‘huh’.

Wh-Questions (9%) in the indicator sometimes include a question like *nan date kore* ‘What was that?’ and are not answerable with ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. They can include a partial repetition which is embedded in an interrogative sentence, as shown in 5.6, line two:

(5.6) [JL1/JL1, D7 36-37]

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| 1. K | 四角形のやつですか。 | |
| | <i>shikakukei no yatsu desu ka</i> | <i>trigger</i> |
| | ‘is it the four-cornered thing?’ | |
| 2. M → | どっちの四角形ですか。 | |
| | <i>dochi no shikakukei desu ka</i> | <i>indicator</i> |
| | ‘which one of the four-cornered ones do you mean?’ | |
| | (remainder of the negotiation not relevant here) | |

About one third of the clarification requests (30%) in JL1/JL1 indicators consist of declaratives, and, as in English, most are comments asking for further clarification, such as in 5.7, line three:

(5.7) [JL1/JL1, D8: 26-29]

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------|
| 1. K | いいえ。 | |
| | <i>iie</i> ‘no’ | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. J | え、まじ。 | |
| | <i>eh maji</i> (0.5) ‘oh really’ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. → | え、短いボートじゃないの。 | |
| | <i>eh mijikai bo:to ja nai no</i> ‘so it’s not the short boat’ | |

Line two consists of a feedback demonstrating that indicators can be made up of more than one Turn Construction Unit (TCU) and in English, as well as in Japanese, such feedback

(for example: ‘Okay’, ‘Um’, ‘Oh’) is followed by a request for clarification. Feedback can also occur in responses and is further discussed in section 5.5.

Declaratives in clarification request indicators in Japanese can also consist of statements like *imi ga wakarimasen* ‘I don’t know what you mean’, or in short *wakarimasen* ‘I don’t understand’. Furthermore, declarative forms include utterances that are suggested by the other speaker after a pause in the trigger (delayed response) of the original speaker, such as in 5.8, line three:

(5.8) [JL1/JL1, D7: 69-73]

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | K | えっと。 | |
| | | <i>etto</i> (1) | <i>trigger</i> |
| | | ‘well’ | |
| 2. | M | 数えなくていいよ。 | |
| | | <i>kazoenakute ii yo</i> (0.5) | <i>indicator</i> |
| | | ‘you don’t have to count’ | |
| 3. | → | 山になってるとかさ。 | |
| | | <i><x> yama ni natteru toka {sa}</i> | |
| | | ‘does is look like a mountain or something like this {well}’ | |
| 4. | K | えっと、山になってるやつですか。 | |
| | | <i>etto yama ni natteru yatsu desu ka</i> | <i>response</i> |
| | | ‘well, is it the one looking like a mountain?’ | |
| 5. | M | はい、そうです。 | |
| | | <i>hai sou desu</i> | <i>reaction to response</i> |
| | | ‘yes that’s right’ | |

The type of suggestion prompt illustrated in line three is only rarely observed in native speaker talk but takes place more frequently in EL1/EL2 negotiation. The final turn of the negotiation sequence exemplifies an emphatic Yes/No answer, which is further discussed in section 6.6.1.

Returning to the functions of indicators, Figure 5.2 shows that confirmation checks are the second largest functional category (16%). In English as in Japanese, they consist of partial or exact repetitions and require only a Yes/No answer. Paraphrasing or comments requiring recoding of the information previously given, are not included in this category but in clarification requests. Commands are rarely used and traditionally Japanese speakers rely on indirect ways of forming requests. The only imperatives in the Japanese data set consisted of the word *hayaku* meaning ‘quickly’.

As mentioned above, comprehension checks refer to something the same speaker had said before and they are often repetitions. However, they can also consist of a question and an explanation, ensuring that one’s own prior utterance has been correctly understood by the listener:

(5.9) [JL1/JL1, D7: 9-13]

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| 1. K | うん。 | |
| | <i>un</i> | <i>trigger</i> |
| | ‘yes’ | |
| 2. M → | えっ、なんで。 | |
| | <i>eh nan de</i> | <i>indicator</i> |
| | ‘huh, why?’ | |
| 3. | 取っ手があるのとないのとあるでしょう。 | |
| | <i>totte ga aru to nai no aru deshoo</i> | |
| | ‘some have a door knob and others don’t’ | |
| 4. | ほら、これとこれと。 | |
| | <i>hora (0.5) kore to kore to</i> | |
| | ‘here you are (0.5) this and this’ | |
| 5. → | 分かる。 | |
| | <i>wakaru</i> | |
| | ‘do you understand?’ | |

K’s answer in line one should have been ‘No’ and the ‘Yes’ in line one triggered a negotiation sequence that is indicated by M with a clarification request in the form of a

question word in line two. This is followed by M's explanation (or comment) and a comprehension check in line five. Since the focus is only on the indicator here, the remainder of the sequence is not included.

As in the EL1/EL1 analysis, the category 'other' refers to indicators consisting of laughter, a voiced pause such as *eto* 'er' and *ano* 'well', or an attention signal (*aizuchi*) like *mm* or *hai* 'yes'. The use of *aizuchi* in JL1/JL1 dyads is very limited and is therefore not treated as a separate function. The next two sections are showing how partial or non-understanding is indicated by the twelve native speakers of English in dyadic interaction with twelve Japanese children speaking in English.

5.3 How do EL1 indicate incomplete understanding in EL1/EL2 negotiation?

Chapter Four distinguished between beginner and intermediate/advanced English learners' negotiated interaction. As for functions and forms, a closer examination of the data revealed that it is not so much the EL2 level of English that is significant, but which speaker initiates the negotiation sequence. This required an in-depth analysis of who indicated partial or non-understanding in EL1/EL2 dyads. This section firstly analyses the functions and forms of indicators by native speakers (EL1), followed by learner indicators (in 5.4).

The criteria used in this section are the same as for the respective native speaker negotiated interaction analysis. Again, the graph about functions (Figure 5.3 below) is directly followed by an examination of the forms of the most dominant function. The number (*n*) and percentages are, as usual, based on twelve participants.

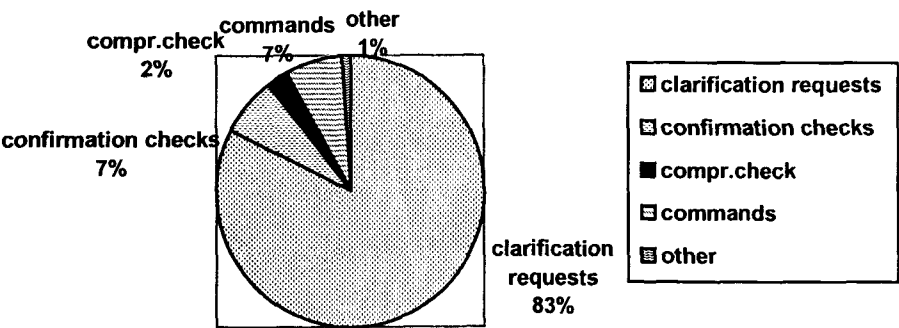


Figure 5.3. Functions of EL1 indicators in EL1/EL2 negotiation (*n*: 172)

As in L1 negotiation, the EL1 in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction also mainly indicates incomplete understanding with a clarification request and its forms are illustrated in 5.3.a.

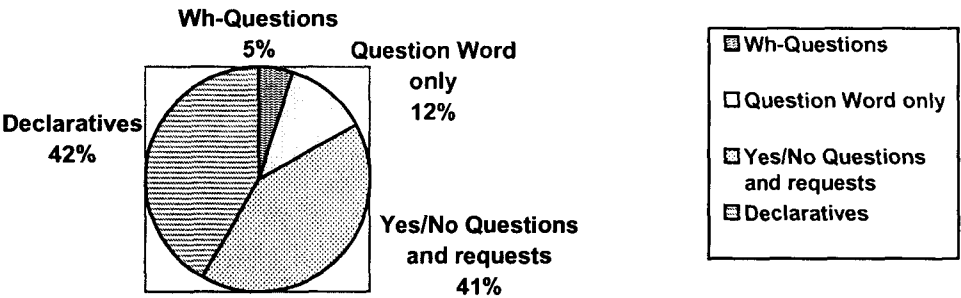


Figure 5.3.a. Forms of clarification requests in EL1 indicators in EL1/EL2 negotiation (n: 142)

It is important to note that the frequency of clarification requests in the indicator is higher in dialogues with learners in the beginner group. Further data analyses revealed that there are formal differences when EL1 negotiate with intermediate to advanced English learners. Table 5.1 hence further sub-divides the respective percentages that are amalgamated in Figure 5.3.a allowing for a better understanding of EL1 forms of clarification requests with EL2 learners:

EL1 Clarification requests	Question Word only	Yes/No Questions (and requests)	Wh-Questions	Declaratives
With EL2 int./adv.	8 %	59 %	11 %	22 %
With EL2 beginner	13 %	36 %	3 %	48 %

Table 5.1. EL1 clarification requests (n 142) with EL2 (intermediate/advanced) and EL2 (beginner)

Native speakers employ more Yes/No Questions (including requests) and Wh-Questions with the intermediate/advanced English learners than with beginners. With beginners the EL1 tend to use more question words such as ‘What’ or the sub-lexical particles ‘Huh’ or ‘Eh’. Declaratives by the EL1 usually follow an initial clarification requests and can consist of a correction or paraphrases as exemplified in 5.11 - 5.13. Requests for repetition (like ‘I beg your pardon’) are the same type of questions asked in EL1 native speaker negotiation.

In clarification requests with beginners, the EL2 trigger can be an incomplete utterance which is then picked up by the EL1 suggesting a Yes/No Question in the indicator:

(5.10) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D15: 30-33]

1. N (EL2)	(1) the man	<i>trigger</i>
2. Y (EL1)	→ is the man pointing to the woman/	<i>indicator</i>
3. N	point to the woman	<i>response</i>
4. Y	yes	<i>reaction to response</i>

N's noun phrase in line one is incorporated in Y's proposition in line two. However, N does not take up Y's suggested question (including inversion and a final rising pitch) and only repeats it partially in line three. This is one of numerous instances in the data showing beginners' problems with interrogative forms and intonation. Nevertheless, Y treats the utterance as a question by answering in the affirmative in line four. Line two also illustrates overlapping (or 'turn-sharing'). Overlaps occurred most frequently in EL1 negotiated interaction with EL2 beginners. It is interesting to note that the EL1 usually suggested the question, which corresponded to the correct answer in the task, allowing them to move on to the next set of pictures.

Yes/No Questions with intermediate/advanced learners often focus on structures or vocabulary. This is shown in 5.11 (line two) when P helps the learner to form a 'do' question which is otherwise rarely used by the EL2:

(5.11) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate), D20: 46-48]

1. S (EL2)	is it like a (2) a (.5) is	<i>trigger</i>
2. P (EL1)	→ does it have some (.5)	<i>indicator</i>
3. S (EL2)	does it have a (.5) sail	<i>response</i>
4. P	yes	

The TCU in progress in line one triggers P's proposition in line two. However, the short pause after 'some' gives S an opportunity to take over again and to finish off by adding 'sail'. Again, the repetition by the learner (in line three) does not include rising intonation. This example also demonstrates the pattern found throughout the data of speakers monitoring each others' utterances closely and collaborating in order to overcome trouble sources.

When indicators in EL1 clarification requests are declarative, they can consist of comments similar to the ones found in native speaker dialogues, including utterances such as ‘I don’t understand’. However, two thirds of the declaratives in clarification requests involve explanations, propositions or sometimes a correction in regard to the EL2’s trigger (like in 5.12, line two).

(5.12) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D14: 86-89]

1. Y (EL2)	eh (1) that bag a <shepu>	<i>trigger</i>
2. D (EL1) →	shape	<i>indicator</i>
3. Y	shape is circle	<i>response</i>
4. D	no	<i>reaction to response</i>

In line two above, D corrects Y’s pronunciation and in line three Y is able to pronounce ‘shape’ correctly. Native speaker repetition in the indicator in the form of ‘recasts’ (or ‘input’) is discussed extensively in the literature and is examined in-depth in Chapter Seven. Recasts refer to the reformulation in the target language of all or part of the learners’ immediately preceding utterance. An overview by Long (2002) of more than 30 studies in this field shows that recasts not only facilitate morphological and lexical learning, but also promote syntactic development and the learning of patterns. His findings are confirmed in the present study since learners often made use of lexis and structures suggested by the NS.

Although it is not always clear whether improved EL2 performance as a result of ‘recasts’ leads to long-term acquisition, recasts do give learners the opportunity to compare their interlanguage to target structures, to notice the contrast, and to use the input in their responses (such as Y did in his response in 5.12, line three). Furthermore, D’s answer ‘No’ (in line four) shows that the native speakers are not always correcting incomplete utterances and accept EL2 propositions such as ‘Shape is circle’ as questions, although the articles are missing and inversion or question intonation are not used. The EL2 (beginner) inability to form questions by applying pitch raise, inversion or ‘do’ constructions is not only noticeable in line one and three of example 5.12, but in many of the other EL2 questions across the data (such as in 5.10, line three).

The EL1 clarification request in the indicator can also consist of an initial question that is followed by declaratives consisting of an explanation or suggestions stretching over a number of AS-units, for example, after an EL2 pause which triggered the negotiation here:

(5.13) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate) D19: 39-46]

- 1. A (EL1) | {um} does it have {a} a long moustache or short moustache |
 - 2. | it might have a lo=ng moustache |
 - 3. | so that one has short | (probably pointing at the EL2's picture)
 - 4. | very small |
 - 5. | that one has long |
 - 6. | so you think mine has a lo=ng moustache |
 - 7. | {long you say} you say lo=ng |
 - 8. | and his bea=rd is big |
- (remainder of sequence not relevant here)

Speaker A, a girl, proposes in the indicator (triggered by a long pause) a number of possible ways of asking about some details on the pictures they are looking at. It is interesting to see how she uses opposites such as ‘long’ and ‘short’, as well as ‘small’ and ‘big’ to make her point. In line six, she tries to find out what her partner thinks and since there is no response, she suggests in line seven what to say. This example also shows the effort some native speakers make in order to help the learners with their understanding and expression. The native speaker often uses forms of repetition such as elaborations or paraphrases in order to make themselves understood, rather than comprehension checks.

Although the majority of indicators are clarification requests, other functions are possible. Figure 5.3 above relating EL1 initiated negotiation in EL1/EL2 communication, illustrates that 7% of all indicators are confirmation checks which always consist of a repetition. The repetition in confirmation checks is mainly partial and is further discussed in the repetition chapter.

EL1 commands (also 7%) include sentences such as ‘Hurry up!’ or ‘God, ask something!’. In one case the EL1 is quite specific about the question type to be used:

(5.14) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D13: 81-85]

1. Y (EL2)	<L1 mumbling> (1) cup	<i>trigger</i>
2. S (EL1)	are you asking me like what type of cup is it ::	
3.	→ because you can’t ask that!	<i>indicator</i>
4.	→ you have to ask a direct question! (1)	
5.	like is it an egg cup :: is it a vase :: is it a saucer	
6. Y (EL2)	excuse me ((turns to the researcher for help))	

Y’s question attempt in line one is followed by S’s instruction on the form of questions to be asked. Instead of responding, Y calls the researcher for help.

Comprehension checks (2%) are rarely used in the indicator. The remaining 1% (‘other’ category in Figure 5.3) refers to turns taken by one participant, who sings every time the nonnative speaker pauses to think about an utterance. Such turns are included since all vocal sounds are considered by the present study as a contribution to the overall dialogue. The next section examines the indicators of the children speaking English as a second language.

5.4 EL2 indicators in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction

Learners do not indicate incomplete understanding as often as the native speaker. Considering that in EL1/EL2 dyads the EL1 started negotiated sequences 172 times, the EL2 figure of 90 represents considerably less initiations. This is further discussed and contrasted across data sets in Table 5.2 in the next section.

Initiations of negotiation sequences by Japanese participants learning English as a second language (EL2) are shown in Figure 5.4. The number and percentages represent all twelve EL2 participants (beginners, intermediate and advanced learners).

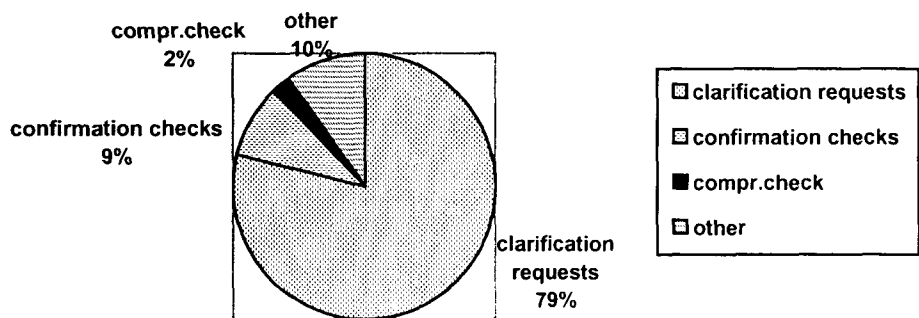


Figure 5.4. Functions of EL2 indicators in EL1/EL2 negotiation (n: 90)

The Japanese participants learning English as their second language also indicate incomplete understanding predominantly by requesting clarification and the forms of clarification requests are illustrated in Figure 5.4.a:

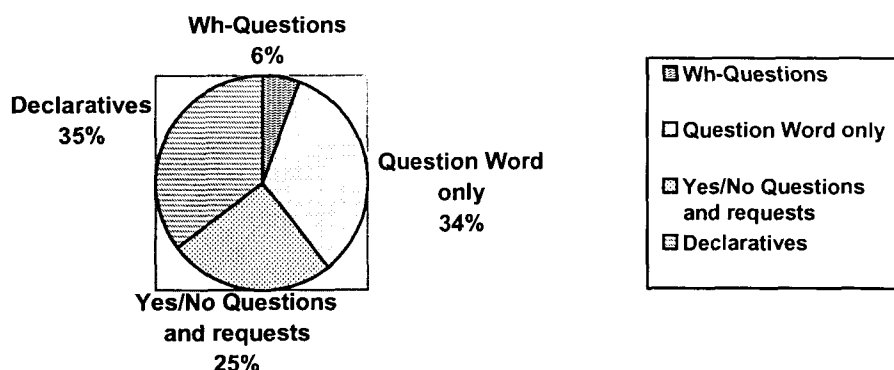


Figure 5.4.a. Forms of clarification requests in EL2 indicators in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction (n: 71)

This time there is no separate table needed to distinguish clarification requests in regard to the EL2 level of proficiency, since the majority of EL2 clarification requests originate from the beginner's group, with the amount of EL2 (intermediate/advanced) requests being too small to make a further subdivision meaningful.

About one third of all EL2 indicators are declaratives and can consist of a learner's request after a proposition by the native speaker in the trigger:

(5.15) [EL1/EL2 (beginners), D13: 1-4]

- | | | |
|------------|--|------------------|
| 1. S (EL1) | like you could ask me how many of these rectangles are there | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. D (EL2) | → <x> I should say (<x>= unclear) | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. S | how many of the cans are there | <i>response</i> |

S puts forward an utterance but rather than repeating the suggested question, D asks for further clarification. D’s request in line two is cut off by S, who stipulates another question. Since the focus here is on EL2 indicators in the form of clarification requests, the remainder of the negotiated sequence is not relevant.

The learners often indicate incomplete understanding with an interrogative word (34% of times). Rather than a Wh-Question word though (used only once by this category), the learners prefer to use interrogative particles such as ‘Eh?’ ‘Huh’ or ‘He?’, with ‘Eh’ being their most popular choice.

Wh-Questions (representing 6% of the EL2 clarification requests) are mainly asked by the more advanced learner and tend to focus on vocabulary, as in this example of a complex sequence, where the ‘response’ becomes the ‘trigger’ of another negotiation cycle:

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

1. J (EL1)	{does it} does the shape have two axes in symmetry/ (1)	<i>trigger</i>
2. N (EL2)	→ @ <x> what was symmetry/ (@ = laughter)	<i>indicator</i>
3. J	okay {ah} do all sides look equal (1)	<i>response/trigger</i>
4. N	is it equ- (.)	<i>indicator</i>
5. J	equal means like the same length	<i>response</i>
6. N	oh yeah yes	<i>reaction to response</i>

J responds to N’s Wh-Question (in line two) with a paraphrase in line three. Since N does not understand ‘equal’, this triggers another negotiation cycle. N’s unsuccessful attempt to pronounce ‘equal’ in line four leads to an explanation by J in line five, enabling N to answer J’s original question (line one). The data shows that N uses the word ‘equal’ successfully in a subsequent question. In L1 interaction, simple sequences prevail, however, in EL1/EL2 negotiation, there are more complex sequences (see Chapter Four). Excerpt 5.16 demonstrates why that is often so and how responses can trigger further negotiation. It further illustrates how negotiated interaction provides the learner with input and opportunities to produce modified output.

Yes/No Questions (25%) in clarification requests typically consist of declaratives with an interrogative intonation, although a final rising pitch is not always applied to the sentence. In the nonnative speaker data, there is only limited use of Yes/No Questions with ‘Do’ or inverted word order, and there are no EL2 tag questions. In contrast to EL1 indicators in EL1/EL2 interaction, overlap questions are not used by learners. Requests for repetition which are included in the Yes/No Question category are ‘Pardon?’ and ‘Sorry?’. This concludes the examination of formal aspects of EL2 clarification requests.

The next largest category after clarification requests (see Figure 5.4) is confirmation checks (9%) which consisted of repetitions. Note that in EL2 checks it is not always transparent whether the learners actually understand what they repeat:

(5.17) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D15: 109-112]

1. Y (EL1)	{eh} (2) does it have sixteen/	<i>trigger</i>
2. N (EL2) →	sikt/	<i>indicator</i>
3. Y	like cans (1)	<i>response</i>
4. N	{ah} no	<i>reaction</i>

In line two, the learner attempts to repeat the final word of the previous utterance, however, N’s incorrect pronunciation indicates that he has not quite understood what Y means to express. N is only able to respond to the initial question after Y’s elaboration in line three.

The following example also illustrates the point that a confirmation check by a learner might indicate that the repeated word (such as in line two and line six) is not yet part of their English repertoire:

(5.18) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D14: 129-135]

1. D (EL1)	does yours have a beard/	<i>trigger</i>
2. Y (EL2) →	{eh} (.5) bear (1) {eh}	<i>indicator</i>
3. D	does it have a beard like <x> (gesture)	<i>response</i>
4. Y	{eh} yes	<i>reaction to response</i>
5. D	{um} does it have a moustache/	<i>trigger</i>
6. Y →	eh <massage> (3) eh	<i>indicator</i>

When language learners repeat the last word of the previous turn this might not be a confirmation but rather an indication of non-understanding, and Long's (1983, 1996) term 'confirmation check' does not really reflect this. However, this study adheres to the original term since post-session interviews with the students were not possible and the learner's intention remains therefore uncertain. Nonetheless, variations in regard to repetition in native speaker settings and EL1/EL2 communication will be further investigated in Chapter Seven.

Only a few comprehension checks are used in EL1/EL2 indicators and commands do not occur at all. The 'other' category mainly comprises discourse particles (hesitation sounds) followed by a pause, a phenomenon also examined in Chapter Eight. The next section (5.5) amalgamates and discusses findings related to indicators in all negotiation sequences.

5.5 Discussion: Indicators in negotiation sequences across data sets

Although this study focuses mainly on how understanding is negotiated with and as a learner in EL1/EL2 dyads, such an analysis would be flawed without a comparison to similar interactions in their respective native tongue. To the researcher's knowledge, previous studies on negotiated interaction only refer to data in native speaker negotiated interaction of English speakers. The present study also allows for an insight into Japanese native speaker negotiation and identifies similarities and variances of EL1/EL2 data with respective native speaker results. A framework of functional and formal categories has been established allowing for an in-depth understanding of the data. This means that the important dimension of cross-linguistic communication is addressed as the necessary background to inter-linguistic interaction.

To provide an overview of how the participants in this study indicate partial or non-understanding in their mother tongues (EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1) as well as with or as a learner (EL1/EL2), functions of indicators in all data sets are summarised in Table 5.2. The respective percentages are taken from the Figures 5.1 - 5.4 in the result sections 5.1 – 5.4. The summary table allows for a comparison and contrast of the findings relevant to functions of indicators in negotiated interaction in EL1/EL1, JL1/JL1, EL1 in EL1/EL2 and EL2 in EL1/EL2 dyads. Table 5.2 does not include any new information.

INDICATOR in all data sets (<i>n</i>)	Clarification requests	Confirmation checks	Comprehension checks	Commands	Other
EL1/EL1 (<i>n</i> 105)	57 %	17%	3 %	17 %	6 %
JL1/JL1 (<i>n</i> 110)	68 %	16 %	6 %	2 %	8 %
EL1/EL2(EL1 <i>n</i> 172)	83 %	7 %	2 %	7 %	1 %
EL1/EL2 (EL2 <i>n</i> 90)	79 %	9 %	2%	-	10 %

Table 5.2. Summary table of functions of indicators in the data

Note firstly that each row in Table 5.2 corresponds to the results for twelve participants since the native speaker dyads are composed of twelve and EL1/EL2 dyads of twenty-four participants (twelve EL1 and twelve EL2) respectively. The numbers (*n*) in brackets represent the amount of indicators the percentages are based on.

In EL1/EL2 interaction, the functions of negotiation by the twelve native speakers (EL1) are listed separately from the twelve learners (EL2). This allows comparing EL1 patterns in native speaker negotiation (EL1/EL1) and in interactions with learners (EL1 in EL1/EL2), as well as aspects of JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction with EL2 behaviour of the Japanese participants in EL1/EL2 dyads.

Overall, negotiation occurs more often in interactions with learners, and this is reflected in the higher number of EL1 indicators in EL1/EL2 dyads. It is important to recognise that the native English speaker initiates a negotiation sequence almost twice as often as a learner: 172 times as compared to 90 times. There are a number of ways to reasonably account for this. The disproportionate indication of partial or non-understanding by the EL1 could reflect the EL2s' hesitance to express comprehension problems or it may be the case that they do not have the linguistic tools to do so.

There is some evidence in the literature for additional explanations. For example, Foster (1998: 19) says that NNS may adopt the strategy of 'pretend and hope' rather than the strategy of 'check and clarify', and that some participants in her research ignored trouble sources and simply moved on to the next topic. However, this was not the case in the present study although it later became evident that some responses were wrong, that is, some answers were accepted as correct without checking whether all details were accurately understood.

A comparison of the respective functions presented in Table 5.2 reveals that all children rely primarily on clarification requests. As in the previous sections, clarification requests are sub-divided into their forms and analysed first owing to their prominent use. In order to allow for a better overview, sub-section 5.5.1 investigates forms of clarification requests across the data and 5.5.2 examines the other functions indicated in Table 5.2.

5.5.1 Forms of clarification requests across the data

Clarification requests represent by far the largest functional category in indicators and it is important to further analyse their forms in order to compare specific intra- and inter-linguistic features. When speaking with their peers in their native tongue, the English-speaking children used clarification request 57% of the times, but when speaking to learners of English the number of clarification requests was much higher (83%). The Japanese participants employ more clarification requests in native speaker negotiation (68%) but less than their counterparts in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction (79%). Since clarification requests are often not further elaborated on in negotiation research, this study chose to examine their formal components.

Forms of clarification requests per data set were outlined in the Figures 5.1.a - 5.4.a. Table 5.2.a below summarises all respective numbers and percentages. As above, each row represents twelve participants and (n) indicates the number of clarification requests the percentages are based on.

Clarification requests: form (n)	Question Word only	Yes/No Questions repetition request	Wh-Questions	Declaratives
EL1/EL1 (n 60)	27 %	30 %	12 %	31 %
JL1/JL1 (n 74)	28 %	33 %	9 %	30 %
EL1/EL2 (EL1n142)	12 %	41 %	5 %	42 %
EL1/EL2 (EL2n 71)	34 %	25 %	6 %	35 %

Table 5.2.a. Forms of clarification requests in indicators across data sets

A comparison of the native speaker data (EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1) reveals only non-significant differences (three percent or less) in the respective forms of clarification requests so that both, Japanese and English native speakers, clarify primarily with Yes/No Questions and question words. This also shows that in regard to clarification requests, speakers of both languages rely on similar L1 norms.

Repetition requests like the English ‘pardon me’ or ‘sorry’ form only a small part of the Yes/No category and are therefore not listed separately. Wh-questions are used less frequently, especially by Japanese speakers. In both native speaker data sets (EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1) close to one third of all clarification requests are in declarative form.

Again, it is of interest to trace back EL1/EL2 negotiation to the respective speaker’s L1 patterns. For example, contrasting the percentages in row one and row three in Table 5.2.a shows that the EL1 in EL1/EL2 dyads employs fewer question words and Wh-Questions than in EL1/EL1 dyads. However, the EL1 uses declaratives and Yes/No Questions (including requests for repetition) more frequently with learners than with their native speaker counterparts. This allows the proposition that when speaking with an EL2, the EL1 often requests clarification in a declarative form and when asking a question, s/he uses Yes/No Questions rather than Wh-Questions which are more difficult to answer for a learner, especially at the beginner level. This shows that although the participants are still young, they are able to adjust their language to their interlocutor.

Since there are twice as many EL1 than EL2 clarification requests ($n142$ as opposed to $n71$), EL1 forms have been further examined with regard to the EL2 English level in section 5.3 (Table 5.1). The findings show that the percentage of Yes/No and Wh-Questions (as well as repetition requests) is higher when an EL1 speaks with intermediate or advanced learners, while the majority of the declaratives sentences are directed towards beginners. EL1 clarification requests ‘push’ the learner to clarify the trigger and by providing a response consisting of ‘comprehensible output’ they participate actively in the meaningful construction of understanding.

The formal analysis of clarification requests by Japanese participants in native interaction in Table 5.2.a, row two, and as a learner in row four, reveals that when speaking English, they use more question words and declaratives but fewer Yes/No and Wh-Questions than in their mother tongue. About one third (34%) of EL2 clarification requests consisted of a question word only and rather than using a Wh-question word, the EL2 usually indicated non-understanding with sub-lexical particles such as ‘Huh?’, ‘Ha?’, ‘Mm?’ or ‘Eh?’. With

sub-lexical question words it remains unclear whether only part of the trigger or the entire utterance is not understood. Golinkoff (1986: 464) reports that the use of such particles is quite common with English speaking children and this proposition is confirmed not only in the L1 English data, but in JL1 interaction and the EL2/EL1 findings in the present study.

Question words are categorised by Deen (1997: 134) as ‘minimal feedback questions’ and it is interesting to note that they occurred in a similar proportion in her analysis of NNS indicators (30% of times). Moreover, NNS use Wh-questions in 7% of Deen’s data compared to 6% in the present study.

EL2 clarification requests require that the EL1 has to repeat or alter the trigger and this creates an opportunity for the language learner to listen again and focus their attention on what has not been understood. The present findings also reveal that EL2 questions often differ from EL1 questions, particularly in their absence of pitch raise, inversion, or ‘do’ constructions. As explained in the methodology section 3.7, none of these criteria are necessary in Japanese which forms questions by adding the question particle *ka* to a declarative sentence. The data show that only the more advanced EL2 participants seem to be able to supply correctly formed questions in English. In addition, repetition requests such as ‘sorry’ or ‘excuse me’ were rarely employed by the learner, implying that certain pragmatic skills have not been acquired yet.

Clarification requests in indicators can also consist of a sentence started by one speaker which is then finished off or expanded by the other speaker, making the request a joint effort. A separate analysis shows that this form of overlap (or ‘turn-sharing’) within clarification requests mainly occurs with the EL1 in EL1/EL2 negotiation (11% of times) and in EL1/EL1 (also 11%), but less in JL1/JL1 (5%) and not at all with EL2 in EL1/EL2 dyads (0%).

This phenomenon is also discussed in the literature. Iwashita (2003: 15-17) analyses triggers of negotiation by learners of Japanese (speaking in Japanese), indicators by native Japanese speakers and the learner’s responses. Her study included a ‘completion’ category that is indicators by the native speaker (JL1) completing the NNS incomplete utterance

which triggers the negotiation. Interestingly, the percentage of such ‘completion moves’ (in overlaps) by the Japanese native speaker is 5% - the equivalent of JL1/JL1 completion in this study.

The present study adopted Lerner’s (2002) term ‘turn-sharing’ for this phenomenon, and it is noticeable that the turn-taking by the other speaker is almost always preceded by a pause:

(5.19) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D15: 10-12]

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|---|--|------------------|
| 1. | N (EL2) | | the woman and man is pointing <nani> pointing (1) <L1> | |
| 2. | Y (EL1) | → | pointing each other/ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. | N | | each other\ | |
| 4. | Y | | no | |

In line two, the EL1 completed the TCU in progress and his suggestion is repeated (without interrogative intonation) by N in line three. This example again demonstrates the native speaker’s tolerance of incomplete questions and how the task progresses with the EL1’s help.

It seems reasonable to suggest that taking over a TCU in progress in native speaker clarification requests is usually not because the other speaker does not know a word or how to structure a sentence, but rather because of the speaker needs more time to plan his sentence such as shown in the following excerpt:

(5.20) [JL1/JL1, D8: 20-24]

- | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|------------------|
| 1. | K | | ええと。 | |
| | | | eeto (2) | <i>trigger</i> |
| | | | ‘well’ | |
| 2. | J | → | 八本切りとか。 | |
| | | | happongiri toka (1) | <i>indicator</i> |
| | | | ‘like cut into eight cylindrical shapes?’ | |
| 3. | K | | えっ、円と四角混ざってるです。 | |
| | | | {ee} maru to shikaku mazateru desu | <i>response</i> |
| | | | ‘{er} round and square(s) mixed’ | |

language, confirmation checks are used to a lesser extent (7% and 9% of times respectively).

EL1 confirmation checks in the indicator often go beyond the learner's interlanguage in the trigger by providing them with models in the target language. Repetition allows the learner to review what has been said and can facilitate short-term retention of new vocabulary, grammatical or syntactic structures. Since Other-speaker as well as Same-speaker repetition is an important feature not only in 'indicators' but also in 'responses', it will be examined as a function in its own right. In confirmation checks, the EL2 repeats (or attempts to repeat) the trouble source, however, in contrast to L1 interaction, the data show that it is not always clear if the learners actually understand what they repeat.

Comprehension checks are employed twice as often in Japanese (6%) than in English native speaker negotiated interaction (3% of times). However, in EL1/EL2 such checks are only listed with 2% for either speaker. The highest proportional difference in the native speaker data are commands (or requests/directives) representing 17% of EL1/EL1 indicators but only 2% of JL1/JL1 indicators. In EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, they are only used by the native speaker and not by the learner.

In Long's (1983a: 137) taxonomy, imperatives were included in clarification requests but since native English speaker use them relatively often, in the present study they are listed separately. Commands (directives) usually occur after a pause and request the other speaker to take a turn. The Japanese participants in this study rarely employ commands in their native language and not at all in English. This is also the case in Deen's (1997) research in which only the native English speakers use commands (imperatives), but not the learners.

The 'other' category of indicators in all data sets includes voiced pauses (particles), mumbling, some *aizuchi* 'feedback' and laughter. Such instances are only accounted for in this category if they represented a turn and were not followed by a sentence. It is interesting to note that in native speaker negotiated interaction the percentages in these categories are similar: 6% in EL1/EL1 and 8% in JL1/JL1 dyads.

In contrast to adults, the 12year old Japanese participants rarely use *aizuchi* and this could be traced back to their relatively young age. Other studies have also found that back-channelling is an ability which is developed over time and requires a linguistic level often not reached in children's first language development until adolescence (Hess & Johnston, 1988; Wong 2000). The data of the present study confirms that monitoring the other speaker's speech in the form of *aizuchi* appears to be a skill which is acquired very late in L1 development; however, further analysis of this feature did not take place since this is not a component of interaction that is particularly relied on in negotiation.

Another interesting finding is that in the EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, the EL1 employ significantly fewer voiced pauses (including hesitation particles) or mumbling in indicators than the EL2 (1% versus 10%). The EL2's voiced pauses, sentence fragments or false starts are usually followed by a silent pause. The difference of 9% between EL1 and EL2 speakers can often be traced back to the learner's inability to form a sentence that can be classified in any of the functional categories proposed by this study.

Deen (1997: 115, 134) found the same contrast, that is, that nonverbal indicators are much higher with nonnative speakers than with native speakers (38% as opposed to 10%). Nonverbal indicators in her study included trouble indicators, which could not be coded in any other category (for example, discourse particles such as 'Uh' or a silence at a transition relevant place (TRP). Deen does not indicate the length of the pause considered as 'silence at a TRP'. Since the other speaker usually continues his/her turn after a pause, pauses (or silence) are not considered as a turn in the present study (except for very long pauses triggering negotiation). Silent and voiced pauses are however a salient feature in negotiation and hence discussed separately.

Finally, there are a number of instances where a TCU consists of laughter. Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (1987) discuss various aspects of laughter and consider it to be a 'systematically produced, socially organized activity' (p. 152). Rather than treating laughter as a non-speech sound, transcription allows for an observation of how speech and laughter interweave at times. Laughter can be distinguished from other non-speech sounds in that it has, for participants, the status of an official conversational activity.

In order to recognise the interactional work accomplished by laughter it is referred to in the transcription. It can be found at the beginning, middle or end of a turn forming part of a negotiation sequence. Its main role in the present study appears to be as a mitigator before admitting non-understanding especially by the Japanese participants as illustrated in 5.16 above (repeated here):

(5.16) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate), D21: 5-6]

- | | |
|------------|--|
| 1. J (EL1) | {does it} does the shape have two axes in symmetry/ (1) <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. N (EL2) | → @ <x> what was symmetry/ (@ = laughter) <i>indicator</i> |

Just as Japanese speakers tend to smile in a number of situations Westerners would not (Harumi, 1999: 102), they also have a tendency to laugh in awkward situations in order to avoid losing face. The researcher has experienced a number of situations with Japanese where laughing in awkward situations was a trigger of negotiation since it is often misinterpreted by participants of another culture.

5.6 Summary: Initiating native and nonnative negotiated interaction

The present study is unique in that it allows for a multi-dimensional insight into how non- or partial understanding is indicated by examining how native speakers of English interact with each other and with a learner, as opposed to Japanese native speaker interaction and Japanese learners of English. In native speaker interaction, negotiation can be triggered by any utterance (Schegloff et al, 1977: 363) and the present analysis therefore mainly focussed on the turn initiating the negotiation sequence which is the indicator. The findings show that in English and Japanese L1 interaction, negotiation is often initiated with a clarification request (see Table 5.2).

An in-depth analysis of formal features of L1 clarification requests reveals that just over two thirds of them are interrogatives, mainly consisting of Yes/No Questions (including repetition requests) or question words only (Table 5.2.a). It was interesting to note that rather than using Wh-Question words such as ‘What?’ or ‘Where?’ the children mostly use sub-lexical particles with a rising intonation like ‘Huh?’, ‘Ha?’, ‘Eh?’, ‘He?’ or ‘Mm?’, with ‘Eh?’ being the most frequent choice. Clarification requests in the form of Wh-Questions are less common and usually consist of short phrases such as ‘Which one is it?’, ‘Which person?’, ‘Like what?’ or a Wh-Question word and a repetition.

Close to one third of the clarification requests in indicators in EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction consist of declaratives. Most of them are comments requesting further clarification or refining. It is remarkable that there are no significant formal differences in clarification requests in English and Japanese considering that different speakers and dissimilar languages are involved. Table 5.2.a shows that only minimal variations (one to three percent) take place.

There is also little variation between L1 data sets in regard to confirmation checks, as these are used to the same extent in the EL1/EL1 and JL1/JL1 data. Most confirmation checks in the data have a rising intonation, a form also called 'echo questions'. Functions of indicators can also include commands, which are used recurrently by the English speakers, but rarely in Japanese native speaker interaction. Comprehension checks in indicators are used more often by Japanese than by English children, although their overall number is too small to allow for generalisations.

As in native speaker communication, there is no explicit pattern in EL1/EL2 utterances prompting negotiation sequences. Possible trouble sources triggering negotiation could be the EL1 use of ellipsis, unfamiliar vocabulary and structures, or EL2 sentence fragments, unclear pronunciation and pauses. Learners' mistakes in triggers are often unrectified and error correction such as in student/teacher dialogues is not an EL1 priority. The EL1 participants can be quite flexible and their main aim appears to be to reach understanding in order to continue their task. This proposition is supported by Foster and Snyder-Ohta's (2005) paper comparing L2 learner interaction in Japanese and English. Their research also shows that the focus of the participants is help one another to express meaning and to collaborate with the other speaker in order to proceed with the task (pp. 424-425).

Functions and forms of EL1/EL2 indicators vary according to speakers and a closer examination of the data revealed that although all children rely primarily on clarification requests, they are used in an even higher proportion in EL1/EL2 indicators. Furthermore, NS indicate incomplete understanding almost twice as often as NNS (172 EL1 indicators

versus 90 EL2 initiations). The disproportionate use of indicators by the native speaker in the dyad might reflect the nonnative speakers' hesitance to admit comprehension problems or their limited knowledge of English to do so.

In negotiation with a learner, most native English speakers put considerable effort into getting their meaning across. The EL1 are resilient in pursuing their task, and although some of them encountered major communication problems they showed patience and concern with their L2 interlocutors. The data and relevant excerpts in the present chapter show that they use a number of strategies to get their message across or to understand what the less proficient speaker tried to express.

For instance, when requesting clarification, the EL1 indicators contain fewer Wh-Questions and question words and more Yes/No Questions and declaratives than with a native speaker counterpart. The EL1 might sense that for a speaker with limited English, Wh-questions are more difficult to answer and therefore presents his/her query in a form which requires only a 'Yes' or 'No' answer. EL1 declaratives often consist of an explanation or a proposition and sometimes a correction. As shown in Table 5.1, most EL1 adjust the form of their clarification requests to the English level of their EL2 interlocutor. These findings suggest that the native speaker participants are able to sensitively calibrate their language according to the level of their interlocutor and are prepared to help them with their understanding. Interestingly, children do not seem to use 'foreigner talk' as an option making the researcher wonder why adults would sometimes address nonnative speakers in grammatically wrong English. This topic is, however, not related to negotiation.

Comprehension checks are infrequent but understanding is often assured by other means such as self-repetition, further discussed in the repetition chapter. In addition, a number of times the EL1 finishes the EL2 TCU in progress and this might show an effort made by the native speaker to overcome the learner's trouble source. On the other hand, the data shows that when given extra time, some EL2 can finish off their sentence. The interpretation of pauses plays a significant role in negotiation and is further discussed in Chapter Eight.

In EL1/EL2 negotiation, the EL1 often takes on the role of a teacher by providing the EL2 with models in the target language but, as mentioned previously, they appear to be more lenient than teachers in regard to the learner's proposition. For example, learners' questions are often formed incorrectly (no inversion or Wh-word), have no rising intonation and include grammatical errors, still most native speaker interlocutors consider them to be questions since they answer with 'Yes' or 'No'. Question formation appears to be a problem for many learners and only some of the intermediate and the advanced participants were able to structure target-like Wh- or Yes/No Questions. Question forms and development stages in negotiation are analysed in an empirical study by Mackay (1999: 583) which concludes that learners who participate in negotiated interaction improve their competence in question formation. Although the present study does not aim to document EL2 long-term development as a result of recasts (EL1 Other-repetition), it supports the premise that EL1 repetition in indicators does give learners the opportunity to compare their interlanguage to target structures and to improve their output.

In EL2 indicators, learners usually use clarification requests or confirmation checks to ask for additional input. EL2 clarification requests consist of more question words but fewer Yes/No and Wh-Questions than in clarification requests in their mother tongue (JL1). It was interesting to note that EL2 question words are predominantly interrogative sub-lexical particles such as 'Eh?' or 'He?' and that a Wh-Question word is only used once (i.e. 'What'). Reasons for this could either be that they are trying to reach understanding with minimal means or that their low linguistic competence in English does not allow them to form appropriate questions. As mentioned above, throughout the EL2 data there is a pattern showing that questions are rarely produced in a target-like way in that inversion and 'do' constructions as well as final rising intonation are often absent. This pattern might indicate a transfer phenomenon since none of these criteria are necessary for question formation in Japanese (as explained in section 3.7.2).

Clarification requests can also consist of declaratives which usually indicate trouble or request help. Requests for repetition such as 'Sorry' or 'Excuse me' or feedback tokens (acknowledgements) are hardly ever used by the learner. The EL2 also employ less

comprehension checks in their second language. The Japanese participants in this study rarely employ commands in their native language and not at all in English.

Furthermore, about one tenth of the EL2 indicators are not included in any of the functional categories. These indicators consist of sentence fragments, laughter or feedback (as a turn) and mumbling (or 'private speech'). Laughter might be used as a mitigator to mask the learner's inability to supply an adequate response when given their turn (TRP). Mumbling often takes place in their L1. Private speech is an interesting feature of learner talk and its role is discussed extensively in Snyder-Ohta (2000). Overall, the EL2 data reveals that learners do not and perhaps cannot express themselves in the same way they do in their native tongue.

Importantly, Foster's (1998: 19) proposition that NNS often adopt the strategy of 'pretend and hope' rather than the strategy of 'check and clarify' is not confirmed in this study, since native and nonnative speaker dyads collaborated at all times and did not give up or jump tasks. Moreover, the dyadic nature of the task did not allow the EL2 to remain idle, such as in small groups with more than two participants. However, the lower number of EL2 indications of incomplete understanding show that learners might be reticent to start out the negotiation process.

These findings are of great interest since they clearly establish who initiates negotiation and how. Furthermore, the investigation of intra- and inter-lingual factors allows for valuable insights in regard to EL1/EL2 interactions and a better understanding of the respective speakers L1 norms. The indicator is followed by a response and the next chapter analyses responses and possible additional final turns of negotiation sequences across the data.

Chapter Six: The response and final turns in negotiation sequences

6.0 Introduction

After the trigger and indicator, the response forms the third turn in the process of negotiating understanding. In this turn, the speakers who originally triggered the negotiation sequence often respond with an utterance clarifying their own trouble source or they confirm (or disconfirm) what the other speaker expresses in the indicator. Long's (1983a) original categories adapted for 'indicators' apply to responses in only a limited way, for example, speakers may sometimes use clarification requests in this turn but rarely use any checks.

A number of studies in the same field use Pica et al's (1991) response categories consisting of an 'acknowledgement', a 'repetition of the trigger' or a 'repetition of indicator'. These categories correspond to 'Yes/No answers', 'comprehension checks' or 'confirmation checks' in the present study. Oliver's (1995a) model mainly focuses on repetitions by the NNS in answer to a NS recast. Williams et al's (1997) informative research paper also mainly discusses clarification requests, checks and repetition without further specifying how understanding takes place in the response or final part of a negotiation sequence.

As Chapter Five showed, the dominant speech act in indicators is seeking clarification in the form of 'clarification requests', so it is unsurprising that the reply of the other speaker provides clarification. As mentioned before, there is no category in Long's typology for the answers to requests or checks except if they are repetitions. For any responses to the trouble indicator, Ondarra (1997) employs the term 'clarificatory responses'. Deen (1997), on the other hand, labels answers to clarification requests 'trouble clarification' and her study shows that although most of them consist of repetitions, they can consist of corrections, suggestions or a word supply. Another term covering many responses in this category is 'other-initiated self-repair' (Schegloff et al, 1977). The present study employs the term 'clarification responses' (or 'clarifying responses') since the bulk of responses consists of giving clarification. The formal features of 'clarifying responses' will be investigated in separate graphs.

Furthermore, confirmation or comprehension checks in the indicator are usually replied to with ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ and such answers are listed in the graph below under ‘Yes/No answers’. Additional functional categories in the response turn are ‘clarification requests’ and an ‘other’ category (further discussed in the corresponding sections). The layout of the response section corresponds to the previous indicator section. The next four sections (6.1 to 6.4) illustrate functions and forms of responses in negotiated interaction across data sets: firstly in English and Japanese native speaker interaction and then in EL1/EL2 negotiation with a distinction made between EL1 and EL2 responses. In section 6.5, similarities and variations of functions and forms of responses in all data sets are discussed and related to other findings along with tables contrasting the information presented in the respective graphs. 6.6 examines possible additional turns in a negotiation sequence such as the ‘reaction to the response’ and the ‘resolution’. The discussion in 6.7 ties up the present chapter.

6.1 Functions and forms of responses in English native speaker negotiation

This section firstly illustrates how English L1 speakers respond to EL1 trouble indicators (illustrated in Figure 5.1 in section 5.1). EL1 replies mainly consist of a response clarifying the trouble source, or a Yes/No answer following a confirmation check in the indicator. Sometimes further clarification is requested.

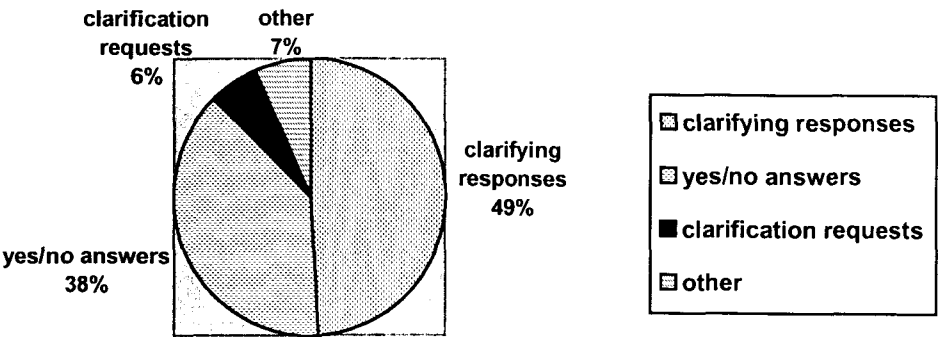


Figure 6.1. Functions of responses in EL1/EL1 negotiated interaction (n: 104)

The dominant function of responses in the data is to clarify one’s own previous utterance triggering the negotiation sequence (49%). In contrast to clarification requests in the indicator, where the other speaker can often make a choice between Wh- or Yes/No

Questions and declaratives (including repetition), there are formal constraints on clarifying in responses. Since the overall activity type requires the participants to ask questions related to tasks, responses are often an elaborated or paraphrased account of the question triggering the negotiation sequence.

The functional analysis of responses starts with the largest category by examining its forms.

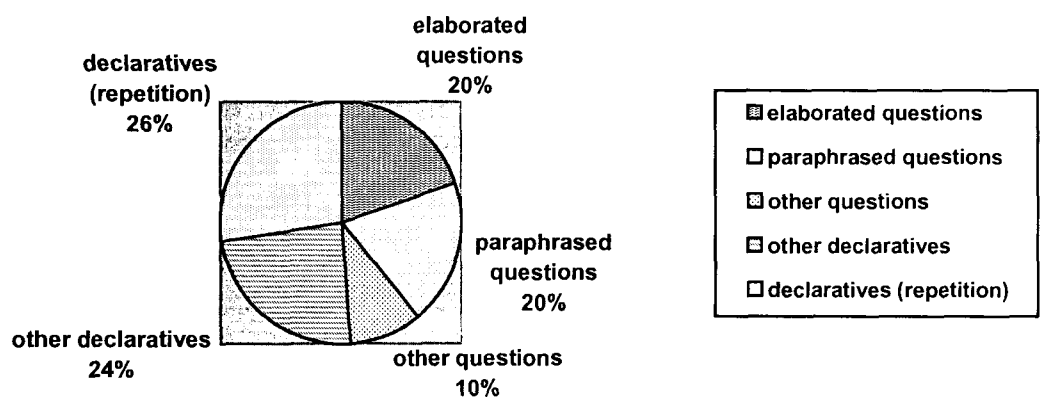


Figure 6.1.a. Forms of ‘clarification responses’ in EL1/EL1 negotiation (n: 51)

Exactly two-thirds of all clarifying responses include a form of repetition, either in elaborated or paraphrased questions (40%) or declaratives (26%). Since repetition is a dominant feature not only in indicators but in responses as well, the use of repetition as a means of seeking and providing clarification is analysed separately. Questions without a repetition (‘other questions’, 10%) can include new information, for example, when the speaker’s trigger is not fully formed or understood:

(6.1) [EL1/EL1, D2: 21-24] (2 boys)

- | | | | |
|----|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | P | is your one with (.5) a (.5) a <x> (unclear pronunciation) | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. | H | eh/ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. | P → | is it a bowl {is it a bowl}/ | <i>response</i> |
| 4. | H | yes | <i>reaction to response</i> |

P triggers a negotiation sequence by hesitating and mumbling and only after H indicates with a question particle (in line two) that he did not understand him, P completes his question in line three. After H’s reaction to the response in line four they proceed with the next task.

‘Other declaratives’ (24%) in ‘clarification responses’ which do not include a repetition usually further explain or refine the content of the trigger:

(6.2) [EL1/EL1, D3: 10-12]

- | | | | |
|----|-----|--|------------------|
| 1. | V | does yours have lots of windows with two dots on them/ (2) | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. | J | windows with two dots/ | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. | V → | {um} in the middle of the window | <i>response</i> |

The response here triggers another negotiation cycle (not included since not relevant to this example). However, an interesting feature of the response in line three is that the initial TCU consists of a feedback signal (or acknowledgement token). An analysis of the data shows that this is a pattern found in many of the responses: The first TCU, in this case ‘um’, acknowledges the content of the proposition of the indicator, and the second TCU further explains or refines the content of the trigger and allowing the other speaker to better understand what was meant. Feedback signals here are only considered separately if they represent a turn and in this case they are accounted for in the ‘other’ category. Feedback is a phenomenon in its own right and is discussed elsewhere (for example, Gardner, 2003). In the present study, it is further discussed in 6.5.

An examination of the additional functions in Figure 6.1 shows that Yes/No answers are the second largest EL1/EL1 functional response category. In general, they are given in response to indicators consisting of confirmation or comprehension checks, or Yes/No Questions in clarification requests. A few speakers in the EL1/EL1 data extend their answers beyond ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ by repeating what they (dis)confirm.

A relatively small proportion of responses consists of clarification requests (6%). They refer to what is said by the other speaker in the indicator, as exemplified here:

(6.3) [EL1/EL1, D6: 26-30]

- | | | | |
|----|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. | K | is the | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. | E | [no you know that one now (overlapping) | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. | K → | so what do I do | <i>response</i> |
| 4. | | circle it/ | |
| 5. | E | yes | <i>reaction to response</i> |

To request clarification, K used a Wh-Question in line three followed by a Yes/No Question in line four, however, as shown in section 5.1, there are other possible forms of clarification requests, such as question words only or a declarative sentence.

The ‘other’ category (7%) includes voiced pauses or feedback particles and laughter forming separate turns, and comprises a limited number of imperatives, too few to make a separate listing meaningful. The next sub-section examines functional and formal patterns in the responses in JL1/JL1 negotiation using the same criteria as for the native English speakers. A comparison of responses across data sets takes place in the discussion in section 6.5.

6.2 Functions and forms of responses in Japanese native speaker negotiation

The following graphs present functions and forms of responses given to indicators in JL1/JL1 dyads (twelve participants). Firstly, Figure 6.2 indicates the overall functions in responses by Japanese:

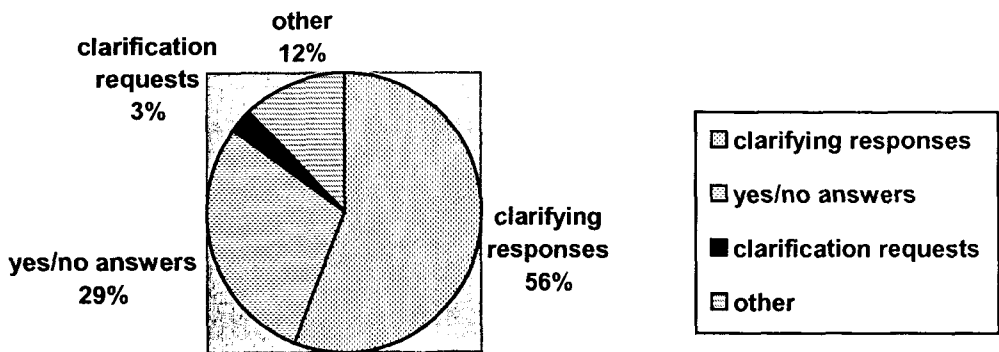


Figure 6.2. Functions of responses in JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction (n: 107)

As in EL1/EL1, native Japanese speakers also mainly use ‘clarifying responses’ (56%) to achieve understanding of the utterance that triggered the negotiation sequence and the following graph examines their forms:

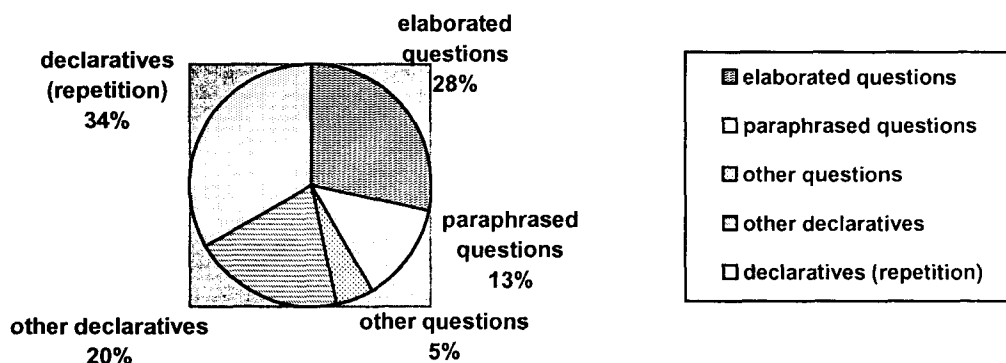


Figure 6.2.a. Forms of ‘clarifying responses’ in JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction (n: 60)

Since the different formal categories are described in 6.1 (EL1/EL1), no further explanations or examples are added here. As in English, there is also a tendency in Japanese to acknowledge the proposition in the indicator with feedback signals like *ee* or *oh* (‘well’) before proceeding with the answer. Although these particles are valuable tokens of understanding (acknowledgement), the focus of this study is clarification of the trouble source which takes place in the second TCU of the answer.

Returning now to the other functions of responses, Figure 6.2 shows that just as in EL1/EL1, the second largest category consists of Yes/No answers (29% of all responses). It is worthwhile noting here that rather than saying *hai* and *iie* (equivalent of ‘yes’ and ‘no’), Japanese prefer to confirm or disconfirm with less direct expressions such as *so desu* and *chigau* (‘it’s right’ or ‘different’ in the sense of ‘I don’t agree’).

The ‘other’ category (12%) includes not only laughter and voiced pauses, but some back channelling, and turns consisting of the expression *etto* or *etto ne*, a form of ‘well’ that is often used in a voiced pause in Japanese. In some cases, a partial repetition of the phrase that set off the laughing or giggling is included in-between laughter (such as in 6.4, line three) providing the impetus for more laughter by the other speaker:

(6.4) [JL1/JL1, D 9: 69-71] (2 girls)

1. Y 書いてあるよ。

| @@ kaite aru yo | (@=laughter)

trigger

- ‘it’s written like that’
2. M ですか。
- | *dekai desu ka @@* | *indicator*
- ‘in large?’
3. Y → ですか。
- | *@ dekai desu @* | *response*
- ‘in large’
4. M 面白い。
- | *@@@ omoshiroi* | *reaction to response*
- ‘that’s funny’

Extract 6.4 is the final cycle of a complex negotiation sequence which was started off with Y saying that it’s written in large letters. After a series of laughter and an acknowledgement in line four, M identifies the correct picture and the activity continues. Jefferson et al (1987: 156) states that the transition from talk to laughter to talk is done in an orderly fashion and that laughing together is an activity in its own right. In the case of the present study, one has also to keep in mind that the participants are only 12 years old and that almost half of them are girls at an age where giggling is often part of their spoken interaction.

Clarification requests mainly take place in the indicator and there are only a few of them (3%) in JL1/JL1 responses. The next two sections examine responses in EL1/EL2 negotiation. The functions and forms of all data sets are compared in tables in the discussion (6.5).

6.3 Responses given by the native speaker in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction

Just as a distinction is made in 5.3-4 in regard to who indicates incomplete understanding in EL1/EL2 negotiation, the same distinction is made in responses. The following graphs therefore firstly investigate the responses given by the EL1 and next by the EL2. Again, an illustration of their functions is followed by an examination of the forms of the predominant function. The percentages in Figure 6.3 are based on ninety EL1 responses following immediately after the ninety EL2 indicators (as shown in Figure 5.4).

The EL1 responses directed to beginners and intermediate/advanced learners (*n*: 64 and 26 respectively) are the same in function and form and therefore combined in one graph.

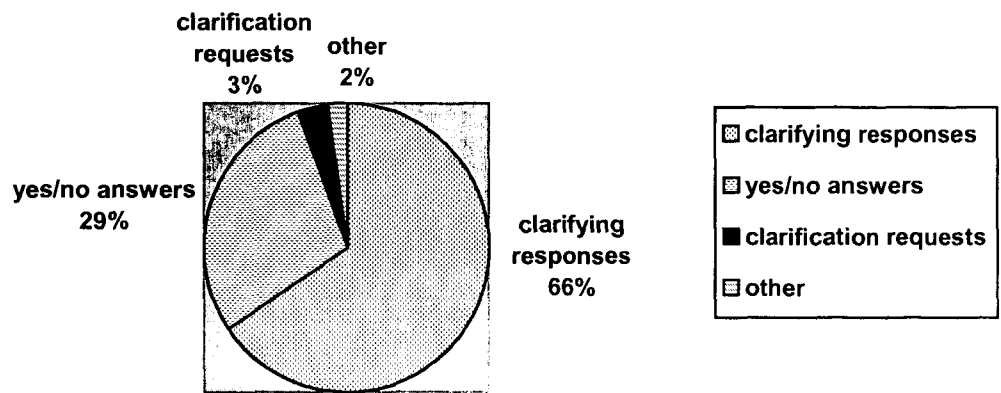


Figure 6.3. Functions of EL1 responses in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction (*n*: 90)

Two-thirds of all EL1 responses (66%) attempt to clarify the same speaker’s utterance that is the trigger of the negotiation sequence. The forms of EL1 ‘clarifying responses’ are:

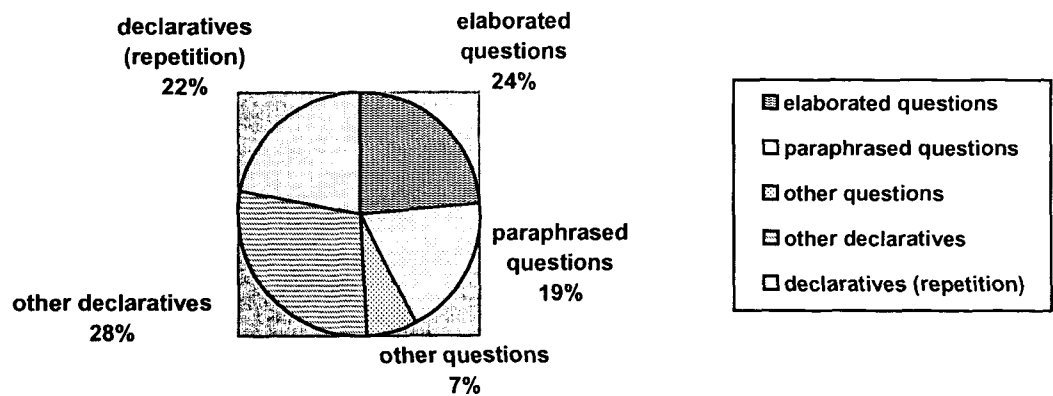


Figure 6.3.a. Forms of ‘clarifying responses’ in EL1 responses in EL1/EL2 negotiation (*n*: 59)

Again, since the trigger of the negotiation sequence is often a question, the response which tries to repair the trouble source also consists of a question in elaborated or paraphrased form. This is illustrated in the following excerpts.

(6.5) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D18: 16-18]

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--|------------------|
| 1. | A (EL1) | does the man have a beard/ | <i>trigger</i> |
| 2. | Y (EL2) | koko <L1=here> (3) (gesture) | <i>indicator</i> |
| 3. | A | → um {is the} is the man’s moustache connected to the beard/ | <i>response</i> |

All pictures include a man with a beard, so Y needs more specific information in order to understand which picture is meant. To request clarification, Y switches to his mother tongue and gestures. A's response in line three consists of an elaborated question that refines the proposition of the trigger. In regard to the same picture row, the following excerpt (from section 5.4, repeated here) also illustrates how the EL1 tries to overcome the EL2 difficulties with understanding with an elaboration in line three:

(5.18) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D14: 129-135]

1.	D (EL1)	does yours have a beard/	<i>trigger</i>
2.	Y (EL2)	{eh} (.5) bear (1) {eh}	<i>indicator</i>
3.	D (EL1)→	does it have a beard like <x>	<i>response</i>
4.	Y (EL2)	{eh} yes	<i>reaction to response</i>

The final part of D's sentence in line three was not audible since D spoke quickly and with a soft voice. D's explanation allows Y to answer to the question with a 'Yes'.

Declarative sentences including a repetition in EL1 responses (22%) try to clarify what has not been understood in the trigger. Since the interlocutor might not comprehend certain lexical items, the EL1 sometimes made use of certain strategies such as gestures or drawings to assure understanding. For example, on the back of J's task sheet, there was a drawing of an arch:

(6.6) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate), D21: 25-33] (two boys)

1. J (EL1)	(1) this is an arch ((draws an arch))	<i>trigger</i>
2. N (EL2)	eh/	<i>indicator</i>
3. J →	that's an arch ((probably shows him))	<i>response</i>
4. N	okay	<i>reaction to response</i>
5. J	{does the} does the door have an arch/	
6. N	no	

J has noticed in preceding interactions that N does not always understand certain lexical items and draws an arch. The focus of this extract is on the repetition in the response (declarative, line three) after which the dialogue continues. J turns to non-verbal strategies, such as drawing and showing the picture, enabling N to understand and to answer J's

question. Line five and six are not part of the negotiation sequence since the word ‘arch’ has been clarified previously therewith allowing the task to continue.

Other declaratives (28%) also include efforts by the EL1 to teach the learner certain concepts or vocabulary. Such attempts might stretch over a number of AS-units as demonstrated here:

(6.7) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D13: 9-21]:

1.	Y (EL1)	pyramid means a triangle	<i>trigger</i>
2.	S (EL2)	triangle (1)	<i>indicator</i>
3.	Y	say a pyramid is like a (3)	<i>response</i>
4.		okay ((Y draws a pyramid on the back of his sheet))	
5.		pyramid (2) ((shows his drawing to S))	
6.	→	or you could ask me if it’s square shaped	
7.		square is (1) here we go (2) ((draws a square))	
8.		square is like that	
9.		that’s triangle (4)	
10.	S	{eh} {eto} this is triangle (barely audible)	<i>reaction to response</i>
11.	Y	mm/ (2)	<i>resolution</i>
12.		is it pyramid shaped you are asking me/	
13.		yes it is pyramid shaped	

The partial repetition by S and a pause in line two lead Y to respond with an explanation of the different shapes and their corresponding terms, drawings, descriptions and suggestions. After a four second pause, S reacts (in line ten) with a hesitation and acknowledgement particle (*etto* meaning ‘well’) and a statement (pushed output), which rephrases Y’s proposition in line nine. Y responds with a question particle in line eleven and pauses for a couple of seconds. Since S does not take up her turn, he reformulates S’s question in line twelve and then answers it in line thirteen in a solo act. Incomplete understanding is usually not tackled this way in L1 interaction, and excerpts like this show that at times the native speaker finds novel approaches in order to overcome difficulties.

The findings in regard to EL1 ‘clarifying responses’ also illustrate the considerable effort that some native speakers make as they attempt to get their meaning across. EL1 responses

often present additional ‘input’ allowing the language learner to better understand the meaning of the trouble source and to produce pushed output. It is also clear that while understanding is often not assured through comprehension checks it seems to be more likely as the result of clarification requests and responses which include repetition in paraphrases and elaboration.

Returning to Figure 6.3 allows for an overview of the other functional categories and indicates that nearly one third (29%) of the EL1 overall responses are Yes/No answers. A few of them include an additional utterance such as a partial repetition of the noun phrase or a meta-comment like ‘Your turn’ or ‘Okay’ (not entered as a separate category). The EL1 clarification requests (3%) refer to the preceding EL2 indicators and usually trigger further negotiation. The ‘other’ category (only 2 entries) includes a turn consisting of a voiced pause and an imperative. The next sub-section investigates the functions and predominant forms of EL2 responses.

6.4 Responses given by the language learner in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction

The number of EL2 responses to EL1 indicators is relatively high owing to the higher number of EL1 initiations of negotiation sequences. In order to allow for an overview, firstly, the functions of EL2 responses are displayed in Figure 6.4, followed by the main forms of ‘clarifying responses’ which also dominate in EL2 answers.

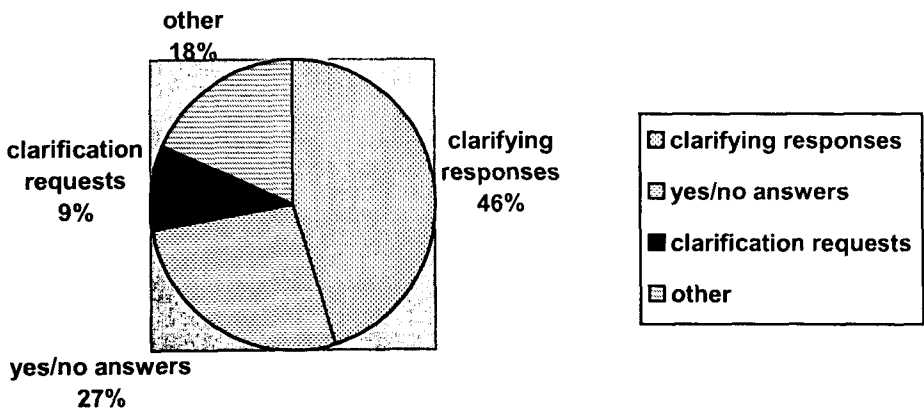


Figure 6.4. Functions of EL2 responses in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction (n: 168)

In ‘clarifying responses’, the main function of EL2 answers (46%), the language learner is ‘pushed’ to develop their propositions made in the trigger in a number of ways and their answers are either in a declarative or interrogative form:

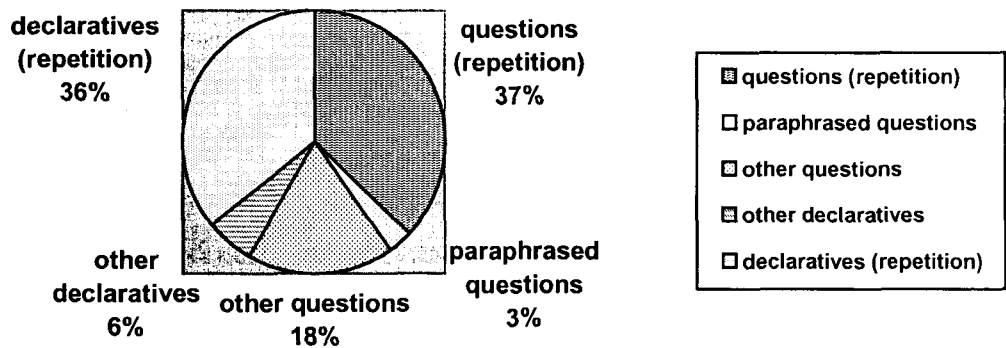


Figure 6.4.a. Forms of ‘clarifying responses’ in EL2 responses in EL1/EL2 negotiation (n: 77)

In EL1 ‘clarifying responses’, many of the questions including repetitions are elaborations or paraphrases. This is not the case with EL2 questions (37%). Instead, they mainly consist of a partial or exact repetition (sometimes in an incomplete sentence), which in turn leads to further negotiation. Paraphrased questions are rarely used (3%). A direct comparison of EL1 and EL2 forms is made in Table 6.1.a in section 6.5.

In addition, ‘other questions’ (18%) in ‘clarifying responses’ comprise requests that do not include a repetition as illustrated here:

(6.8) [EL1/EL2 (advanced), D24: 19-26]

1. M (EL2)	um (11)	<i>trigger</i>
2. S (EL1)	<x> taking long	<i>indicator</i>
3. M	eh	<i>response/trigger</i>
4. S	hurry up God	<i>indicator</i>
5. M →	is that a (.5) sixteen	<i>response</i>
6. S	sixteen	<i>reaction to response</i>
7.	let me count (14)	
8.	yes	

During the long pause (11 seconds) that triggers the negotiation sequence M (a girl) appears to be counting the number of cans on her picture. S (a boy) thinks that this is taking her a long time and asks her to hurry up. In line five, M forms her question. In order

to answer, S verifies by counting the cans which takes him 14 seconds. M does not make any comments during this time and waits patiently for his confirmation. Again, it is interesting to note that the participating children tolerate quite long pauses at times.

The findings also indicate that most declaratives in EL2 responses include repetitions further compared and contrasted in Chapter Seven. Other functional categories of EL2 responses (see Figure 6.4) are Yes/No answers (27%) and very few of them include a repetition of what is confirmed or negated. Clarification requests in responses represent 9%; however, this presents the average between beginners and intermediate/advanced learners. A closer examination reveals that beginners request clarification more frequently, often using interrogative particles such as in 6.9, line three. This excerpt is also one of a number of examples illustrating how the participants collaborate to reach understanding and often accept incomplete propositions and a certain ambiguity as long as they understand what is meant.

(6.9) [EL1/EL2 (beginner), D15: 37-47]

1.	N (EL2)	(4) <x> @ kore hige ((points to his cheeks))	<i>trigger</i>
		(4) (unclear) (laughter) this bea-d	
2.	Y (EL1)	beard	<i>indicator</i>
3.	N	→ eh/	<i>response/trigger</i>
4.	Y	beard	<i>indicator</i>
5.	N	bea-d (3)	<i>response/trigger</i>
6.		{like in} (1) like a <x> (incomprehensible)	
7.	Y	do you mean it comes from the ears	<i>indicator</i>
8.	N	yeah (8)	
9.		bea-d is coming to ear/	<i>response</i>
10.	Y	yes	<i>reaction to response</i>

In line one, N (a Japanese boy) pauses, mumbles, laughs and then uses his mother tongue and pointing in order to request a lexical item he is not sure of. Owing to the difficulty Japanese speakers experience in pronouncing ‘r’ (discussed elsewhere), N’s drops it and produces ‘bea-d’. Y corrects him in line two and N responds with a question particle in line three. Y’s repetition in line four is followed by N’s attempt to pronounce the new word.

After a short pause, N tries to form a more specific sentence in line six. Y's clarification request is confirmed and after a long pause (eight seconds), N produces an utterance in line nine with a rising intonation. N's utterance comprises lexical items introduced by Y in line two and seven. Although 'beard' is pronounced incorrectly, the definite article is missing and 'does' or inversion not used by N, Y accepts N's question, answers with 'yes' and the activity continues.

Furthermore, line six (in 6.9) illustrated the kind of utterance included in the 'other' category in EL2 responses. Incomplete responses of this type usually trigger another negotiation cycle. Especially at the beginner level, the percentage of this type of response (becoming a trigger) is relatively high. 'Other' responses can also consist of a voiced pause or laughter representing a turn; partial responses, which do not allow the interlocutor to discern their meaning; mumbling or unclear (inaudible) speech; language switching (into Japanese) and sometimes an appeal for help.

Although the learners are often not able to clarify their trouble source in the trigger within a simple sequence, it is noticeable throughout the data that with the help of the native speaker, the learner usually manages to overcome problems within several negotiation cycles. The next section presents a more general perspective of the various findings and provides an overview of 'responses' in native and nonnative negotiated interaction.

6.5 Discussion: Responses in negotiation sequences across data sets

The findings show that there are similarities as well as a number of variations in L1 and L2 responses. In order to allow for an overview of their functions and forms, Tables 6.1 and 6.1.a combine and account for responses in negotiation sequences in the EL1/EL1, JL1/JL1 and EL1/EL2 data, with a distinction being made between the native speaker and the learner in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction. Each row in the table corresponds to twelve speakers. The numbers in brackets (*n*) represent the respective amount of responses. The percentages are taken from the Figures 6.1 to 6.4 in the result sections 6.1 – 6.4 and relate to the total number of responses in the corresponding data set. The following tables (6.1 and 6.1.a) do not include any new information.

RESPONSES in data sets (n)	'Clarifying responses'	Yes/No answers	Clarification requests	Other
EL1/EL1 (n 104)	49 %	38 %	6 %	7 %
JL1/JL1 (n 107)	56 %	29 %	3 %	12 %
EL1/EL2 (EL1n 90)	66 %	29 %	3 %	2 %
EL1/EL2 (EL2n168)	46 %	27 %	9 %	18 %

Table 6.1. Summary table of functions of responses in the data

The majority of responses in all data sets attempt to clarify the trigger and are given in response to a clarification request in the indicator. There are slightly fewer 'clarifying responses' in EL1/EL1 interaction than in JL1/JL1 negotiation since the native English speakers indicate trouble less often with clarification requests than the Japanese (see Table 5.2 in the previous chapter).

In EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, two-thirds of all EL1 answers (66%) relate to clarification of the trouble source. In complex sequences, the clarification might refer to the previous response turn of the same speaker. The Japanese EL2 produce less 'clarification responses' in English (46%) than in their native language (56%) and this might reflect their limited linguistic resources in their second language. As mentioned above, some of the EL2 responses were incomplete or consisted only of mumbling or a voiced pause and therefore included in 'Other' functions resulting in a relatively high percentage in this category.

As in the previous sections, clarifying responses are sub-divided into their forms and analysed first. Table 6.1.a illustrates the amalgamated information of the pertinent graphs on forms per data set (Figures 6.1.a - 6.4.a) with the number of occurrences in brackets.

Clarification Response (n)	Elaborated questions	Paraphrased questions	Other Questions	Declaratives (repetition)	Other declaratives
EL1/EL1 (n 51)	20 %	20 %	10 %	26 %	24 %
JL1/JL1 (n 60)	28 %	13 %	5 %	34 %	20 %
EL1/EL2(EL1n59)	24 %	19 %	7 %	22 %	28 %
EL1/EL2(EL2n77)	37 %*	3 %	18 %	36 %	6 %

* EL2 questions are usually not elaborated, but partial or exact repetitions

Table 6.1.a. Forms of 'clarifying responses' in the response turn across data sets

The majority of the native speaker responses in this category include elaborated repetition and paraphrasing when re-asking or restating their question. It is remarkable that there is only a difference of plus/minus 4% at the most in regard to the various forms used by the EL1 in EL1/EL1 and the EL1 in EL1/EL2 dyads (in line one and three respectively) which shows that regardless their interlocutor, the forms of their clarifying responses are similar. However, the Japanese children's L2 responses differ considerably from their L1 forms. Their English repertoire is often too limited to use paraphrasing as a tool and as pointed out in section 6.4, EL2 repetition in questions and declaratives is often not an elaboration but a partial or exact repetition.

Clarification in responses is regularly achieved through repetition and Deen (1997) also proposes that NS expansion (elaboration) is the most frequent type of repetition. Moreover, NS speakers in her study used paraphrasing almost seven times as often as the NNS and this is the case in the present study as well. Deen (1997: 168) suggests that paraphrasing might be the most linguistically demanding strategy for learners.

In EL1 clarifying responses, input often occurs in target form structures. Furthermore, rather than using comprehension checks such as 'Do you understand' some speakers try elaboration, paraphrasing/synonyms or antonyms in order to get their message across and to get their interlocutor to say something. Longer stretches of this type of EL1 discourse are found especially after an EL2 incomplete sentence such as in 5.14 (in the previous chapter) and 6.7 (in section 6.3) or a pause (TPR) which is not picked up by the learner. In her study with participants in a similar age group, Oliver's (1995a: 468) mainly analyses triggers of NNS and the feedback (recast) of native speakers in the indicator. Since many of the NNS in her research do include the NS recast in their response (the third turn), the study suggests that negotiation creates learning opportunities. However, it is important to recognise that the findings of the present study show that learning opportunities do not only take place in recasts in the indicator but also in EL1 clarifying responses. This relevant topic is further discussed under Same-speaker repetition in Chapter Seven.

Returning now to other functions of responses, Table 6.1 shows that the second largest category are Yes/No answers (between 27% and 38%). They are positive or negative answers to questions in indicators consisting of confirmation or comprehension checks. A few speakers include a partial repetition of the noun phrase of what is confirmed or contradicted. It is interesting to observe that the term ‘Okay’ (included in this category) is used exclusively by native English speakers and does not occur as an expression in the Japanese native speaker data nor in the EL2 responses (with one exception). The use of ‘Okay’ in negotiated interaction is also commented on in a study by Nakahama, Tyler and van Lier (2001: 396) which observes that in their information gap activity ‘okay’ is only used once by a nonnative speaker, as opposed to thirty times by native speakers.

As mentioned previously, clarification requests refer to a trouble source in the ‘indicator’ and play only a minor role in responses. Only EL2 beginners use them more frequently (in 9% of their responses), revealing that especially at an early stage, learners often experience difficulties in understanding what is meant by native speaker says in the preceding turn (the indicator).

As in the indicators, the ‘Other’ category in responses consists of minimal or fragmental responses and includes voiced pauses (like ‘Um’), mumbling and laughter. An examination of Table 6.1 reveals that in EL1/EL1 such strategies are used 7% of times. However, when native speakers talk to a learner (EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction) they only occur in 2% of times, indicating less reliance on redundancy. This could be traced back to longer EL2 pauses giving the native speaker additional time to plan their utterance.

In JL1/JL1 negotiated interaction, the ‘Other’ category also includes some back-channelling or *aizuchi*. A relatively high percentage of EL2 ‘Other’ responses (18%) shows the Japanese children’s struggle in forming an answer in their second language. And as in EL2 indicators, the EL2 revert sometimes to their mother tongue, especially when mumbling. L1 self-talk in a second language learning context is analysed and well documented in Snyder-Ohta (2001). The researcher argues that self-talk (or private speech) is a consistent feature of L2 classroom activities (pp. 12 and 65) and she defines private speech as ‘oral language uttered not for communicative interaction with another, but for dialogue with the self’ (p. 14).

Voiced pauses including hesitations are also expressed by the EL2 in their native Japanese, for example, with words like *etto* and *etto ne* both meaning ‘Well’. These pauses are only included in the ‘Other’ category if not followed by an utterance. Other studies have also commented on pausing for turn-holding in learners’ talk. Research on negotiation by Ondarra (1997: 441) reveals that the learners (of Spanish) often resorted to time-gaining devices such as pauses or fillers therewith creating a type of discourse that was hesitant and fragmentary. Moreover, Nakahama et al (2001) observe that hesitation and pauses form an integral part of negotiated interaction, especially by NNS (also see Chapter Eight of the present study).

In addition, the response turn in native speaker negotiated interaction is often made up of a number of turn construction units (TCUs) and there is a two-part pattern emerging; the first referring to immediately prior talk and the second progresses the task at hand. The initial TCU of the response consists of a feedback or acknowledgement in regard to the indicator (like ‘Okay’, ‘Oh’ or ‘Um’). ‘Oh’ and ‘Mm’ have several functions but is most commonly used to acknowledge receipt of information (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Schiffrin, 1987) or as a ‘continuer’ (Gardner, 2003).

The second TCU consists of an expansion or refinement of the content of the trouble source (trigger) such as in line three in example 6.2 repeated here:

(6.2) [EL1/EL1, D3: 10-12]

1.	V	does yours have lots of windows with two dots on them/ (2)	<i>trigger</i>
2.	J	windows with two dots/	<i>indicator</i>
3.	V →	{um} in the middle of the window	<i>response</i>

The combination of an acknowledgement and an expansion is not obligatory since they do not depend on each other and either can occur by itself. This is, however, a useful formal distinction in regard to responding turns, especially since the data reveals that learners can produce one of the two parts in their response, but are often unable to produce both parts in the same turn.

There are also instances in the data revealing that non-verbal clues such as drawings or gestures are used to achieve understanding since some of the verbal responses do not fully allow the other participant to identify the correct answer. The instructions on the task sheet encourage the participants not to show their task sheets to each other and such strategies appear to be only used when other means of communication are exhausted.

In short, responses to indicators of non- or partial understanding are either solving the trouble source of a negotiation sequence or become the trigger of a complex negotiation sequence (as in example 6.8 and 6.9 in section 6.4). The main findings of this section are further examined in 6.7 together with the findings of the next section which looks at possible additional turns finalising a simple or complex negotiation sequence.

6.6 Additional turns completing a negotiation sequence

Negotiation in all three data sets is often finalised with a ‘reaction to the response’ (as specified in a number of the examples given so far) which is sometimes followed by a ‘resolution’ (such as the last turn in 6.7). The ‘reaction to the response’ and the ‘resolution’ are in a declarative form and mainly consist of simple clauses. Their function is to confirm that clarification has taken place and to allow the activity to move on. Their detailed characteristics are not the focus of the present study and only some salient features across data sets are presented here. L1 findings are presented in sub-section 6.6.1, followed by EL1/EL2 results in 6.6.2.

6.6.1 How are negotiation sequences concluded in native speaker interaction?

In the EL1/EL1 data, the ‘reaction to the response’ mainly consists of ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ which is occasionally followed by a repetition of what is confirmed or negated. Sometimes one of the speakers adds a comment in regard to the task or in the form of self-talk (like ‘Mm, that’s the picture you meant’). The ‘resolution’ consists generally of the expression ‘Okay’ in English. ‘Okay’ is not repeated by any of the speakers. At times turn-taking is indicated through meta-language such as ‘Your turn’ or ‘Go’, the only directives found in an optional turn.

In JL1/JL1 'reactions to the response', the Japanese equivalent of 'Yes' (*hai*) and 'No' (*iie*) are employed less frequently (as discussed in section 6.2). About half of the time, these expressions are replaced by *sou desu* 'right, this is correct' or *chigau/chigaiimasu* 'different'. Personal communication (when I speak/listen to Japanese in their language) also validate the finding that alternative terms in regard to 'Yes' or 'No' are used on a regular basis.

It is worthwhile noting that *hai sou desu* 'Yes, right' or *iie, chigaiimasu* 'No, different' can occur simultaneously to intensify the answer (as in excerpt 5.8, section 5.2). Moreover, Japanese native speakers often partially repeat what they confirm or negate. The findings show that these repetitions usually take place in combination with *hai* and *iie* but not with '*sou desu*' or *chigau/chigaiimasu*. Ways of confirming and negating in a Japanese context are certainly a productive area of investigation although not directly related to the focus of the present study.

The 'resolution' in JL1 may consist of a short statement confirming or disconfirming the other speaker's proposition. Japanese turns are handed over with *hai* or *hai tsugi, yosh(i)* meaning 'All right', 'Okay' or 'Good' and there are a few instances where the children finish off by saying *arigatoo* 'Thank you'.

6.6.2 EL1/EL2 completion of negotiated interaction

When native speakers interact with learners their negotiation sequences are longer and the 'reaction to the response' can still consist of a clarification or a reiteration, especially in negotiation initiated by the native speaker (following an EL2 trigger). In addition, after an EL2 response, the EL1 sometimes intensifies their answer by saying: 'Yes, you're right' or 'No, it isn't' (or 'no, it doesn't'), a feature hardly ever found in English native speakers 'reactions to the response' or 'resolutions'. After their 'Yes' or 'No' answers, the EL1 also repeat more frequently the proposition they confirm or negate. Moreover, the EL1 has a tendency to repeat the EL2 'Yes' or 'No' answer with a rising intonation and in some cases they add an utterance such as 'Are you sure?'.

Overall, the EL1 in EL2 interactions give the impression of being less sure of understanding and being understood correctly, and manifest this by additional repetitions or intensification. The EL2 does not use this type of repetition nor intensification, although its use has been documented in JL1 interactions. This shows again the limitations of the learner in negotiated interaction.

Furthermore, EL2 only rarely attempt to use ‘Okay’ and there is no evidence that its function is the same as in English:

(6.10) [EL1/EL2 (intermediate), D19: 53-55]

1. Y (EL2) | {does} does it have um does it have a |
2. A (EL1) | <ah> one like this :: like a a roof like that/ like that\ is it like that |
((draws on her sheet))
3. Y (EL2) → | okay yes |
4. A | yes/ |

Speaker A supports her question with a drawing and this results in Y’s affirmative answer. However, ‘Okay yes’ without a pause between the two words is not a typical confirmation in English and might reflect the Japanese tendency to say *hai sou desu* (yes, correct) in similar situations, that is, it may be a ‘loan translation’ from Japanese. In line four, A repeats ‘Yes’ and then continues by asking further questions (not relevant here).

Before moving on to the next task, the EL2 would sometimes ‘think aloud’ and reflect on the task in their native language, for example, in one dyad, after successfully completing her turn, a girl says to herself: *sugoi eigo de yuta* meaning ‘Wow, I said it in English’. The last turn of a negotiation sequence can also consist of a meta-comment such as ‘Your turn’ or *tsugi* ‘You’re next’. Laughter or hesitation particles which are found in the indicators or responses in the data, usually do not occur in the final turns of negotiated interaction. The next section will further discuss the findings of this chapter in regard to responses and additional turns and relate them back to the literature.

6.7 Summing up responses and final negotiation turns in L1 and L2 negotiation

The majority of responses attempt to clarify the trigger and their form and function often depend on the proposition made in the indicator; for example, a clarification request in the

indicator is usually followed by a clarifying answer in the response, and a confirmation check by a Yes/No answer. This applies throughout the data although there are some noticeable functional and formal variations in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction.

Native speaker responses mainly consist of answers to clarification requests in the form of 'clarifying responses' and usually manipulate the content and form of the trouble source (trigger). Since the overall activity type requires the participants to ask questions related to tasks, responses are often an expanded or paraphrased account of the question that triggers the negotiation. The forms of such 'clarifying answers' in native speaker English and Japanese do not vary much. Such equal outcomes are remarkable especially when considering differences related to speakers and language backgrounds.

In EL1/EL2 negotiation, EL1 clarifying responses tend to refine previous material, allowing the language learner to better understand what caused the negotiation and to produce pushed output. Rather than using comprehension checks such as 'Do you understand?' some speakers keep repeating or use synonyms after a pause (TRP) in order to clarify their message content. In general, EL2 responses are not elaborations, but partial and exact repetitions, or incomplete sentences, which lead to further negotiation. The learners' knowledge of English is often too limited to refine or paraphrase their initial utterance and they frequently rely on EL1 input and an additional negotiation sequence to resolve the trouble source in the trigger.

The second largest functional response category consists of Yes/No (*hai, iie*) answers in the form of a confirmation or negation of the utterance in the indicator. In their L1 interaction, the Japanese participants often use less direct expressions such as *sou desu* and *chigau* ('That's right' / 'it is different'). Moreover, in EL1/EL1 negotiated interaction, some speakers said 'Yes' or 'No' without further repetition of previous material or intensification, whereas in JL1/JL1 interaction there is a tendency to repeat what is confirmed or negated and *hai* 'Yes' can be followed up by an intensification such as *sou desu* 'That's right'.

The situation is reversed in EL1/EL2 dyads in which the native English speaker often repeats what is confirmed or negated, or adds 'You're right', 'It is' or 'It isn't' to a Yes/No answer. Moreover, the EL1 sometimes repeats the EL2's 'Yes' or 'No' answer to make sure s/he got it right. Although the Japanese children do use this type of repetition and intensification in their own language, they refrain from it in their second language. This suggests that the EL2 chooses to respond with the shortest possible utterance, whereas the EL1 tries to ensure in a longer answer including repetition or intensification that their nonnative speaker counterpart understands. This is also important evidence for the sophisticated way even young children use language to construct differing interactional participant roles.

Whether 'Yes' or 'No' answers are true indications of comprehension is an empirical question and not the focus of the present research. As mentioned previously, the fact that some participants ticked off a wrong answer on their task sheets, which were collected and kept by the researcher, might indicate that several of them chose to guess rather than to pursue a response.

Furthermore, the EL2s in this study do not attempt to complete an EL1 TCU-in-progress in form of overlaps. The learners' productive skills are still limited and their utterances often include pauses, hesitation particles and sentence fragments. Their receptive skills are also restricted and this is sometimes demonstrated in their 'responses' which include more clarification requests than JL1 native speaker interaction and less 'clarifying answers'. The clarification requests mainly occur with beginners who have not understood the EL1 speakers' proposition in the indicator and the EL2 often try to clarify with interrogative particles such as 'Huh?' or 'Eh?' rather than Wh-Questions. These clarification requests then initiate another negotiation cycle and form a complex sequence which is a typical feature of EL1/EL2 interaction.

The present study also shows that EL1/EL2 negotiation sequences are longer and contain more redundant speech, for example, turns consisting of a sentence fragment, a voiced pause, laughter or mumbling (listed in 'Other' category in responses). Some of the Japanese speakers' turns consist of *aizuchi* feedback tokens, but overall the use of *aizuchi*

is too limited to be considered as a separate phenomenon. The limited use of *aizuchi* by children is also mentioned in a study by Hess and Johnston (1988) which states that younger speakers need to have achieved a certain level of automaticity in message comprehension to free their attention resources to reflect on their own comprehension state and that only then back-channel (or *aizuchi*) responses are more likely to occur. Considering the relatively young age of the participants they might not have reached this level yet.

Most entries in the 'Other' category in EL2 responses originate from speakers in the beginner group which is to be expected since they often struggle with their English expression and hence triggered more negotiation sequences than the intermediate/advanced learner. Interestingly, when EL1 speakers negotiate with learners, they rely less often on redundant talk than with their native speaker peers. The reason for this might be longer EL2 pauses giving the EL1 more planning time of their utterance.

Another feature of talk occurring in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction is the use of the EL2 mother tongue (also included under 'Other'). Beginners as well as more advanced learners tend to revert to Japanese when mumbling or 'thinking aloud'. Hesitations or voiced pauses holding a turn almost always take place in their L1. Although not directly related to the present research, it is a noteworthy pattern observed in most EL2 utterances and Snyder-Ohta (2001) study on 'self-talk' further investigates this topic in detail.

Moreover, the data reveals that in native speaker English as well as in Japanese the initial part of a TCU in a number of responses can consist of an acknowledgement referring to the content of the indicator. This is usually followed by an elaboration or paraphrase of the speakers' initial utterance in the trigger. This two-part pattern is rarely found in EL2 turns, and although they sometimes give some feedback or acknowledge via a repetition, they are often unable to produce both parts in the same turn. One reason for this could be that the native speaker interprets the pause which usually follows the acknowledgment as a TRP, and takes over the turn, so continuing the negotiation. Since this type of acknowledgement is not directly related to negotiation, it is not further addressed in the context of this study. It is, however, an area deserving attention, especially in relationship to learner talk.

The final turns of a negotiation sequence can consist of a 'reaction to response' followed sometimes by a 'resolution'. Pica et al's (1991) typology of a negotiation sequence also contains a turn after the response which comprises a comprehension signal or continuation move. An additional 5th turn (after the 'trigger', the 'indicator', the 'response' and 'reaction to response') is not further discussed in any of the frameworks but does occur in the present study especially in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction and has hence been included as an additional category labelled 'resolution'.

There is little variation in the final turns of a negotiation sequence in native speaker discourse, and discrepancies mainly take place in EL1 negotiated interaction with learners. For example, 'okay' in English native speaker interaction regularly occurs in the 'reaction to the response' or 'resolution' indicating the end of one activity before moving on to new material. Button's (1987) research reveals that 'Okay' or 'Alright' is also typically used before ending a call, and other closing implicative environments are prior turn repetition and prior material reiteration (Schegloff, 1984: 149) and this is confirmed in the present study. Gardner (2003) describes 'Okay' as a 'change of activity' token used to mark the end of one sequence and preparedness to move on. It was noticeable that 'Okay' is regularly used to this purpose by the EL1 but not by language learners. They rarely included 'Okay' in their utterances and in some situations it remains unclear whether 'okay' was used appropriately.

The last turn of the negotiation sequence can also include turn-taking language such as 'Your turn' or *hai* used in Japanese not only to say 'Yes' but to indicate a preparedness to move on, like 'okay' in English. Laughter, mumbling or self-talk are usually absent in reactions to responses or resolutions.

Chapter Five, as well as the present chapter, presented an analysis of functions and forms of all turns in native and nonnative negotiated interaction, allowing for a better understanding of prevalent speech acts in child discourse. Previous studies on negotiated interaction sometimes refer to baseline data in native speaker negotiated interaction of English speakers but cross-linguistic comparisons with native speaker communication in

the source language of the learner do not take place. Moreover, children at the threshold of adolescence are rarely considered. This study hence fills existing gaps in negotiation research by presenting inter- and intra-linguistic distinctions and features of all negotiated turns in child interaction and comparisons of L1 patterns allow for a grounded and informed approach when addressing L1/L2 negotiation.

Overall, the findings illustrate that in EL1/EL2 negotiated interaction, most native speakers try hard to get meaning across and use a variety of linguistic means to facilitate understanding, and when verbal strategies fail, the children use drawings or gestures. At times, they accepted a certain ambiguity leading to incorrect answers. They did, however, persist and all participants spent the given time on task. The present study also includes all vocal expressions such as hesitation particles, mumbling and laughter as well as the length of pauses. Furthermore, it has chosen to present as much background information as possible needed for the reader to understand the complexities of the topic. The important dimension of cross-linguistic communication is addressed as the necessary background to inter-linguistic interaction. It is felt that only by understanding all components of negotiated interaction that explicit aspects can be discussed.

In sum, what emerges from the analysis of negotiation sequences is a complex interactional model providing the learner with a multitude of opportunities for language use and feedback. Tasks such as the ones used in the present study help in getting a better understand of the target language and motivate the learner to improve their English expression. The prevalent speech acts are seeking and giving clarification and Chapters Five and Six also include an account for the formal aspects of clarification requests and clarification responses. The findings provide information on variations in EL2 and L1 discourse and reveal the problems learners have when trying to understand and to be understood in English as their second language. Although the aim of the negotiated interaction is to achieve understanding, the negotiation process *per se* helps to raise the learners' awareness of the second language and facilitates its development.

Just as learners receive written feedback on writing tasks, negotiation of understanding provides them with language learning opportunities through listening and speaking leading

to lexical and structural changes. Unlike traditional L2 classroom interaction with a teacher, which often focuses on form, dyadic peer interaction is learner-centred, allowing for far more feedback to the individual student. Moreover, children seem to be less inhibited when speaking to each other, to accept incomplete propositions and ambiguity as long as they understand what is meant. There are many instances in the data showing that dyadic peer interaction allows the learners to try out new structures and helps them to get a better grasp of the target language.

An analysis of negotiation sequences proves to be a gold mine for teachers who are interested in the development of their students speaking and listening skills. Questions a teacher might want to find an answer to are, for example 'How much do my students understand in the target language?', 'What is it that is not or only partially understood and why?' or 'Are students able to apply what they have been taught?'. EL1/EL2 functions and forms of negotiated interaction hence deserve a focus when teaching and learning a language since patterns found in a native speaker only environment are often not transferable to negotiation with or as a learner. Raising the learner's awareness of the frequency and mechanism of negotiation allows them to use such interactions as a learning tool, thus empowering them and making them more confident in their quest for proficiency.

The present data analysis revealed that by using the above categories, the role of repetition and pauses as an essential part of the negotiated interaction remains unclear and deserves further attention. In order to address this shortcoming, repetition, a dominant feature in 'indicators' and 'responses', is further investigated in the next chapter. Silent and voiced pauses, which often play a significant role in 'triggers' and 'indicators', are analysed in detail in Chapter Eight.